

Body painting in Tierra del Fuego.
The power of images in the uttermost part of the world.

Volume I

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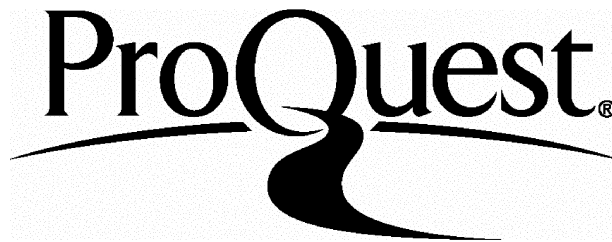
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For Julio.
And to the memory of the Selk'nam and the Yámana.

This thesis focuses on the study of the production and use of body painting in Tierra del Fuego (southern Patagonia), with the main aim of analysing the socio-economic, technical and cognitive-visual aspects of the paintings worn by the Selk'nam and Yámana societies. The analysis is done at intra-society and inter-society levels, examining the two societies comparatively, and also in terms of their interaction. The data on which the research is based have been collected from visual and written records which date from the XVI to the XX centuries. Archaeological materials are also presented and analysed.

The theoretical perspective from which the analysis is carried out considers visual productions (e.g. body painting) as social creations which are simultaneously economic, political and ideological, and hence not just symbolic mirrors of situations, but active products through which human agents establish roles and relationships, constructing, reproducing and/or transforming situations.

The analysis of the production stage shows the importance of the mechanisms of transmission of knowledge about body painting techniques for their continuity in time. The handling of this knowledge as a source of power and of social division (mainly based on age and gender) is also explained. This points to the existence of social differences within hunter-gatherer societies, based, among other aspects, on the management of body painting materials and techniques and on the socio-economic position of the producers. Finally, the non-neutrality of technique, and the creation of meaning during the production process, are also demonstrated.

The study of the uses of body painting focuses on the praxis of wearing and viewing, and includes both visual and contextual analyses, carried out in quantitative and qualitative ways. These analyses show that body painting was worn in a wide range of situations, and that in some of them its layout varied according to the different purposes, the wearers and the intended viewers. They also point a) to the existence of a visual code of non-verbal communication, b) to the construction and expression of contents by combining the paintings with other visual attributes (such as bodily ornaments and decorated objects) and/or verbal information. A visual analysis based on the whole sample of images, regardless of their specific situations of use, shows that social patterns of use also arise beyond these particular contexts. Finally, it is argued that although the Selk'nam and Yámana body paintings show possible interactions, their layouts mainly mark visual inter-society differences.

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Introduction.

The general aim of this thesis is to analyse the body paintings of the Selk'nam and Yámana societies of Tierra del Fuego in order to reveal how these productions were actively involved in the construction of social roles and relationships. Their economic, technical and cognitive-visual aspects are the focus of attention of this research project, since these can shed light on the dynamics of body painting production and display and on their consequences for the production and reproduction of the social life of these hunter-gatherer societies.

a) A brief introduction to the Fuegian hunter-gatherers societies.

The region of Tierra del Fuego is an archipelago located approximately between 52° and 56° south, and between 64° and 72° west, ranging from the Magellan strait to Cape Horn. The Fuegian archipelago is constituted by a number of islands, the largest of which is Isla Grande de Tierra del Fuego, currently divided between Chile and Argentina, which is around 48,000 km².

At the time of contact with the Europeans, from the XVI century onwards, the Fuegian archipelago was inhabited by four different aboriginal societies: the Selk'nam, the Yámana, the Haush and the Alacaluf (Cooper 1917, Gusinde 1982, 1986). All of them were hunter gatherers which occupied different territories, spoke different languages, and had developed different means of subsistence. The Selk'nam lived in the north and centre of Isla Grande de Tierra del Fuego, and were terrestrial nomads. The Yámana lived in the southern portion of Isla Grande, occupying the shores of the Beagle channel and islands towards the south, reaching until the southernmost land point, Cape Horn. They were maritime hunters and fishers, and moved very frequently, in canoes.

There is comparatively much less information about the Haush. They seem to have been a different, separate society, yet they bore various resemblance with the Selk'nam, mainly in terms of their subsistence, language, myths and kinship system (Chapman 1982). They lived in the eastern tip of Isla Grande, and unlike the Yámana, they did not use canoes. Finally, the Alacaluf were also canoe maritime hunter-gatherers. Their vast territory included the continental shores and islands of western Patagonia and western Fuegian islands.

There is clear evidence that all these aboriginal societies wore body painting, yet the amount and quality of the available information is only enough to pursue a thorough research in the Yámana and Selk'nam cases. Where relevant, the Haush and Alacaluf cases will be commented and briefly analysed.

Map I. Geographical location of Tierra del Fuego and territories of aboriginal societies.

b) Research problems and goals.

The main aim of this research project is to characterise the production and use (wearing and viewing) of body paintings in Tierra del Fuego in order to analyse how and why body paintings were involved in different social situations in the Selk'nam and Yámana societies of Tierra del Fuego. In particular, the involvement of body painting production and use in the production and reproduction of social roles and relations (mainly based on age, gender, and on the involvement of people in different activities) will be studied.

This entails a series of implications in relation to the dynamics that underlay body painting practices, since by focusing on the social roles and relationships involved in the uses of this particular product of material culture, its linkages and mutual influences with other spheres of society, such as subsistence, technology, mythical beliefs, etc., can be unveiled. The ideological, political and economic aspects and cognitive elements inherent to body painting production and use will also be explored, and their implications for the Yámana and Selk'nam social structures will be analysed.

An appropriate theoretical framework that can help in shedding light on the intricate complex of simultaneous aspects influencing and influenced by body painting will therefore be developed. Special emphasis will be put on the economic, technical and visual-cognitive processes inherent to its production, wearing and viewing. As it will be shown, these were crucial not only for bringing body painting into existence, but also to achieve the effects that some of the paintings had on the viewers, to continue the transmission of production traditions, and to actively generate internal social divisions. Other theoretical research problems of more specific scope will also be proposed and explored, especially the linkages of the visual features of the designs to their representational or non-representational qualities.

The proposal of this theoretical framework and discussion of these problems is then one of the aims of this project. The application of the analytical perspective to the cases under study can show how these concepts work in practice. In turn, it can be applied to other cases.

This research project aims to develop the analysis of body painting practices in Tierra del Fuego by examining the visual and written records that document them. In dealing with them, methodological issues have been raised and strict criteria have been followed to critically use the information they provide. A specific methodology has also been developed in order to deal with the visual information in a quantitative manner. Again, these methods are applicable to other cases, and their development is also an aim

of this project.

c) Relevance of the research.

Up to the present, research has largely ignored the visual productions of the Fuegian societies, which mainly consist of body painting, and to a much lesser extent, of artefact decoration. In previous works, body painting has been briefly mentioned, in a rather descriptive manner, as a feature of the aboriginal cultures, but it has not been the subject of thorough analysis.

The results of this research project will help fill this void by analysing the various features that characterise the designs, their display, and the techniques involved in their production. The new knowledge about the dynamics of these visual productions will also be linked to the already known information about other areas of these societies, such as their myths, kinship, technology, subsistence, mobility and settlement patterns.

Body painting is a very ephemeral material culture production of very low archaeological visibility, and for this reason this research project is based on the analysis of written and visual information provided by historical and ethnographic records¹. Archaeological data are also analysed, but to a much lesser extent, since such evidence provides only relevant information for specific areas of the research topic, such as the uses of pigments and painting tools, but clearly cannot cover other crucial aspects of body painting, especially those related to the designs and their display. Archaeologists usually employ historical and ethnographic records (usually texts) to generate hypotheses and/or explanations that can help in the analysis of the archaeological record. The use of historical and ethnographic sources in this thesis takes a different stance: these documents are considered here as sources of evidence in themselves. In this project, the photographs that record body paintings worn by the Selk'nam and the Yámana are considered as artefacts that record visual information about the body painting designs and techniques. To analyse such information, a systematic method of quantitative and qualitative analysis has been developed, in order to make their study as rigorous and consistent as possible. This kind of methodology is not usually developed in the area of body painting studies, possibly because the authors

¹ I use the term historical records to refer to the documents made by observers such as colonisers, travellers or missionaries, which recorded evidence about the aboriginal societies as a part of a much wider recording aim, while the term ethnographic records refers to those made specifically with the aim of recording aboriginal socio-cultural habits, also with specific methodologies. I am aware that such distinction is not clear in some cases of early voyagers or missionaries, who did have the intention of gaining 'scientific'/systematic knowledge about a certain social group.

usually rely on their own first-hand ethnographic observations, which is not the case in this project. Because both visual and written records have been generated by other agents rather than the aborigines (as it would be the case of the archaeological record), the construction of these records has been critically analysed in order to assess the unavoidable influences of the recorders in the recorded information. Such critical analysis has a parallel to the study of the formation processes of the archaeological record, and could be termed ‘the formation processes of the ethnographic record’.

The use of historical-ethnographic evidence in an archaeological research project also allows to focus on aspects of material culture production and use which are usually not addressed by archaeological analysis of hunter-gatherer contexts, because of their low archaeological visibility and therefore accessibility to study. Such is the case of the social implications of technology, the social division of labour and of informational capital, and their potential ideological and political manipulation.

In the study of hunter-gatherer visual productions, other aspects, which do have archaeological visibility, have also been less developed. In particular, the technological and economic processes involved in the creation and display of art images and objects are usually not the centre of analysis, due to an over-emphasis on their ideational and symbolic aspects, based on their representational qualities.

My aim is both to identify all these aspects and link them in the study of the dynamics of body painting production and display, and to contribute in opening possible ways in which some of them could be pinpointed in the archaeological record. Therefore, as noted above, the project will also generate theoretical and methodological perspectives which are useful for analysing the art of other societies. Hence its relevance goes beyond the Fuegian cases and contributes to the discussion of general concepts about visual productions, through an archaeology of the ethnographic record.

d) Structure of this thesis.

This thesis is structured in 7 chapters. Chapter 1 focuses on the theoretical and methodological framework that guides the research, from the gathering and assessment of the data to their analysis and interpretation. Chapter 2 presents a history of the formation of the written and visual records, followed by the background data about the Selk’nam and Yámana societies.

Chapter 3 develops a series of topics related to the development of body painting in time and space. It includes a) an analysis of the diachronic variation of the values that body painting had for the western observers, b) a preliminary study of the

similarities and differences between the Fuegian and Patagonian body paintings, and of the possible influences that insularity may have had in such visual productions, c) a presentation of the observations of the Fuegian body paintings in terms of the seasonality and regional distribution, and d) the basic features that characterise the body paintings, and the similarities and differences between the Selk'nam, Yámana and their neighbour Fuegian societies, the Haush and Alacaluf.

Chapter 4 focuses on the study of the technical processes involved in body painting production, and their social implications for the producers and viewers. This includes the processes of transmission of technical knowledge and their consequences in the distribution of informational capital, which in turn actively influence the formation of social roles and relationships. Also, the contribution of technique to the overall purpose, meanings and outcomes of body painting display is analysed.

Chapter 5 presents the analysis of everyday life and special occasions paintings, while chapter 6 develops the study of ceremonial body paintings. In both cases, the analysis focuses on the aims and consequences of the display of the paintings for wearers and viewers, as well as on the search for visual codes that underlay the plastic composition of the designs, and their representational and non-representational qualities, and their suitability for specific circumstances.

Finally, chapter 7 presents a synthetic comparative analysis of the results achieved for the Selk'nam and Yámana societies, and develops a series of conclusions about the relevance, limitations and applicability of the theoretical and methodological framework used in the thesis for further studies of material culture visual productions.



Plate I. Current view of Fuegian landscape from the Beagle Channel.

Chapter 1.

Theoretical and methodological framework.

Body painting in three dimensions.

1.1. Introductory concepts on body painting analysis.

1.1.1. Body painting: a definition.

Body painting can be defined as the application of paint to the human body. Paint is formed by *pigments*, which act as colouring substances, and a *binding medium* which gives cohesion to the mixture and helps it adhere to the surface of the object where the paint is applied. This surface acts in turn as the *support* of the painting. In body painting, the support is the body skin and sometimes its hair too, especially when the head is covered with paint.

Body painting can have both visual features, related to the plastic features of the designs created on the skin, and pragmatic features, related to its capacity to cover the skin and insulate it from environmental conditions such as cold, humidity, sunshine, etc. The two kinds of features are not mutually exclusive, and can be combined as functions of the same body painting product. Both are the subject of study in this project, although the evidence from Tierra del Fuego is much more extensive in relation to the former than to the latter feature of body painting.

Because of its visual features, body painting can be considered as a kind of “body art” or “body ornament”¹. Body ornaments are conceived here as transformations

¹ The concepts of art and ornament are not unproblematic. The adequacy of the term ‘art’ to refer to non-western visual creations has long been discussed, given its western origin and value-laden definitions, mainly focused on the role of the individual creator and the aesthetically pleasing contemplation of the art object (Morphy 1999: 442). Moreover, as traditionally formulated, the concept of art did generally not include creations such as ornaments and decoration, regarding them as having a lower level of importance. Nevertheless, several authors have convincingly argued that the term art can in fact be applied cross-culturally to study non-western visual productions because it can lead to fruitful results relating not just to their aesthetic properties, but to their functions within society too (Layton 1991a, Morphy 1994, Wolf 1993). To this, it can be added that such analysis of these productions can broaden and sharpen the art concept itself, since new and different cases can pose new questions and challenges and shed light on new aspects and dynamics of art existence. Furthermore, the argument that the concept of art should not be applied to other societies because of its ethnocentric underpinnings can be contested by noting that following this trend, the use of other concepts such as subsistence, religion or technology should also not be applied cross-culturally unless it could firstly be confirmed that such concepts are indigenous to the society under study. Finally, denying the possibility that other societies could produce art (in spite of its very different and socio/cultural-dependant dynamics) falls into the ethnocentric perspective that such a proposition is precisely trying to avoid (Fiore 1996). The definition of *visual art* used in this thesis is a very broad one, including objects and images (made on portable and non-portable objects, and on people’s bodies) which have visual plastic features (see section 1.1.3.) and potentially semantic properties which are used for presentational and sometimes representational purposes (Morphy 1994: 655), and can communicate contents (Layton 1991a: 4-6). This concept will nevertheless be narrowed to body art, given the nature of the research topic.

The concept of “body ornament” is related to the notion of ornamentation or decoration, which

of the body which involve a) the shaping, removal and/or re-positioning of body parts (usually involving skin and hair, as in scarring or in hair dressing) and/or b) the addition of artificial elements to the body (for example ink, paint, fibres, etc., as in tattooing, body painting, wearing necklaces, bracelets, rings, etc.).

Body ornaments can be *ephemeral*, lasting hours or some days from the moment of production until the result has vanished or has been purposely withdrawn, or *long-lasting*, possibly for life. Body painting is clearly an ephemeral type of ornament, since it can vanish accidentally, be intentionally erased, or wear away within a short lapse of time. These qualities, it will be shown in this thesis, are not just insignificant side-features of this ornamenting and image-making technique, but rather play crucial parts in achieving specific effects when the paintings are worn and viewed.

In contrast to long-lasting ornaments, which can sometimes be detected in archaeological contexts, body painting has almost no archaeological visibility, although its production might be indirectly inferred from evidence such as colouring substances, painting tools and representations of painted individuals in rock art, portable art, etc. Given these limitations, historical and ethnographic records will be used in this project to generate data about the Yámana and Selk'nam body paintings, while archaeological information will play a comparatively subsidiary role (see section 1.3 on materials and methods).

1.1.2. The state of the art in body painting studies.

In comparison with the study of other visual art forms, the literature on body painting analysis is much less extensive. For this reason, I have also reviewed and included examples of studies of other body ornaments such as tattooing and scarring, to use as a background against which the proposed theoretical and methodological framework can be developed. Nevertheless, the number of works is still small. Also, very few of these studies deal with historical or ethnographic records, while the highest proportion is based on first-hand anthropological observations made by the researchers themselves. Maybe for this reason, the data analysis methods used by the authors are

usually entails the idea that such creations were devoid of any other function than enhancing the beauty of a person or an object. Although this function is clearly present in body ornaments, this concept is proposed here with no such restriction, and other parallel social functions like marking and creating roles and statuses, or communicating feelings or other contents are also included in the definition of ornament.

exclusively qualitative.

Consistently with their low number, it also seems that no specific different theoretical trends exist *within* the area of body ornament analysis. Rather, these studies, submerged in the broader field of anthropology (and much less in archaeology), seem to have followed its main theoretical trends. In fact, the conceptual differences found in the works can in general be clearly linked to specific anthropological or, more broadly, 'social' theories (such as structuralism, marxism, semiology, hermeneutics, etc.), but these frameworks do not seem to have defined any specific trends within the field of body ornament studies.

For these reasons, I will not write a history of research based on a literature review of body ornament studies. Rather, I will include and discuss the cases analysed by various authors within the theoretical framework developed for this project (section 1.2) to show the background on which the proposed concepts are based.

1.1.3. Body painting and image analysis.

Many analytical approaches have been proposed for the study of visual art images. In the field of art history, the seminal work of Panofsky (1972: 15) established a clear systematic perspective, indicating that art could be analysed on three different levels: pre-iconographic, iconographic and iconological. These levels mark the existence of a formal aspect of art based on its plastic features (the pre-iconographic level), which could be analytically distinguished from the way it encoded and conveyed meaning in relation to visual and semiotic conventions (the iconographic and iconological levels). Although the distinction of these levels is useful and relevant, it does focus almost entirely on the visual and semiotic factors of art, leaving on a second plane the dynamics involved in the handling of art objects, and in their production.

Not surprisingly, in the area of the anthropology of art, the analytical levels proposed are more inclusive and also comprise and emphasise the functional aspects of the art objects and/or of the images embedded in them (Layton 1991a: 4, Morphy 1994: 442). This is mainly due to the fact that in past and non-western societies art is not readily a separated category of object as in western society (or at least as it is claimed to be), and quite often overlaps with other object categories such as decorated hunting weapons or ritual objects of initiation (ibid). Yet, as discussed above, this does not prevent the study of these forms of art, but rather requires special attention to develop the appropriate analytical levels.

According to Layton (1991a: 4), art can be approached cross-culturally from two

points of view: that of aesthetics, considering works of art as objects produced with the intention of being aesthetically pleasing, and that of art as communication, which defines it as a particular – apt – way of using the images². A similar proposal is made by Morphy, who states that art can be analysed from three main perspectives: aesthetic (focusing on the aesthetic effect or expressive qualities of art objects), iconographic (analysing the way objects encode, represent or create a particular meaning), and functional (studying the uses of objects in ritual and religion, the marking of value or the making of something pleasing) (Morphy 1994).

In this project I mainly follow these authors' proposals, although with a few modifications and shifts of emphasis. Art, in this case body painting, will be analysed from three different and complementary levels: visual, functional and technical. The *visual* level includes the formal and iconographic study of the images. The *formal analysis* deals with the study of the plastic features of the design, which are visually perceptible. It tackles the plastic composition of the – in this case – painted images, in order to search for their internal structure, and their possible coincidence with the composition of other designs, which would show the existence of patterns and hence of conventions. This level does include the potential aesthetic effect of the designs, but exceeds the aesthetic search and also considers other possible visual purposes which may not be related to pleasing the viewer, but rather generating other reactions such as shock or disgust. Hence the visual level of analysis is not focused on searching for the achievement of aesthetic effect (which in many cases was in fact achieved) but mainly on the visual properties of the images' designs (form, colour, size, position, orientation, texture and repetition, see details in section 1.3.1.2.3.), because it is through them that patterns of visual construction can then be derived and further analysed.

The results of the formal analysis provide information about the structure of the plastic composition of the design, achieved through the combination of the visual features mentioned above. Based on these results, the *iconographic analysis* focuses on the study of how images represent referents, and how these encode and convey possible meanings through specific arrangements of visual properties of the designs. Iconographic analyses can be carried out only in some of the cases under study, depending both on their being representational designs (and hence being suitable for

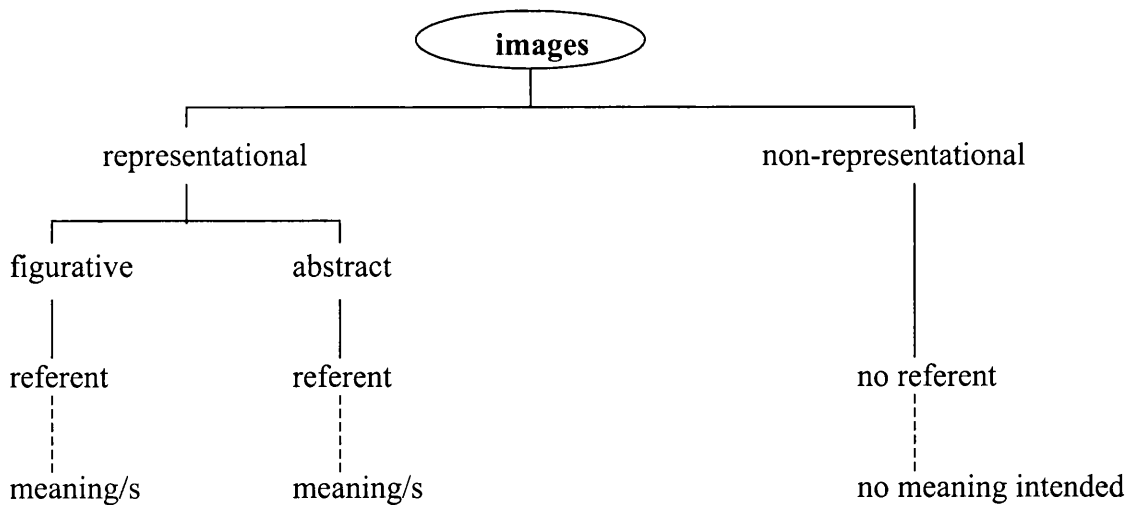
² Such analytical division helps in pinpointing crucial aspects which interact in the constitution of art images and objects, generating a product that includes and even exceeds these individual features: "The fact that both symbolism and aesthetics have so frequently been thought of as crucial elements of art – be it poetry, drama, sculpture or painting – seems to suggest rather that they may constitute alternative realizations of a more general goal and that this more general quality is the core of art" (Layton 1991a: 6).

iconographic study), and on the availability of information to infer their representational status and decode the representations. Hence, the visual analysis will be iconographic when possible, but will in many cases remain at a formal, pre-iconographic level.

The *functional* analysis focuses on studying all the purposes, outcomes and effects of the creation and use of visual productions, in this case body paintings, with the aim of understanding the social dynamics involved throughout their existence. This level includes the possible and usual function of art images in conveying a message generated by the makers, creating meanings that are interpreted by the viewers. Hence the potential representational nature of art is included within this level, because it is regarded as *one* of its functions. By doing so, the often overemphasised symbolic and meaningful function of art images and objects (e.g. Danto 1981: 3) is put in context together with other possible functions that they may have had.

The emphasis on the meanings of visual art has in fact two shortcomings that need to be borne in mind. In the first place, the representational quality of images should not be taken for granted. This point has been the subject of long debate in art analysis (e.g. Munn 1966 and 1973, Forge 1973, Maynard 1972, 1977, Layton 1991b) and it is essential to clarify the perspective from which it will be tackled here. Representational images may depict visible or non-visible referents (both material and conceptual), in abstract (non-iconic) or figurative (iconic) ways - that is, involving different degrees of visual resemblance with the appearance of the referent, whether 'natural' or culturally agreed. Moreover, beyond their denotative linkages with the referent, representational images may also have one or various meanings or connotations (e.g. a white dove may mean 'peace' or the 'holy ghost'). Non-representational images do not have linkages to a referent, although this does not forbid them from having social implications, and from the possibility of acquiring meanings after they have been created (see graphic 1.1).

Graphic 1.1. Classification of representational and non-representational images.



In the second place, the distinction between representational and non-representational images is sometimes not useful, because even if they were representational, in some cases it is impossible to gain access to the represented meanings, because of the lack of oral or written information to explain them and/or the way they were encoded in the images (Layton's comment on Davis 1986: 205). Yet it is crucial to bear it in mind when addressing images of little-known contexts, precisely because it is possible to fall into the trap of classifying images with certain visual properties, such as geometric figures or intricate lines as non-representational, only because the modern/western viewer does not have access to the code through which these may be/have been interpreted by aboriginal makers and viewers.

Other functions, such as the generation of expressive effects which focus on the affective component of human interaction through the display and reaction to art images (Tanner 1992:174), or the marking of social roles and relationships through wearing specific designs (Turner 1980), will also be studied.

The notion that art is always representational stems from an assumption about its mimetic capacities, which should itself be revised (Sontag 1995). This does not mean that non-representational art does not hold links with its context: art not only bears the marks of its context, it also contributes to its production. Hence the relationship between art and its referents and art and its contexts should not be equated. The functional analysis will focus then on all the dynamics of production and use of body painting, both in explaining how the context influenced it and how in turn it constructed a part of social reality.

Finally, the *technical* level focuses on the analysis of the techniques involved in the production and uses of visual art. Technique clearly generates the images themselves, which are created with material means that have been obtained and modified in order to produce a particular visual effect. And, as it will be shown in this thesis, technique also contributes in fulfilling some of the purposes of body painting, and therefore it contributes to its functions. But it has been singled out as a distinct analytical level to compensate for the usual unbalanced weight put on the aesthetic, perceptual and meaning aspects of art, disregarding the importance of its materiality.

The theoretical background and implications of the functional and technical levels of art analysis (which will sometimes be referred to as ‘contextual’) will be developed in section 1.2. Further details on the formal plastic features studied in the visual analysis are described and explained in section 1.3.1.2.3. on methodology.

1.2. Body painting as a visual production: a three dimensional perspective.

1.2.1. Disentangling simultaneous dimensions. Or why visual productions are not exclusively symbolic ideational constructs.

The study of hunter-gatherer art and ‘ethnographic art’ is usually, though not exclusively, tackled from a symbolic perspective, with the aim of analysing the way it encodes and communicates meanings. Hence, the existence of art within society is often related to what can be loosely called ideational or ideological³ contents, including myths, beliefs, rituals, kinship, etc. which influence art and are expressed through it too. This perspective includes in fact several theoretical frameworks, and the reason why these are lumped here under this broad label is because they all share in common a main stance in viewing art as a symbolic ideational construct. This position is based on some explicit and implicit conceptions which make it incomplete and liable to overlook some other crucial aspects of art’s existence, mainly related to its material features, techniques and production processes. These, in turn, have deep ontological implications, and hence need to be explored.

Two main conceptions underlie the symbolic perspective of art analysis. The first one is related to the idea that art is a representation of a content, for if art is a symbol, it is a symbol of something else. There is no need to argue that this is certainly the case with many art creations, which represent religious ideas, mythical ancestors,

³ The term ideology can have several meanings, and, as will be shown below, it will be used with a narrower and stricter definition in this thesis.

kinship linkages, etc. But the extension of this circumstance to all art products is certainly inaccurate, given that some art creations are *not* representational, as noted above. Moreover, the notion that art is a representation of a symbolic content reinforces the idea that a *previously existent* content is expressed by art, hence giving it a mainly passive role as a vehicle for these contents. Yet studies on the ways people engage in art creation and react to its viewing show in turn how it can actively contribute in the construction of meanings and of social relations (Freedberg 1989, Tanner 2000a). I will return to this point below, and in the course of other chapters.

The second conception that underlies the symbolic perspective of art analysis is the identification of art with ideology, thought, perception, feelings and cognition, all basically mental features, while other social productions, for example subsistence or technology, are usually identified with economy (Fiore 1993, Alvarez and Fiore 1993, Nielsen 1995, Fiore 1996). This identification of specific products with specific domains of society is quite pervasive in most archaeological and anthropological literature, yet it remains mostly implicit and is hardly ever explicitly stated and explored.

Only a few papers have explicitly developed this strict association, though their authors are not necessarily the founders of these widespread conceptions. Schiffer's classification of the functions of artefacts according to their activity-specific capabilities, or performance characteristics, into techno-functions, socio-functions and ideo-functions points precisely towards this direction, since it indicates that certain objects have specific "properties that affect their suitability for interacting in specific ways" (Schiffer 1995: 24)⁴. This is clear in one of his examples of these functions:

"clay vessels used for everyday cooking need to possess an adequate level of thermal shock resistance and heating effectiveness. Pottery vessels used for serving in a feast must also have decorations that are socially appropriate for that activity. Similarly, only objects of a highly specific form, such as a crucifix or Star of David, can in various activities symbolize particular religious beliefs. Performance characteristics are at the nexus of artifacts, people and activities." (ibid: 24-25).

These classifications bear a clear implication that certain kinds of artefacts are strictly linked to certain kinds of domains or spheres of society. It could be stated that these classifications are highlighting the main purposes of artefacts, those for which

⁴ Binford (1962) published a somehow similar classification of artefacts according to their primary functions – socio-technical, ideo-technical and technomic. Yet such classification does pinpoint the relationship between technology and every sphere of artifact production, hence it does not restrict the existence of technical aspects to only certain products.

they are most functional and by which a social group operates with them. But these canonical functions are not the only ones that artefacts have within any context. Hence the conceptual consequences of this strict identification of certain social products with specific social domains need to be taken into account. Schiffer's 'techno-function' of the everyday cooking vessels implies the conception that technique is mainly a means to efficiently fulfil a practical end. The technique and materials with which a Star of David was made, are crucial not just to its material existence, but also involve its producers, viewers, worshippers in different ways, and may well be an important part of its meaning (is it the same if it was made of wood or of gold?, is it the same if it was made by hand in Israel as if it is a mass-production object made mechanically in China?). A religious object such as the Star of David is not exclusively ideological and certainly involves technical and economic aspects too.

Conversely, it is also the case that other production spheres, such as subsistence and technology, are not exclusively related to economy, but also bear important ideological aspects. The case of the Yámana not eating foxes because they in turn could have eaten human cadavers and hence they would be committing cannibalism is a strong example of an ideational aspect of subsistence (see chapter 2). Ideological aspects of technology have been recently pointed out by some researchers (e.g. Pfaffemberger 1992, Sigaut 1994, Ingold 1997), who showed how techniques contribute not just to their practical, mechanical aspects of objects, but to their social functions too. Following this idea, it will be shown in this thesis that body painting techniques were not mere neutral means to get the body painted, and that they had deeper implications concerning people's actions, reactions, roles and statuses within society.

Having pointed then to the general theoretical issues that will be tackled, the next three sections provide an account of the three dimensions⁵ that are considered as constitutive of the creation of body painting as visual art. The last section summarises the linkages of these three dimensions and points to their analytical division but common origin.

⁵ I have chosen the term 'dimension' because of its implications for the constitution of the geometry of a volume, in which each dimension of an object is distinguishable, yet inseparable in practice from the other dimensions, since they interact by criss-crossing each other. Nevertheless, it should be reminded that these are only analytical distinctions, and that the arrangement of different aspects in these

1.2.2. First dimension: body painting and other social spheres of production.

This first theoretical dimension focuses on the relations of body painting to other spheres of production. The spheres of production can be defined as areas of social activity in which certain kinds of products, which are not always necessarily or entirely material, are generated. This dimension highlights the relationship of body painting production and use (considered as within the visual productions sphere) to several other spheres, such as myths and religion, kinship, technology, subsistence, etc.⁶. In doing so, some of the overlaps between these spheres, as well as the feedback generated among them, can be brought to light.

Consequently, this can show some of the interactions of spheres which are specifically significant for body painting creation, wearing and viewing, stressing the fluidity of human actions, which can be 'framed' in these analytical categories only for research purposes, but are highly dynamic in practice. In the study of body painting this overlapping of different social spheres is emphasised by the fact that body painting can be *worn* while the individuals engage in activities such as hunting, tool making, dancing, story telling, etc.

Several analytical issues can be discussed within this dimension. Their selection depends on two factors: the available data about the spheres that interacted in the production and use of body painting by a certain society, and the interests of the researcher. For these reasons, I have selected the following:

- a) the visual expression and construction of mythical contents and cultural values via body painting production and display
- b) the recursive influences between body painting and kinship
- c) the influences that body painting technology has on the images' intended purposes and outcomes

Of these, I am particularly interested in the third one, because, as will be shown below, technology is an aspect of image making that is usually only tackled from a descriptive point of view, underestimating the informative potential it offers. All these issues, in turn, are related to the construction and reproduction of social roles and relationships which, as I intend to show, were partly generated through the practice of painting the body.

The involvement of myths and cultural values in body ornamentation is possibly

dimensions remains, to an extent, arbitrary, since it can be viewed in different ways.

⁶ Various other spheres can also be considered, and these are by no means the only ones, but are pointed

the most frequent focus of analysis in the study of these creations. The work of Kaeppler (1988) on Hawaiian tattoos is an example of this: “like other Hawaiian art forms, tattoo was a visual manifestation of social relationships among people, the gods, and the universe that changed over time”, and that “tattoo was primarily a protective device, and a function of genealogy” (Kaeppler 1988: 157). The protective function of the Hawaiian tattoos, placed on the front of the body of the warrior, is reinforced by the fact that “the chief’s shoulders, back and head were protected by feathered cloaks and helmets, but the front of the body, the spear throwing arm, the inside and outside of the legs, the ankles, and the hands needed protection” (Kaeppler 1988: 168). Hence the purpose and meanings of the tattoos and their bodily position are shown to be linked to the myths and values they expressed.

Vogel’s studies on scarification worn by the Baule (from Ivory Coast) show that these scars function as a way of relating and distinguishing society and nature, that is, as a “mark of civilisation” (1988: 97). Scarification circumscribes those who are considered as civilised and distinguishes them from the uncivilised persons, whose human condition is nevertheless not denied by the Baule (idem: 100). This case is different from that of the Bafia of Cameroon who consider that “a man who is not scarred looks like a pig or a chimpanzee” (Thévoz 1986: 50).

The case of the Yoruba (Benin and Nigeria), studied by Drewal and Drewal (1988) shows the superposition of aesthetic and ‘socio-idiosyncratic’ functions of body scarring or “kolo”. These scars function as statements about “the fortitude and endurance of the individual” (ibid), since their display indexes the existence of a generative force called *ase*, which is the “absolute power present in all things” (idem: 94).

A final example is the study of self-decoration in Mount Hagen (New Guinea) in which the superimposition of at least three different ‘messages’ was found: one, the signalling of an individual in a specific role (as a donor at an exchange festival, as a warrior, as a big-man, etc.); a second one, the attribution to the actor of an emotional state considered as appropriate for a certain role; a third content, the demonstration of abstract and ideal qualities which are important social values, such as the bright costumes of the dancers in exchange festivals, which indicate their prosperity and express their harmony with the ancestors (Strathern and Strathern 1971: 171, 172).

These studies clearly show the existence of linkages between body ornaments, myths and cultural values. But, possibly because of the assumed (and sometimes real)

primacy of the representational and meaningful aspects of body painting and other image creations, such topic has been the main focal point of analysis, when clearly other aspects are also involved in generating these productions.

The study of kinship has also been analysed within the area of body ornament studies. In the case of the Nuba (Sudan), studied by Faris (1972, 1978, 1983, 1988), kinship and gender are two crucial variables upon which body ornaments are structured. Women are oiled and painted according to their patri-clan section until they give birth, after that moment, they and their offspring are signalled with the husband's patri-clan colour; hence, as Faris notes, there are no visual diacritics which mark the matri-clan section membership (1988: 34). Women also receive sets of scars marking different stages of their physiological changes (including their sexuality and maternity life), which clearly refer to their reproductive capabilities. No marking of their productive activities is carried out. In contrast, men receive body decorations which mark their productive status and the changes they undergo in these roles: "The most elaborated form is peculiar to the most productively elaborate division –males between about 17 of age and 27 years to 30 years of age." (Faris 1988: 35). Hence kinship and gender relations are both marked and constructed via body ornamentation, and are in turn linked to the productive and biological reproductive roles of men and women.

The case of the Kayapo from the southern Amazonian border, studied by Turner (1980) is another example of the creation and marking of kinship relations through body ornamentation. Bodily adornments are used in different stages of the relations of the individual with the family: first, when the person is seen as an extension of his/her parents' natural powers of reproduction; second, when the individual is detached from this unity and integrated to the social life of the community, hence developing the powers to create a family of his/her own; third, when this second 'natural' family is expanded and the individual becomes a parent-in-law, ascending to the prestigious role of household head. This process is visually constructed by two different painting styles: a detailed, time-consuming one for the children, who wear individually unique designs made by their mothers or other relations and show their common identity with their families, and a non-detailed, expedient and stereotyped one, worn by the adults, who thus show their collective and socialised status. It is clear then that in this case kinship and age are two structuring variables of the body ornament process.

In the aboriginal Australian cases, such as the Alawa, the analysis of the uses and interpretation of the meanings of the body designs require understanding the

mythical background on which they are embedded. According to these myths, the world was formed during a period called “dream time”⁷, in which hero’s that were half human and half animal, generated the rules of social behaviour, left marks on the land by creating sacred sites when travelling along the territory, and established rituals which are still currently carried out and in which re-enact the hero’s travels (Layton 1989: 3). These ancestral beings were the first to apply designs on their own bodies (Dussart 1997: 188).

The way of ‘reading’ the meaning of these designs is particularly complex (see section on visual properties below), since several layers of contents and interpretations are parallel and superimposed on the same motif. Hence, knowledge about the various and complete meanings of paintings is “exclusive religious property, controlled by older men and displayed in ritual, on which men’s political power largely rests (Bern 1979). Young men are initiated by admission to these ceremonies” (Layton 1989: 4). Mythical knowledge, gender division and power are then intertwined in the action of interpreting the visual information of Australian paintings. The latter factor, in turn, implies that body painting involves also a political use (see section 1.2.4 below).

As will be shown through the analysis, the Australian case shows a number of similarities with the Fuegian cases under study, in which the revelation of important sections of mythical knowledge (including the mythical reasons for the use of body painting) occurred during the ritual practices involving body painting production. Hence, the active role of body painting will be stressed, since it will be argued that it was not only a means to express mythical contents, but was also a way to constructing these contents, making them 'tangible' and hence reinforcing the beliefs on them.

But it should be noted that kinship is not necessarily involved in all cases of the functions of body ornaments. For example, Baule scars are not made to identify individuals belonging to a particular family, subgroup or clan, nor to mark initiation status (Vogel 1988: 101). So, as with any other social sphere or variable, kinship should not be assumed as an intervening factor in the body painting process until its influence can be adequately demonstrated. In the cases under study, there is only enough information about kinship and body painting for certain specific Selk’nam paintings (those worn during the *kewanix* dance). The analysis will show that kinship was indeed involved in these paintings, but that its involvement was not directly expressed through

⁷ The expression “dream time” comes from the belief that these moral rules and laws were transmitted from these heroes, or ancestral beings, to the aborigines ancestors when they were asleep.

a straightforward visual code, and that other variables were also shaping the creation of these designs.

The third sphere to which body painting will be related in this thesis is that of technology. The creation and uses of technical resources to materially produce the body paintings have been subject to study by some researchers. For example, Dussart (1997:188, 189) notes that the function of the traditional body painting of the Warlpiri (Australia) is related to their duration, that is, to their non-permanent condition. The body painting should last during the ceremony (about half a day), and it is used to call up the ancestral beings together with songs and dances. After the ceremonies have ended, the paintings are erased from the body, so that the powers do not remain; these body painting powers stem from the ritual context, and “an essential aspect of its execution is its temporary nature.” (ibid). The ephemeral nature of body painting technique is here related to the power they can unleash in a specific ceremonial context.

In the Hawaiian case, the art of tattoo “emphasised the process rather than the product: it used pigment and human skin in such a way that design elements were formalised into meaningful combinations which were done with skill and served some purpose in traditional Hawaiian society.” (Kaeppler 1988: 157). Kaeppler’s analysis also shows that the function of a body ornament can be embedded in the production process itself of the ornament: “the tattooing process was carried out in conjunction with the chanting of sacred prayers that protected the warrior, especially those of high rank. The process of puncturing the skin during the recitation of a prayer could capture the prayer and envelop the owner with permanent sacred protection.” (Kaeppler 1988: 168).

The process of painting, and not just the result, was also significant in the Kayapo case of Amazonia, in which the child is required to lie still and be painted by an adult member of his/her family. Turner regarded this process as crucial for the socialisation of the child (1980:123-124). The specific techniques and tools used during the painting of Kayapo adults and children are also not neutral and indistinct but intentionally selected for each age group: while the adults were quickly painted with the hands, the children were painted with “a narrow stylus made from the central rib of a leaf” (ibid).

These examples show the potentiality of techniques-analysis when studying body painting practices. But, I suggest that these and other studies lack the necessary emphasis on and detailed description and analysis of the technical processes employed

in making the designs, which in turn may unveil further unknown dynamics involved in their creation.

As stated in the introduction (see also section 1.2.5), image making techniques generate the visual features of the designs, not only by creating them physically, but also providing them with the perceptible qualities that define their appearance. But technique, I propose, has also meanings and social implications that contribute to those of the designs painted on the body and viewed by others. To sustain this statement, it is important to review how technology can be defined and characterised.

The term technology can be used in a general way to refer to the whole technical system or technical sphere without specifying to which social group or time period it corresponds. It can also be used to refer to a group of techniques which generate a specific type of product, the type being defined either for the raw materials used, the kind of object obtained, the purpose for which it is used, etc. – e.g. ‘lithic technology’, ‘body painting technology’ or ‘hunting technology’⁸. Most (or possibly all) human actions involve a kind of technique, hence the technology sphere of society is a very expanded one, which partially overlaps with most the other spheres (e.g. with subsistence, with religion, with visual productions, etc.). In fact, technology does not exist in a void and always forms part of the planning, construction and/or use of a product.

A technique can be defined as a method or system of action and material culture production that structures the work process, in which many linked operations are carried out by a subject upon matter⁹ in order to generate and/or use products¹⁰, through the inter-related use of materials¹¹ and knowledge¹² (Vargas Arenas 1986; Pfaffenberger 1992: 497). Hence the human body is always involved in technical practices as the acting subject (sometimes even as a ‘tool’), and in some cases, as the ‘object’ upon which the techniques are used.

The engagement of a technique in the production and/or use of a material

⁸ There are nevertheless other definitions and uses of the term technology (see for example Sigaut 1994).

⁹ This involves any material entity, including the agent's own body or other person's bodies.

¹⁰ Products are considered here as any perceptible result of a human action, hence including from 'hard' material culture objects, ephemeral ones as a body painting, and other cultural results such as a determined voice pitch, a dancing or sports movement (Mauss 1979 (1934), Sigaut 1994).

¹¹ Likewise, materials include natural resources, portable and non-portable human-made objects and the body of the agent and of possible subjects of the action.

¹² Knowledge includes rational thought and perceptual thought, both of which are verbal and non-verbal (Gardner 1983, Arnheim 1986a; Pfaffenberger 1992). It also involves not only information about reality but also know-how (or procedural knowledge) and skills (personal/group talents). See section 1.2.4 on cognition.

involves a succession of stages that can be called production sequence (the term 'production' being used in a broad sense here, including use/consumption). These include obtaining raw materials, manufacturing new goods, using them, maintaining and recycling goods and managing waste disposal (Schiffer 1972). Production sequences can rarely be thought of happening independently of others, and in fact in general different stages of different sequences can overlap in one activity. For example, in the activity of decorating a ceramic vessel by incision with a bone burin, the stage of manufacture of the ceramic decoration sequence overlaps with the stage of use of the bone artefact sequence¹³. This overlap has been pointed by Lemmonier: "The use by some techniques of the products of others, as well as the existence of operational sequences or of technical principles in common creates among them multiple relations of interdependence, which confer on them a systemic character." (Lemmonier 1986: 154). This indicates the highly dynamic nature of technical processes, which can only be boxed in these categories for analytical purposes.

With the exception of a few researchers (e.g. Mauss 1979 (1934), Leroi Gourhan 1945), technology has been traditionally considered as a neutral means to pursue a pragmatic end which was dictated by a specific need. Consequently, technology has generally been accounted for in the form of descriptive catalogues of tools and techniques (Ingold 1997: 107) which actually offer little explanation of how and why these acts happen, and which generally keep untouched the preconceived assumptions mentioned above.

This 'standard view of technology' (Pfaffenberger 1992: 492) has been recently challenged by a new theoretical trend, which can be called the 'critical theory of technology' (Lemmonier 1986, 1993; Ingold 1986a, 1986b, 1988, 1997, Sillar and Tite 2000; Pfaffenberger 1988, 1992; Sigaut 1994). This perspective lacks homogeneity and complete consistency, since "... anthropologists are still in the first stages of their thinking on this subject, and have not yet achieved consensus on their conceptual vocabulary." (Sigaut 1994: 435).

This critical approach to the study of technology became possible when it started

¹³ In turn, the stages of production sequences (as defined by Schiffer 1972 in relation to the systemic context) can be seen as formed by *chaines operatoires* (sensu Pelegrin et al. 1988), which involve the succession of operations (mental and manual) to develop a certain task. Applying the tip of a rod dipped in paint onto the surface of the skin as a seal is a different operation than dragging it along to mark a line; it requires a different handling of the tool, a different movement of the hand and different knowledge and skill. Since the specific operations involved in body painting will not be described due to the lack of resolution in most of the technical information, this concept will not be used here. Instead only the production sequence stages will be described and discussed.

being recognised that even those scientists who were willing to “establish relations between the material environment of societies ... and their socioeconomic organization” did not pay enough attention to the “techniques themselves [which] are always considered as a given” (Lemmonier 1986: 152), a phenomenon wittily called ‘technological somnambulism’ by Pfaffemberger (1988: 238). As a consequence, “anthropology has contributed relatively little in this field. I think it is true to say that the study of technology is one of the most undeveloped aspects of the discipline (a view shared, *inter alia*, by Lemmonier 1986, Pfaffenberger 1988, 1992, Hornborg 1992).” (Ingold 1997: 106). Although this is true in relation to the small body of research dedicated to unveil the many aspects that structure the existence of technology, it is also true that within the small but growing scope opened by the critical theory of technology, many analytical and useful concepts have already been developed.

Based on the assumption that technology lies outside society, the standard view of technology has generated two opposed trends: technological determinism and technological possibilism (Ingold 1997: 107). The former regards technology as determinant of social change while the latter considers technology as an outer limit of society, but which exerts no influence on its dynamics. The implications of these two positions are quite clear: while technological determinism is clearly reductionist and does not take into consideration the influences of other spheres other than technology in social change, technological possibilism marginalises technology to an outer and secondary role which has no influence in social change. Both of them share in common the fact that they cannot offer an explanation of how and why technology is created by society in the first place, since it is always considered a given.

According to Costall, though recent perspectives on technology have stopped considering ‘things’ as neutral and meaningless, there is still the theoretical problem of how to tackle their analysis. This stems from “the failure to see that objects themselves exist in a social world” (Costall 1997: 77). People are not just passive users of objects, but are actively related to them when “designing them, maintaining them, ‘policing’ their use, and introducing them to others” (ibid). On the other hand, objects are also not neutral, both because they are made with certain intentions, which they sometimes fulfil, and because by forming part of the context in which human action is developed, they influence action by offering a certain range of possibilities or ‘affordances’¹⁴ that

¹⁴ The “affordances” were initially defined by Gibson in his ecological theory of visual perception, as the potential uses of things, which are “what things afford to behaviour” (Reed 1987: 98). Affordances are

can be developed with and upon them, including unintended outcomes. So there is a kind of 'double agency' underlying the question of objects' existence, since neither these nor people can be regarded as playing passive roles in their inter-relationship.

The emphasis on the social context of technology made by Costall (1997), Sigaut (1994), Pfaffenberger (1988, 1992), Ingold (1997) and others stems from the need to realise the fact that technology is embedded in society, which before the development of the critical theory of technology was almost completely neglected. Hence technology can be conceived as "humanized nature ... it is a fundamental *social* phenomenon; it is a social construction of the nature around us and within us, and once achieved, it expresses an embedded social vision." (Pfaffenberger 1988: 244). There is in fact no way in which technology cannot interact with society when all its constituents – knowledge, tools, materials, human labour, etc. – are socially created, valued and used. In Ingold's words, "technical relations are embedded in social relations, and can only be understood within this relational matrix, as one aspect of human sociality." (Ingold 1997: 107).

The neglect of the study of technology beyond a descriptive and utilitarian or mechanistic account has particularly affected the field of art analysis in archaeology and anthropology. This does not mean that art technology has not been studied at all, but rather that comparatively few researchers have accounted for its internal and specific dynamics (e.g. Leroi Gourhan 1945, 1965, Boas 1955, Semper in Podro 1982: 46, D'Errico 1991, Aschero 1988, Gell 1992). This problem stems, I propose, from the fact that researchers have been mainly concerned with the representational qualities of art images and hence have been focused on the study of the meaning and functions of images within society rather than with their technical production. One extreme consequence of this perspective can be found in the old method of chalking rock art petroglyphs to afterwards photograph and/or trace them. This procedure clearly shows that the only relevant aspect of rock art was considered to be design, and not technique. The lack of detailed analysis of body painting techniques in works of anthropologists who have had first-hand access to these practices points in the same direction.

Beyond the fact that some images are not-representational and may have no

properties of objects which are perceived by subjects, and hence they are always multiple and allow more than one use of the object in question. Norman (1988 in Pfaffenberger 1992: 502) proposed the application of this notion to the study of artefacts. Costall (1997) has also developed it his analysis of the social and cognitive aspects of technology.

meaning, it is usually considered that the meaning of images is only carried by the design. But techniques are not only a way of fulfilling a need and/or desire, they are also a way of constructing and expressing meanings. Techniques are meaningful both during the process of production in which they are involved, and when the product is finished, when it is used. In the former case, since techniques are embedded in a social context, the values of society impregnate with meaning the technical process of production itself. The fact that, for example, the maker of a Malangan - a burial statue of New Ireland, Oceania - has to wash his hands after carving it since it is believed that the material can burn his hands (Kühler 1988) is a clear example of this. Another case that exemplifies this point is that of the Yoruba: within the marks made by the Yoruba, which have different purposes, the *kolo* marks are those which proclaim the courage of the persons who dared to undergo enough pain to wear them, and that at the same time beautify the body. The designs marked on the body have then an "aesthetic power" which comes from the enhancement of the person's appearance, by the skilful practice of the artist, and by the courageous endurance of the individual thus decorated (Drewal 1988).

Also, the level of specificity of tools, techniques and technical knowledge for doing body painting in comparison to those involved in other productions can shed light on the availability of these elements to a restricted group or to the great majority of society. This, in turn, can help in explaining if and how the body painting technology in general, or some techniques in particular, had specific implications in the social functions of body painting production and use.

The qualities of each technique leave traces in the generated products, which clearly contribute to their subsequent performance during their use. An example of this is that the ephemeral quality of body painting can be used to embody certain roles momentarily and then reverse the situation by erasing it, while tattooing and scarification, which are permanent, cannot be used for such purpose, but can instead fixedly mark a specific acquired status. The extent to which these meanings can be inferred in an archaeological context is clearly limited. The existence of oral or written sources directly related to the context seems to be almost essential to allow this kind of interpretation. Yet awareness about these issues may shed light on the technical aspect of archaeological images and help in constructing new ways of seeing art techniques. For example, determining if a technique was used to produce only a certain kind of motif or if instead it was used to make any motif indiscriminately, can point to an intentional selection of technical procedures for specific designs, which in turn can

unveil the possible significance of techniques. Techniques can also be related to the activities carried out with the objects that bear the images, their spatial location, temporal continuation or change and labour investment, all of which have archaeological visibility.

The non neutrality of technique is then twofold: pragmatically, it already constitutes many of the features of the products hence influencing the construction of their affordances and further practical life in society; socially, the values of the technical process itself during production, and of its outcomes once the product is finished and can be used, link the meanings of techniques inextricably to the product's cultural life.

From this perspective, body painting is not considered here as just a 'final product'; instead, unravelling the processes through which it came into existence is also crucial for its analysis. As Molyneaux puts it for the case of pictures studies: "Each picture records traces of the situation of artistic production, including aspects of an artist's physical and intellectual state, translated through a brush, knife, or other tool into material features on the picture surface" (Molyneaux 1997: 110). This does not mean that visual art analysis can be reduced to the description of its physical qualities. Rather, as with any other material culture object, its physical qualities should be understood within the frame of human action, involving, in the body painting case, its production, wearing and viewing. "For visual art to be said to exist a 'work' must be produced. But, even although the work is the focus and can be studied and described as an artefact, *its real significance is to be found in its making and in its use.*" (Baynes 1975: 30, my emphasis).

Finally, the technological aspects of body painting production also have relevance on an inter-society scale, since focusing on the techniques, tools and materials used in body painting, and not only its designs, may a) help in building criteria for making comparisons between body painting productions in different societies, and, more importantly, b) shed light on different aspects of inter-social contact, showing if and what is being copied or inverted – in the sense of creating an opposed version of what is being taken as a source for copying (Levi Strauss 1982) –, what is not, and why. While the former could help in showing how production processes differ in relation to the social structures in which they are embedded, the latter could open the possibility of analysing the dynamics of body painting technology transmission, exchange and incorporation in a synchronic dimension. In this sense, this second aspect could show to what extent design and techniques are inter-dependent, and to which extent they can

independently change.

Body painting techniques are then considered here not as a neutral means to an end, but as a socially embedded creation which have their own meanings and implications, which contribute to those expressed and constructed by the painted images. As will be shown in chapter 4, the Selk'nam and Yamana body painting techniques clearly contributed, in some cases, to the meanings and effects that the paintings had for the viewers, while they had particular social values and implications for the producers' and wearers' roles. Knowledge about the use of these techniques was a means of producing and maintaining social division.

1.2.3. Second dimension: body painting and cognition.

Both in its production and in its use, body painting entails a cognitive dimension, since the processes of generating, wearing and viewing it (and acting in consequence) involve at least three aspects of knowledge: perception, thought, and memory. Perception and thought can be regarded as two domains which interact to generate knowledge. Although they involve different mechanisms, these two domains are considered by many authors in a non-linear and mostly non-hierarchical way, due to the fact that they cannot function separately in action, and that both are equally required to construct knowledge, broadly defined as the human capacity to generate information about the external world and the self, and to operate upon them (Gibson 1979, Piaget 1970, Costall 1991)¹⁵. Memory, in turn, criss-crosses thought and perception, since the process of remembering and forgetting knowledge is common to both (Connerton 1989, Küechler 1987, 1988).

Within the cognitive dimension there are at least three different aspects relevant to the study of body painting: a) the fundamental role of visual perception and visual knowledge in the construction, visualisation and possible interpretation of the painted designs, by wearers and viewers (and by the foreign observer too), b) the importance of

¹⁵ This trend opposes a previous opinion, rooted in the empiricist and rationalist philosophical trends, and in the classical Greek notion of perception as deceptive, that considered perception as a low order capacity whose only function was to input data for the high order thought/reason realm to process it, and which resulted, for example, in the postulation of behaviourism (e.g. Watson 1930). As opposed to this, different authors have proposed various theories about the non-hierarchical or semi-hierarchical subdivisions of human cognitive capacities and their inter-linkages: e.g. Gibson 1950, 1979, Piaget 1970, 1971, Vygotsky in Guimaraes Lima 1995, Fodor 1983, Gardner 1983, 1993, Costall 1991, Michotte 1991, Goleman 1996, Cosmides et al. 1992; see Wynn 1979, 1981, Mithen 1997 as examples of cognition studies in archaeology; see Arnheim 1986, Solso 1994 and Bloomer 1990 in relation to visual cognition

handling technical knowledge to create the paintings and to manipulate their effects, c) the role of memory in the transmission of visual information about the making of the designs, generating a visual tradition. The first of these points has been presented in section 1.1.3.m and further aspects are developed in section 1.3.1.2.3.; the second has been presented in section 1.2.1. I will then develop here the third point, related to the importance of *memory* in the construction of visual traditions.

The role played by memory in the conservation or transformation of traditions depends to an extent on which other information storage and retrieval resources are handled by the society. According to Connerton (1989:72), there are two fundamental types of social practice in which memory is ‘sedimented’: incorporating practices and inscribing practices. The former involves “messages that a sender or senders impart by means of their own current bodily activity, the transmission occurring only during the time that their bodies are present to sustain that particular activity.” (ibid: 72, 73), and is carried out by individuals and groups, no matter if intentionally or unintentionally. The latter occurs when “we do something that traps and holds information, long after the human organism has stopped informing”, and is mostly intentional (ibid). Both practices can be subjects of interpretation (ibid: 95)¹⁶.

This distinction is not just a methodological tool: its theoretical implications are particularly relevant for the present analysis. Given that body painting is ephemeral and has a short material existence and durability, if the society does not handle written language and does not construct any other type of artefact from which the plastic designs and the techniques can be copied or inspired (i.e. inscribing practices and resulting ‘inscribed artefacts’), then incorporating practices become essential elements in the transmission and reproduction of the visual designs, of their production process and of their subsequent uses. This includes remembering the visual design’s appearance and meanings (if these existed) as well as the visual principles underlying their composition and the technical ways to do them (and again, their possible social significance). Both remembering and transmitting these aspects related to body painting traditions may have been carried out on an ‘abstract’ verbal level and/or in a more practical way, through the process of production itself. The formal and informal

and art.

¹⁶ Connerton states that it is likely that many inscription practices are not conceivable without a component of incorporation (ibid: 76), which clearly stems from their definitions. Interestingly enough, the study of incorporating practices can be carried out by analysing evidence provided by inscribing practices. The present study is an example of this, since it intends to retrieve the construction of non-inscribing habits and traditions related to body painting, by studying two typically inscribing artefacts: visual records and written texts.

contexts and implicit and explicit ways of teaching and learning are clearly relevant here in generating different situations in which non-inscribing practices would be actively involved.

If the process of remembering these aspects was not fostered by inscribing practices, then incorporating practices may have been a crucial resource through which information was stored. These practices require the existence of performative activities which, in turn, require bodily automatism (Connerton 1989: 4-5). It is in the repeated performance of an action that this is incorporated by the body in such a way that it becomes automatic, and is remembered as a habit. These habits may be seen as incorporated knowledge, that is, as knowledgeable, but not necessarily entirely conscious actions. Hence, traditions are not only constructed by inscribing practices, and ‘cognitive memory’ (sensu Connerton 1989: 16) - which I would rather call ‘information memory’, since all memory is cognitive -, but they are also the result of incorporating practices, and ‘habit memory’ (ibid), through repeated acts of performance.

This is especially relevant for the cases under study, given the almost complete lack of inscribing practices in the Selk’nam society and the scarcity of these in the Yámana society (see details in chapter 3), which in turn suggests the importance that incorporating practices may have had in the transmission of body painting traditions. It is clear then that, in the absence of inscribing practices, the production process would not have only been related to the creation of body painting designs for a specific moment, but in a long term period, it would also have been the arena in which its various technical, social and symbolic aspects would have been transmitted, and incorporated.

1.2.4. Third dimension: body painting and ideology, politics and economy.

This third dimension focuses on the ideological, political and economic aspects that can be identified *within* body painting practices. As noted in section 1.2.1, this dimension of the analysis aims to break with a usually implicit association between certain production spheres and exclusively one particular aspect, such as subsistence with economy, or visual arts with ideology. In relation to art analysis, some authors have clearly intended to break with this strict linkage, and have emphasised that art

cannot be reduced exclusively to its ideological and symbolic contents (Leroi Gourhan 1976; Cobb 1992:72; Conkey 1984), showing besides that they bear other aspects which are equally relevant to its existence, such as its production and distribution (Steiner 1994; García Canclini 1986), or its political uses (Layton 1989).

This frequent linkage between a sphere of production and a single aspect is not entirely erroneous if used as an analytical way of narrowing the scope when focusing in any particular relation (e.g. when studying the economic aspect of subsistence; cf. Nielsen 1995: 52). But if regarded as an overall perspective, it is rather incomplete and reductionist, since it only focuses on the most obvious or dominant aspect, and is bound to ignore other aspects that also contribute to characterising and shaping the existence of a certain sphere of production, in this case that of visual art. Instead, this dimension of the analysis proposes the *simultaneous* existence of these multiple aspects – economic, political, ideological – in the constitution of every productive sphere, and therefore, in body painting.

The discussion about the definition and implications of each of these aspects has involved long debates within archaeology, anthropology and other social sciences, and has generated the development of specific research fields within these disciplines –e.g. economic anthropology, political anthropology, etc. My aim here is not to provide a history of research of each aspect, but rather to give some indication of the kinds of social dynamics that each concept allows us to focus on, and to point to the fact that all of these aspects are *simultaneously* present in every social sphere of production.

Anthropological approaches to economy differ considerably according to the theoretical trend followed. For example, the formalist framework grounds its analysis on the classic capitalist theory of market dynamics, based on the interplay of variables such as availability, supply and demand, cost and benefit, and the primacy of rationality and efficiency within economy (Burling 1976; the archaeological models of optimal foraging theory have various points in common with this framework, although they are an extension of the evolutionist principles of natural selection, e.g. Foley 1985, Bettinger 1987). As opposed to this, the substantivist approach has emphasised the embedded existence of economy within socio-cultural context and the need of understanding it as an instituted process within society's patterns of values and action (Polanyi 1976). Finally, coinciding with some aspects of the substantivist perspective, but mainly rooted on the historical materialist theory, another theoretical framework based the anthropological analysis of economy on the existence of different modes of

production whose logic was pervasive through society and determined many of its dynamics (Godelier 1968, 1974, 1976; Meillassoux 1977; Sahlins 1976, 1977).

Although with some shortcomings¹⁷, this latter framework offers a fruitful perspective for the analysis of art for at least two reasons. In the first place, it openly marks the existence of links between economy and other aspects of society such as politics and ideology, hence not rendering its analysis hermetically closed and explained only in terms of its own logic (as for example the formalist approach does), and also not focusing entirely on particularist and relativist social circumstances (as substantivism sometimes does) but rather proposing a more universally applicable conceptual framework that highlights contradiction and conflict as components that often exist within a socio-economic system. In the second place, it also establishes a clear relation between economy and many spheres of society, such as subsistence, religion, kinship, and also art. But in doing so, it also allows for a more specific view, which is the one that will be taken in this project, that focuses on art as a product and hence on the economic processes that occur *within* art production. Before this latter notion can be adequately proposed, it is necessary to develop some concepts on the definition of economy.

The economic aspect of society involves the establishment of social relations of production, in which people interact with each other and with material objects (both raw materials and manufactured goods) in order to produce, distribute, consume and discard or abandon material products (Godelier 1968, 1976, Burkun and Spagnolo 1985). Each of these broad general economic stages involve specific tasks –e.g. obtaining raw materials, manufacturing new goods, recycling goods, using them, managing waste disposal– which constitute one or many production sequences (as seen in section 1.2.2). Production sequences are inextricably linked to technical processes, since techniques are required to carry out each task. But this obviously does not mean that, in spite of their close association, technique and economy can be regarded as synonyms. While the former concerns the procedures and knowledge to create, manipulate or discard specific materials (including any kind of object and the human body itself), the latter involves the system by which labour processes are organised, including especially the position of individuals in relation to each of these processes, both in carrying them out, and in benefiting from their results (a point that had been fundamentally developed in

¹⁷ Only those specifically related to art production will be tackled here (see below), the rest will not be pointed out for lack of space.

the XIX century by authors such as Marx 1971 and Morgan 1877). Hence economy includes division of labour, surplus production and accumulation, property, possession, exchange, value, etc. (Godelier 1974, 1976, Polanyi 1976, Burling 1976, Meillassoux 1977, Sahlins 1972, Bate 1989).

This has important implications for hunter-gatherer archaeology. While technological processes are more visible in and inferable from the archaeological record, the economic aspects within any activity are less visible in a hunter-gatherer archaeological record. This is because the positions and roles of hunter-gatherer individuals within an economic process are less inferable from the archaeological record due to lack of conspicuous accumulation, property differences, etc. (burials with grave goods or other very discernible features can give clear clues of such differences, but such finds are not the most frequent). This problem has led in many cases to the abandonment of the archaeological search for the study of hunter-gatherer economic systems, analysing instead their subsistence and technology as a substitute for it. Although it is clear that the difficulty does exist, when the data (archaeological and/or ethnographic) are enough, the study of the hunter-gatherer economic systems can shed light on core aspects of their social structures.

Very few body painting studies related such creation to economy. In the Nuba case, personal art traditions of young males and females are considered as having significance in the “constitution of specific social relations, divisions of labour, forms of appropriation.” (Faris 1988: 29). In seeing that bodily ornaments were “a celebration of the productive male body”¹⁸ (Faris 1972), as opposed to the women’s status, who although also productive are only visually marked according to their biologically reproductive stages, Faris sheds light on the *external* economic aspects influencing body ornamentation.

But economic aspects *internal* to body painting production should also be considered. I will point to four different but inter-related aspects of the production process: 1) its qualities and functions, 2) its implications for the use stage, 3) its role in the transmission of visual traditions, and 4) its importance in generating internal differences within the society in which it is embedded, according to the roles played by

¹⁸ While in his 1972 work Faris considered that this tradition was “a celebration of the productive male body” (Faris 1972), he questions in his 1988 paper “what signification such a tradition might have were that tradition to stem from an alternative view - to treat the cultural reading as ideology and to posit an alternative discourse, premised in specific political critique of those social relations argued to be constituted by the personal art tradition.” (Faris 1988: 33).

the producers and wearers and the statuses they can achieve.

The first aspect in relation to the body painting production processes is the *characterisation of the process itself*. The way the production process is carried out, more specifically who is involved in it, who knows about it, the spatial place and context in which it is developed (i.e. public or private, secular or ceremonial, exclusively related to one gender and/or age, or mixed, etc.) and the techniques used, are crucial in defining situations generated within the production process.

Various points can be raised in relation to this topic. A simple starting point, with complex implications, is who made and who wore the body paintings. The production of body painting can involve three basic types of relations, according to the kinds of painting processes involved¹⁹: of a person with himself/herself (in self-painting), of two persons (in mutual painting), or of one person with two or more persons (in a person painting one or more individuals). These relations may or may not have cross-cut other relationships or groups established in other circumstances, and/or by other activities (e.g. a mother painting her daughter parallels the mother daughter relationship, while a godparent painting an initiand does not seem to parallel any other previous relationship given in everyday life but rather to relate two individuals in a new and different way).

Also, the specific production relations established when making body painting may have been analogous to other relations of production in which people were engaged, such as when hunting. Hence, the roles and social relations of production established in body painting production may have been specific to this process and different from others in their structure and dynamics, or may have shared similarities with other socio-economic relations established in other productive spheres.

Unveiling to what extent body painting may have marked 'previous' roles (e.g. painting a man in a certain way because he is a hunter) or may have constructed 'new' roles (e.g. painting a man in a certain way because he is going to become a hunter), is not a trivial distinction, since it could help in assessing body painting's involvement in reproducing roles and relationships (in the first case), and in constructing them (in the second case). Moreover, it would help in showing that visual productions are not only passive results which encode previous meanings, but that they rather actively construct

¹⁹ These are defined based on the possibilities of an individual relating to others; more complex inter-relations can be built when superimposing these basic relations.

contents via human interaction.

Finally, the specific functions that the body painting production process may entail, such as establishing relations, defining roles, conveying mythical knowledge or transmitting technical ways in which the paintings should be done, may have been accomplished partly orally, but their relations to the actions of body painting creation necessarily imply a practical and material side for them to happen, which involves the persons going through a physical experience in practice. Individually, this physical experience implies that the person gains knowledge about the body painting production process through undergoing the process of being painted and/or painting others. Socially, this material praxis has various implications for the visual traditions in which body painting is involved (see third aspect).

The second aspect refers to how *the production process* analysis can shed light in its *implications for the later stage of body painting use* (both wearing it and visualising it). Its powerful effects stem not just from the acts of body painting wearing and viewing, but are rooted in specific qualities of the productive process such as the type of context in which it is developed, and the techniques involved. As Gell states, “It is the way an art object is construed as having come into the world which is the source of power such objects have over us - their becoming rather than their being” (Gell 1992: 46).

In effect, I suggest that some of the purposes for which Fuegian body painting was ultimately used, were embedded in the production process itself, that they emerged from it, and that their future existence and development depended to an extent on the qualities of this process, in particular, on their public or secret display (see chapter 4).

The third aspect is centred on the importance of the production process as a stage in which visual traditions²⁰ are passed to other generations and hence created, transmitted, reproduced. Knowledge, more specifically the information contents, the ways of transmitting, remembering, thinking, perceiving and acting according to them, is a key point in this process; hence the cognitive dimension of this practice. Given that the relevant points of this dimension have been synthesised in section 1.2.3, they will not be repeated here. I will only point out that the production processes are then a scenario where the processes of teaching and learning can take place, and that on many

²⁰ The existence of a body painting production tradition should not be assumed, but it should rather be inferred after assessing the relevant information available, which must obviously span through a certain

occasions, these are the only moments in which an image-making tradition can be transmitted.

Taking into account whether teaching and learning were carried out in formal or informal contexts, and in explicit or implicit ways, can unveil some of the internal dynamics of both the continuation of a tradition and of the creation of new trends. I would suggest that implicit and explicit ways of teaching processes can generate different learning effects, and that they are not necessarily opposed but can both be present in them. The implicit way is possibly more subtle and less questionable (hence possibly having durable results because of the less conscious acknowledgement of its existence), while the explicit is more straightforward, and its acceptance or questioning may depend on the context in which it is developed. The formal contexts would involve purposely developed situations and environments in which teaching and learning would take place in a more standardised and preconceived way. The informal contexts could also be standardised by habit and social sanctions, but would instead not involve a purposely-built frame developed with the intention of teaching, hence its informality. All these possibilities can account for the construction of traditions and for ensuring their conservative reproduction in time, as well as for their changes. What these different possibilities help to characterise, is *how* these processes take place, during production.

The process of continuation of a visual tradition is then very much rooted in social praxis, and the social aspects of this production unavoidably involve the persons' engagements in different roles through their actions. This leads us to the fourth and final theoretical aspect I will point out in relation to the production process, which is that of the social division of labour in the image-making tasks, and the role and status of the producers. This specific economic point of body ornamentation practices has been tackled by some authors. Vogel, for example, noted that the Baule (from Ivory Coast) were not specialised artists, since the persons who made the scarifications were not professionals and seem not to have been paid. This is concordant with the non-specialisation of the tools used for the task, since the instrument used for making the scars was an ordinary knife (Vogel 1988: 102). Hence their involvement in this task led to no special recognition of a different social position. A different case, in which the person in charge of making the ornaments is considered, to an extent as a 'specialist', can be exemplified by the Yoruba (Benin and Nigeria). The Yoruba define their artists as "skilled designer(s)" (Abraham 1958: 522 in Drewal 1988: 84), and they value the

“visual acuity, sensitivity, technical ability, and creativity of a body artist” (idem), which according to them is shown in the beauty of the body marks.

But what has not been noted is the fact that the involvement in body painting production both in its practical making and in manipulating knowledge about it, can in fact be a source of social division. The control of the means of production²¹ and surplus accumulation have been seen by many authors as the fundamental structuring factors of economy, the basic determinants of society, and the only or main source of power (Marx 1971; Morgan 1877; Burkun and Spagnolo 1985; Godelier 1974). These factors have indeed played a very important part in generating social inequality. Yet classless societies such as hunter-gatherers or early farmers, are from this perspective basically regarded as homogeneous and non-divided.

However, differential access to knowledge can also generate intrinsic social differences. These latter differences are rooted in producing, learning and transmitting knowledge: “In many such societies [foraging societies] the transmission of ritual ‘knowledge’ and control over it through initiation and other rites are one of the main social focuses of the people concerned. In fact, the control of cultural transmission of such knowledge is often the only legitimate locus for the generation of inequality among the members of forager societies, not the material goods or food with which anthropologists have been so obsessed ...” (Shennan 1996: 369). The ways in which this knowledge is taught, are then controlled by the persons who have access to it, which in turn reproduces the inequality situation. The teaching and learning contexts and methods are not only important for the process of transmission of a tradition, but as an entailment of this, they are also important for the generation of social inequality (ibid).

The access to and possession of this knowledge enables people to act in certain ways different from other people’s actions, and hence to acquire certain differential roles or statuses. For this reason the assemblage of knowledge that allows this social differentiation has also been rightly called *capital* (Bourdieu 1977: 179). The adjective accompanying this special kind of capital has varied in different texts of Bourdieu, also according to the different scopes of action that he is emphasising. The terms used to address these different capitals are social, cultural, symbolic, and informational (Bourdieu 1977, Bourdieu and Wacquant 1995). Of these, I prefer to use the term *informational capital*, since it clearly pinpoints the nature of the resource that is

²¹ These include all the materials to produce goods, such as raw materials, tools/machines, and buildings or other facilities.

accumulated, which is knowledge, translated into information.

It is important to note that informational capital clearly does not consist only of ‘abstract’ or ideal information and that it necessarily involves access to certain materials too, to the knowledge about their making and/or their manipulation. As any other constituent of human action, informational capital cannot exist only on the basis of an entirely ideal realm, and requires a praxis realm too. What this concept stresses is that this form of capital and its consequent social divisions are not structured upon classes based on surplus accumulation or economic capital, but rather on other practices which entail other forms of accumulation. As will be shown in chapters 4 and 5, part of the knowledge about the Yámana and Selk’nam body painting practices constituted an informational capital that generated internal social divisions in these societies, particularly in terms of gender and age differences.

Both information capital and economic capital are products of human action and at the same time are means that facilitate further actions. This links them to another aspect of society, that of power and politics. Politics involve action strategies and negotiation of situations between individuals and/or groups to pursue certain aims (Althusser 1984, Miller and Tilley 1984, McGuire and Painter 1991). Power can be understood as the capability of human agents to achieve these aims. It stems from the access that individuals and/or groups have to all resources (goods and information) available to them by coercion and/or consent (Foucault 1980; McGuire 1992; Miller and Tilley 1984; Nielsen 1985). This access gives them power to do things and power over things and people (Miller and Tilley 1984: 5).

In relation to art analysis, it is becoming increasingly clear that the visual components of works of art are “active elements in the articulation of social relationships, the mobilisation of cultural ideologies and the material transformation of relationships of power and solidarity” (Tanner 2000a: 19). Yet few authors have shown the political implications of body painting use. One clear example is the analysis of the Australian cases (Layton 1985, 1989). Layton proposes the existence of two dimensions in the political use of body paintings. The first one is the “progressive revelation of knowledge” about the paintings contents, which is controlled by men, and “which establishes links between paintings, sites and legends” (Layton 1989: 4). The second one is a use of specific body painting designs to mark the existence of a ceremonial alliance of two clans: in this case, the male members of each clan acquire the right to wear the body painting designs of the other and show it in the ceremony as a public

statement of their mutual acceptance as members (ibid). In this way, the political use of body painting “seems to be arranging the even distribution of people between estates.” (idem: 5).

In the Nuba case, the constitution of social relations through aesthetic ideology is linked to the notion of power; in this case this cultural ideology is particularly powerful since it does not require coercion through force, but is rather kept as a consensual belief. This belief is all the more powerful since it is embodied in the presentation of the body, through body art, enhancing “physical beauty, aesthetic pleasure and personal attraction” (Faris 1988: 29), which are very effective in human interaction.

The analysis of the Selk’nam and Yámana body painting practices will show that the manipulation of body painting designs and techniques was, in some situations, a clear instrument of power of men over women, and of adults over youngsters and children. Moreover, it will reveal how this power was sometimes achieved by the actions of men painted in an appealing yet threatening way. This will shed light on the visual power of body painting as a twofold means of coercion and consensus.

Also closely related to the power of knowledge within society is the issue of how a specific social system with internal divisions and conflicting interests is reproduced in time. In as much as knowledge is an instrument that can be used to gain power to do things and over things and people, it can even be manipulated to represent a single social situation in very different ways. This *ideological* phenomenon has been mainly pinpointed in studying societies divided into classes, where the dominated class held views about society in general and its social position in particular, which were mainly constructed and imposed by the dominant class²² (Marx 1971, Gramsci 1960). As seen above, other bases for social division besides economic classes include groups that handle different sorts of knowledge. Although the original definition of ideology does not include this possibility, given that within classless societies certain groups can have power over others, the concept of ideology is certainly applicable. Ideology can then be broadly defined as the representations of social situations according to states of social consciousness which allow the reproduction of a social system (Gramsci 1960,

²² This is what led to his distinction between a *class for itself*, in which people may be intentionally seeking their benefit as such, thus having a consciousness of its own, from a *class in itself*, that is, a class that exists as such because of its position in relation to the means of production, but that is not intentionally seeking its own benefit, thus, practically not having a consciousness of its own.

Bourdieu 1977, Foucault 1980, Althusser 1984, Miller and Tilley 1984, McGuire and Painter 1991). Thus, the dominated groups will mainly follow the contents of the dominant group's ideas, since these will conveniently be imposed on the former, because the dominant group's control over goods and information gives it the possibility of developing and communicating its ideas to the entire society in a much easier, better established and socially valued way than for any other class. The dominant group power over the goods and information gives it power over the dominated groups.

As Miller and Tilley put it, "Ideology is the representation of the world held by the dominant group in the society, and is also the rationale which guides their everyday actions. It is a representation that accords with the interests of that group and that emanates from the perspective of that group" (Miller and Tilley 1984: 10). Ideology generates "a limited material practice which generates ideas that *misrepresent social contradictions* in the interest of the ruling class" (Larrain 1982: 15 in Miller and Tilley 1984: 13, my emphasis). This misrepresentation has a series of characteristics extremely clearly summarised by Miller and Tilley: it "tends to represent as universal that which may be partial ... to represent as coherent that which may be in conflict ... to represent as permanent that which may be in flux ... to represent as natural that which may be cultural..." (Miller and Tilley 1984: 14). Thus, ideology makes the current social order to appear natural, and by being natural, it appears to be unchangeable. If it is unchangeable, it obviously has to continue the way in which it already works. The system's logic, its dynamic, is by this means perpetuated, reproduced. This is what Althusser calls "the reproduction of conditions of production" (1984: 22), and what makes the relationship between economy and ideology recursive and dialectical.

This reproduction does not only occur through the imaginary or illusory representation of the relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence (Althusser 1984: 36), a representation which inverts this relation in such a way that they "appear upside-down as in a *camera obscura*" (Marx and Engels 1970: 42). It also occurs in *practice*. Ideology can thus be seen as a manipulation of cognition which is a "component of human praxis" (Miller and Tilley 1984: 14). This inter-relation between ideology and practice was early pinpointed by historical materialism, emphasising that people's consciousness arose from their social material context and was determined by it: "The production of ideas, of conceptions, of consciousness, is at first directly interwoven with the material activity of real life." (Marx and Engels 1970: 42); "It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but their social existence that

determines their consciousness.” (Marx 1971: 21).

The material reproduction of the social system through people’s practice, according to the schema provided by the dominant ideology and embodying it at the same time, can be related to the concept of *habitus*. This has been defined by Bourdieu as “the durably installed generative principle of regulated improvisations /which/ produces practices which tend to reproduce the regularities immanent in the objective conditions of the production ...” (Bourdieu 1977: 78). The habitus can be said to develop ‘generative action in space’, since it is simultaneously structured and improvised. In its very practical and material existence, we can find the materialisation of ideology. The habitus implies a lack of awareness related to the *consensus* that people give to the dominant ideology of their society. Their consensus is related to their mainly implicit and unconscious agreement with the ideology, which not only naturalises the current social state of things, but also naturalises itself, by usually not being subject to critical analysis (a process that could be called ‘masking the mask’).

Ideology’s involvement with the reproduction of the status quo may involve the pursuing or maintenance of class interests, but more broadly, it involves the continuation of social order, that is, the continuation of people’s established relations among themselves and between them and the material objects. This proposed perspective intends to displace the centre of attention from the class focus (which is still included in it) to the process of social reproduction itself. It can thus refer also to classless societies, involving the reproduction of other social group divisions, such as sexual or age groups, or differential roles such as shamans, political leaders, etc. which do not directly imply the existence of socio-economic classes.

By integrating the ideological, political and economic aspects of society, a fuller perspective of art analysis can be achieved. Yet it is fundamental to assess the role played by each one of these aspects within art creation. The classic historical materialist approach to society considered it as formed by base and superstructure, the former including economic processes and relations, the latter including political and ideological aspects of society. In this framework, structure determined superstructure, and superstructure reproduced structure (Marx 1971). This perspective was the onset of most of the concepts developed by a number of authors, including those discussed above. But, paradoxically, the specific implications of this perspective for art analysis bore, in my opinion, a certain idealist bias that was much enhanced and reproduced over time by various authors (e.g. Baynes 1975, Zis 1987).

Art was regarded as a subjective and ideological representation of an objective reality previous and external to it (ibid). It was considered the 'reflex' (hence an inverted image) of the social conditions of production of a society. Art was "treated as a symptom of historical processes rather than as making any particular contribution to them" (Tanner 2000a: 20). Therefore art was conceived as superstructural because superstructure was the ideal and subjective domain of society, while structure was its material and objective domain. This perspective fitted the widely held Platonic notion about appearances, including art images, being a deceptive rendition of reality. Hence although overtly materialist as an overall perspective, this idealist and essentialist conception about images remained almost untouched within the historical materialist theoretical framework. It had put a material context *around* art *creation*, which determined its existence, but, to an extent, failed to conceive it as a *production* in itself.

A critique of this issue has been developed by a few authors concerned with art images as signs (Bryson 1983, 1996) or art as a symbolic production (García Canclini 1986). In discussing the classical historical-materialist model of base and superstructure, they have noted that signs, or symbols, do not exclusively pertain to the superstructure, but also belong to the base. Both the sign's material existence (e.g. in a painted canvass), and the generation of their meanings (e.g. in the process of painting and of viewing), are *productions*, and hence 'happen' in the base, that is, they are economic practices, and, at the same time, are signifying and political practices (Bryson 1983: xiii, xiv, and 139; García Canclini 1986). As García Canclini puts it, base and superstructure are simultaneous realms in society, so it is not possible to conceive the existence of one without the existence of the other (ibid: 88); they can only be distinguished in an analytical way.

Even though the concepts of base and superstructure will not be used in this thesis (since they entail a series of implications related to causality, determination and reproduction which should be thoroughly discussed and clarified before using them any further), I consider the work of Bryson and García Canclini as groundbreaking and enlightening, in that they show the interaction that exists between economic, political and ideological aspects in art, or more generally, in visual productions. These authors are nevertheless mostly concerned with the representational qualities of art, since 'art' images are considered as signs (Bryson) or symbols (Garcia Canclini), a criterion which is certainly applicable to some cases, but not to all images.

In archaeology several works include assertions about the ideological aspects of

certain artefact assemblages and/or sites, but many failed to indicate how these items fulfilled such a function, which in turn doomed the use of this concept as dubious or unproductive. Yet the usefulness of the concept in shedding light on the reproductive performance of ideology has been shown in the analysis of both historic and prehistoric sites and artefacts (e.g. Leone 1984, Shennan 1982), although in some cases the interpretations are not free of subjective ambiguity (e.g. Faris 1983 on his appealing but disputable interpretation of Palaeolithic 'Venus' figurines).

Very few body painting studies include an interpretation of its ideological functions. The clearest one is found in the study of the Nuba case, where Faris proposed that body art traditions can be considered as "having possible significance as cultural ideologies" (1988: 29). Although both women and men produce grain, only women's grain is used for food, while the grain produced by males is used for beer and sacrifices, and only when the former is finished is the latter used for alimentation. But while the male contribution is marked and celebrated by body ornaments, the female productive contribution is ignored within the realm of visual expressions (*idem*: 38). This ideological function is then consummated by presenting a twisted rendition of reality by celebrating men's productive roles (in economic terms) as opposed to female non-productive but reproductive roles (in biological terms).

The analysis of the Selk'nam and Yámana body paintings will suggest ways in which these visual productions fulfilled ideological purposes, especially in reproducing age and gender divisions and, in some cases, in generating visual justifications for them. These ideological functions of body painting will be shown to have been different in these societies.

In summary, body painting can then be regarded as simultaneously economic, political and ideological, since its existence involved 1) a production process which implies a management of goods, knowledge and techniques, generating potential different roles and hence social divisions (economic aspect), 2) power over things and people (political aspect), and 3) representations of social situations and reproduction of these according to states of social conscience mainly guided by the interests of a certain group (ideological aspect). Finally, it is important to stress that although simultaneous, these different aspects can be more or less dominant and did not necessarily have the same weight in the creation and wearing of body painting in every society and in every situation in which it was worn. The analysis of the Selk'nam and Yamana cases will show the existence of such differences.

1.2.5. Linking simultaneous dimensions. Analytical distinctions versus ontological relations.

As I hope to have shown by now, this three-dimensional 'model' avoids the straight and exclusive association between a specific product (in this case, body paintings) and a single dimension, and seeks to highlight the multiplicity of intertwined aspects that characterise and interact with a social sphere of production. The reason for thinking about these different analytical levels as 'dimensions', and not just parallel superimposed 'layers', is that it focuses on their interaction in a more explicit way, since the dimensions criss-cross each other. This avoids viewing these interactions in a too loose perspective, i.e. by only stating that all these levels are connected, and not focusing on how they interact.

Forming a more systematic conceptual frame, this perspective makes the interconnections of the dimensions more specific and hence allows us to focus on the characterisation of the points of interaction under research, without disregarding the existence of other interactions, e.g. the cognitive elements involved in visual productions and technology (dimensions 2 and 1), or the political aspects of visual productions (dimensions 3 and 1), or the cognitive elements involved in the ideological aspects of visual productions (dimensions 2, 3, and 1) etc.

This perspective is different from the traditional philosophical Cartesian division, in which idea and matter, mind and body, reason and perception, and thought and practice are considered as separate realms. Instead, they are conceived here as dialectically inter-related, inextricably linked, mutually dependent, simultaneously existent in every sphere of human activity, and thus related ontologically. The framework here proposed attempts to overcome these separations not by linking them together in a potentially indistinguishable and hence unfruitful bundle which would render them far from explicable, but to simultaneously define their differences and mark their interactions. The emphasis in this chapter, and throughout this thesis, on technology and production does not imply, then, that ideology and thought are to be neglected. Rather, it is by regaining awareness of the material aspects of visual productions that new light can be shed on their whole existence.

1.3. Materials and methods.

1.3.1. Data sources: visual, textual and archaeological information. Relevance, representativity and biases.

This research project is mainly based on the analysis of two types of information sources: written texts (historical and ethnographic accounts) and graphic documents (mainly photographs, some drawings and a film). This in itself constitutes a particular, and, to an extent, unusual way of approaching body painting analysis, since it is more common for it to be studied in a ‘living context’ via first-hand observation. Because in this case this is not possible, due to the unfortunate fact that the Fuegian aboriginal societies have entirely disappeared, the different approach that will be used here, based on the analysis of written and visual records, can contribute to developing alternative ways to access body decoration, which have already been explored (e.g. Kaeppler 1988, on Hawaiian tattoos), but are less frequent. Archaeological evidence about body painting is much more scarce and ambiguous, and although it will be presented and discussed, it will not form part of the core set of data upon which the analysis will be based.

In relation to the study of body painting through historical or ethnographic sources, it is crucial to take into account that in Tierra del Fuego “the recording of ethnographic information has been very uneven.” (Borrero 1997: 65). It is therefore crucial for the analysis first to make a critical account about how the visual and textual records about body paintings of Tierra del Fuego have been constituted (Cardoso and Perez Brignoli 1979, Orquera and Piana 1999b), in order to assess, as far as possible, their relevance, accuracy and reliability.

These include:

- dates of trip
- ship, captain, mission, nationality
- the dates of the observation
- the amount of time in contact with the indigenous people
- the ethnic identification of the aborigines made by the author
- their geographical location; places mentioned, related to observation
- age and gender of the informant/s (if any)
- the language in which the observers²³ communicated with the aborigines

²³ The terms ‘observer’ and ‘recorder’ are used throughout this thesis to refer to the individuals that produced visual or textual records of information about body painting in the region. These words do not imply that the persons making these records were impartial or objective, rather, as it will be shown, they

- the purposes and viewpoints of the voyagers, missionaries and ethnographers, related to their ideological and theoretical biases
- the kinds of situations recorded by the observers (everyday life, special occasions, etc.)
- the gender of the observer
- if the sources are primary or secondary
- dates of publication of the texts / visual records
- changes within different versions of a text or image in different publications
- variations between different publications of the same author

All these are factors which have clearly shaped and defined the historical-ethnographic information that we have access to today, and lack of knowledge and awareness of them may lead to misinterpretations by the reader/viewer of the sources

This critical analysis of the sources will be mainly carried out by comparing and contrasting the information coming from a) different sections of the same work, b) different works of the same author, c) works from different authors which focus on similar geographical areas and topics (from similar and different chronological periods), and d) different sources of information, i.e. visual and textual, of the same and of different authors, in order to find out whether they confirm, complete or contradict the data they provide. This will help in building a clearer panorama of the data that will subsequently be subject to analysis.

A final note on a general methodological problem when dealing with the analysis of data from historical and ethnographic sources: there is a possibility of falling into a tautological reasoning if one picks ideas from the texts or visual documents which afterwards become hypotheses, and later the attempt is made to assess these against the former data. It is clear that this case may also happen with archaeological data, but it seems to me that, to some extent, the fact that many historical and ethnographic sources are written texts make it more likely for this epistemological mistake to happen, since the information is already available (though not plainly, overtly or unambiguously) and can more easily be 'unconsciously' integrated by the reader in the elaboration of hypotheses to be analysed.

It is clear that analyses and interpretations are subjective since they are generated by a person in a context and in relation to an object to be known. The three of them interact in various manners, in such a way that complete and entirely objective knowledge of the object is impossible for the subject (Ricoeur 1982, Hodder 1991, Shanks and Tilley 1987a). Yet there is still the possibility of approaching the object and obtaining a partial knowledge about some of its properties, with the material and conceptual 'tools' available at a specific moment, and from a certain conscious and unconscious perspective (Rosental 1962, Gortari 1991). If this latter process is not a mere description but an analysis/interpretation of some of its features, then it would not be possible unless tautology is avoided.

The possible solutions I propose for this situation are three. First of all, the fact that the questions and the hypotheses are derived from the theory (though adequate to the context under study) is an important factor that helps avoiding tautology, since the involvement of the data on the formulation of the hypotheses is not necessarily predominant, rather, the theory should guide the data analysis. An hypothesis induced from the data is likely to become a descriptive empirical generalisation, and not an analytical proposition, since it would lack conceptual terms, essential for carrying out a real analysis. Second, cross-checking the information to search for interrelations between different kinds –and sources– of data may help in contrasting hypotheses in a more well-founded manner, as well as in eluding the possibility of creating hypotheses from straight induction. Thirdly, being aware of this problem may help in avoiding it; a possible example of this may be the fact that although one has preferred topics within a theoretical problem setting, one can find data suitable only for some of them, while others will remain not studied due to lack of relevant evidence. Moreover, some data may clearly show evidence to analyse other problems which although not particularly interesting for the researcher, are still relevant in that they further characterise the context under study. This latter case does not refer to tautology but to the possibility of avoiding an entirely subjective interpretation which disregards specific features of the object. These two situations suggest that the researcher's awareness and sensitivity towards the object of study may help in avoiding both tautology and overemphasis of the individual's ideas in the object's analysis against some of its characterising features.

Thus, the development of this research project has involved a deductive-inductive dialectical relation between certain questions derived from the theoretical framework, which have been refined and developed in relation to the already known

background data about the cases under study. A clear example of this is that while gender was not initially a central variable within the theoretical framework I was developing (see appendix A on variables of analysis), it became a fundamental variable of analysis when noticing its importance in the contexts under study. These more specific questions then guided the data collection and materials analysis. The results obtained are expected to shed light both on the studied objects/subjects, and on the conceptual framework and methodology used to analyse them. Therefore, the research process has not followed a tautological circle, but a dialectical spiral.

1.3.1.1. Written documents.

In relation to the written texts, the formation of these records will be analysed in chapter 2 and appendix B of the thesis, which focus on the history of research. Within the various aspects involved in body painting activities by Fuegian aborigines, the elements related to their production process are less documented in the literature than those related to their uses, meanings, visual qualities and effects. Moreover, while there are various sources which include references to body painting in Tierra del Fuego, their degree of detail varies considerably, ranging from brief mentions to much more lengthy and thorough descriptions (which are less frequent).

The analysis is based on 75 primary or first-hand sources mentioning Yámana and Selk'nam body painting (including some referring to Haush body painting, which seem to have been closely related to the Selk'nam). Secondary or second hand sources have also been consulted, although they do not focus on the study of body painting as a central topic, but have rather mentioned it peripherally.

1.3.1.1.a. Systematic organisation of written information.

The sources that provide relevant information for this research project have been identified in two ways:

- a) by reading secondary literature in which first-hand sources were reviewed and/or quoted, which provided references to the bibliography that could contain relevant data. These reviews also provided contextual information about the first-hand sources which is sometimes lacking in these texts, such as the purpose of the trip, the affiliation of a missionary group, etc. (a list of these sources is presented in appendix B).
- b) by reading the first-hand literature and searching for the relevant

information. The first-hand sources were directly consulted when available, and were read from other sources that quoted them when they were not available. In the few cases in which the author has visited the islands but the information found in his text is likely to have been quoted from another source rather than his own experience, I have decided to still include the work (although it might not be strictly a first-hand source), but always clearly pointing to this situation.

Each text has been read in search for information relevant to the research topic, and it has been systematically recorded following a series of variables which helped in organising and analysing the available data:

in relation to the voyage or mission

all those listed in section 1.3.1

in relation to the body paintings

- materials and techniques of paint production and application
- situation of production
- situation of use
- roles, age and gender of the wearers
- portions of the body painted
- colours
- layout of the designs
- meaning of colours and layout

1.3.1.2. Visual documents.

1.3.1.2.1. Visual anthropology as a method.

Visual anthropology is an established area within anthropological studies, which focuses, among other topics, on the study of the construction of visual records (mainly photographs and films) as part of ethnographic fieldwork (Collier 1975, Mead 1975, Ruby 1976, 1996, Burgin 1986, Edwards 1992, Morphy and Banks 1998). These studies have raised awareness of the importance of unveiling the underlying implicit concepts when the visual records were made, and when interpreting them. Moreover, they have shown that there are a number of ethical (Newton 1998) and methodological (Scherer 1992) issues to be taken into account in dealing with both these processes. But

although “photographs are seen as socially constructed artifacts that tell us something about the culture depicted as well as the culture of the picture taker” (Ruby 1996: 1346), visual anthropology has mainly been concerned with the ways in which the process of construction of the visual record has taken place, rather than with what it shows about the portions of the cultures ‘depicted’.

The usual emphasis on photographs’ and films’ lack of objectivity and their shaping by the recorder’s background, biases and intentions is clearly fundamental in the development of a critical approach to the analysis of visual records. Yet it entails a general scepticism that can lead to discrediting photographs or film as sources of evidence about other societies than that of the recorder. The term visual ‘record’ implies the construction of a document that registers an interaction between the subject who is recording and the subject/object being recorded. Therefore the record does potentially include information about both.

The scepticism mentioned above possibly stems from a post-modern perspective which not only questions the existence of an objective reality and supports the idea of subjective relativism, but (as a consequence) is also more concerned about the self than about the ‘others’. In spite of this distinction being a socio-cultural and hence relative construction, there are/were indeed other societies different to that of the recorder and of the interpreter of the visual records, and which contributed passively and/or actively to the construction of these records.

The lack of confidence on the reliability of the visual records is also related to the widely held idea that appearances are deceptive. But those who can deceive are the agent creating the image (in this case the photo), and the subject being photographed, by intentionally transforming features of what is being recorded to fit their goals. Hence the photo is still informative of this process of construction (the same idea has been proposed by Ricoeur (1982) about the informative capacity of myth about the society that constructed it). So the subjective agent is not just the photographer, but also the photographed subject (when it is a person).

Visual records are by their nature biased by the recorder and recorded agents. Hence photography can be regarded as an encounter of subjectivities, which in turn emphasises the fact that photography can also be informative about the attitudes of the photographer, and photographed subject. Moreover, visual records are informative in more and different ways than those originally intended, and thus are re-interpretable in the light of new questions and/or new evidence. In the cases under analysis, it will be

shown that the Yámana and the Selk'nam were not always passively photographed by the different European observers, but were also actively influencing what was being recorded. Hence even deceptive appearances are informative.

Another widely held idea is that expressed by the phrase “a picture is worth a thousand words”. This has also been challenged by visual anthropology by marking the importance of knowledge about the context in which the pictures have been taken to assess the subjects' actions involved in the creation of these (Edwards 1992, Shanks 1997). Yet photographs clearly offer a kind of information which cannot be entirely translated into words. Although it is necessary to know the codes and conventions used in the creation of the photographs, photographic images offer visual data and operate through non-linguistic communication, in visual cues. Photographs enable a dialectical research process involving visual and conceptual knowledge: to generate thoughts about what was visually perceived, and to generate visual perceptions about what was thought.

The importance of visual records (even if they were not made with a recording purpose) lies then in that they are useful and relevant sources of information which are different from written text, either complementing or contrasting with it (Scherer 1992). The possibility of contrasting the two sources of information –visual and textual–, or three, when having access to archaeological and/or ethnographic materials, generates a richer panorama than when operating with only one of these.

Recent studies in visual anthropology have emphasised the importance of not neglecting the use of “visual recording media as a methodological tool” (Banks and Morphy 1997: 5). It is precisely in this methodological way that visual anthropology concepts play a role in this research project. This perspective stresses the importance of working with explicit methods of data collection and processing; the next section present these.

1.3.1.2.2. *Visual data collection and processing. Database and variables.*

1.3.1.2.2.a. *General criteria.*

In relation to the visual sources, the information related to the process of construction of these records, involves the same variables listed in section 1.3.1. Yet some specific details need to be taken into account in the critical assessment of visual records:

- ◆ number of drawings and photographs
- ◆ variety or redundancy of content of these

- ◆ number of different authors who made / took them

This information can help in establishing to a certain extent if the visual records are representative of the quantity and quality of body painting production and of the frequency of its use by a certain group, or if they rather show a bias, scope of interest or other situation of the recorders, or an impediment from the social groups to let foreigners record their body paintings.

In relation to the drawings, it is very important to try to establish if these were directly made or drawn after sketches, photos or verbal descriptions. In the latter case the possibility of addition or omission of details should be considered. This information should be assessed in order to try to establish the extent to which the drawing may be representative of the situation observed. Because in general this contextual information is not available, the drawings have been considered as not reliable for statistical analysis, and the data they provide have been only analysed in qualitative terms.

In relation to the photographic techniques, these should be taken into account since the process of taking the picture may have had some influences on the effective selection of situations to be recorded. Ideally, the information that could be included involves: time invested in preparing the equipment and of posing by the subjects photographed, environmental conditions required to take the photos (weather and natural lighting conditions) and equipment involved in taking the photos (approximate size, weight and volume of the implements, which might have restricted the possibilities of carrying them, as well as factors such as lights, sounds, shapes, etc. that might have attracted or repelled the persons to be pictured). The written information about these is quite scarce, and the only way of obtaining it would be by analysing of the photos themselves with the help of a photographic historian. For this reason the only information about the photographic techniques that will be included is that which can be quoted from the first-hand or second hand sources. Further analysis of this aspect of ethnographic photography in Tierra del Fuego will be developed in the future. Less specific analysis of the implications of the photography in relation to body painting (without regarding any photographic technique in particular) has been developed with fruitful results (see chapters 2 and 4). Finally, although it is ideal to work with the 'original copies' (uncut and un-retouched) and negatives of the photographs, this has only been possible in a few cases, and for this reason I have mostly worked with published versions of these, checking for 'editing marks' by comparison of different publications of the same photo, and by observing them with a magnifying glass.

The graphic sources will not be taken as mere illustrations of the textual information, but as particular sources of data in their own right, which can also be systematically analysed in order to search for information. Graphic records can clearly help in obtaining material about the body painting production and use processes. Moreover, these visual records have an intrinsically different quality, since they provide not only 'hard' data, but convey (even sometimes unwanted or unintentionally) subtle situation climates or details which unveil unknown aspects of the past reality which are otherwise difficult to describe. Furthermore, as noted above, they can act, to an extent, as an independent source of information with which to compare and contrast the written information.

1.3.1.2.2.b. *The visual records catalogue and database.*

The 228 visual records gathered for this project include 130 for the Selk'nam case, and 98 for the Yámana case (copies of these photos and drawings are included in the catalogue in appendix C²⁴, and in the CDrom in appendix S). The photographs were taken by different photographers, although in both cases an important proportion was taken by M. Gusinde. The catalogue includes mostly published photos and drawings and very few unpublished ones, which come from various publications and had never been collected together before. The photographs and drawings mostly record individuals wearing body paintings, as well as decorated objects (wands, tablets, hut frames) and ornamental pieces (masks, head bands, bracelets) used/worn together with body paintings, and a few objects and tools related to body painting production (painting tools, pigment bags).

The information about the graphic records is organised in a database using 'Access 97' software, recording the following variables per photo or drawing:

- record number
- photo or drawing
- author of photograph/drawing
- author of publication

²⁴ The photos and drawings used as sources of visual information are consecutively numbered, with a letter corresponding to the society (S or Y), plus a number. The visual records are organised per topic in the catalogue (appendix C), and the credits of publication and/or references of each record can be found there too. The first page of the catalogue presents a list of these record numbers, and indicates in which page of the catalogue is each photo or drawing. Such number is also used to name the visual records stored in the CDrom.

- aboriginal society
- date taken/made
- date published
- publication
- caption
- collection/institution/archive
- subject of photo/drawing (e.g. hunting, walking, initiation ceremony, etc.)
- number of persons
- number of painted persons
- age
- gender
- roles played by the individuals (e.g. spirit, initiand, bride, etc.)
- wearing masks? (yes, no)
- decorated? (yes, no)
- use of ornaments or instruments? (yes, no)
- decorated? (yes, no)
- observations (including details about the background of the photo/drawing, such as if it was taken in open air, inside a hut, which type of hut, etc.).

A sample of the database entry form, the lists of codes used for the state of each variable, and the definitions of each variable are included in appendix A. The whole database is copied in the CDrom in appendix S. The purpose of this database is to systematically gather and organise the information about the construction of the visual records, and to generate a first panorama of the recorded subjects, i.e. persons and the situations involved in making and/or wearing body painting. The photographs and drawings have been scanned and are included in the CDrom mentioned above.

1.3.1.2.3. Visual perception and image construction: basic elements, visual principles, plastic features and perceptual outcomes.

The formal analysis of visual images requires definition of the criteria used to identify visible features which will then be studied across many cases, and in relation to other visual features, in search of patterns of image construction. Image designs are


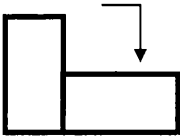
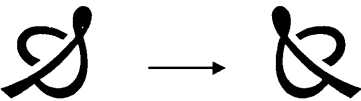
formed by three *basic elements*: dots, lines, and figures²⁵. The variety of images that each of these elements and their combinations can achieve is possibly unlimited, and it is clear that it is structured socio-culturally (hence the importance of finding the visual patterns which can lead to such conventions)²⁶. In appendix A, the definitions of the *decorative elements* formed by combinations of these three basic elements, and of *motifs*, formed by decorative elements, are developed and justified.

The decorative elements and/or motifs that form part of a design are displayed in the space covered by it, using three *visual principles* of motion on a plane: rotation, translation and reflection (Speiser 1937 in Gombrich 1984: 67):

- *translation*: the carrying over of a shape between two points from one place to another
- *rotation*: the movement of a figure leaving one of its points fixed in space
- *reflection*: the rotation of a shape on its axis by a hundred and eighty degrees. This generates an axially symmetric pattern. (For reflection to happen, the shape needs to be asymmetric, if it is symmetric then the movement would just involve a translation).

These visual principles structure an image by arranging the display of one or more elements or motifs on a surface.

Table 1.1. Examples of visual principles.

Translation	Rotation	Reflection
		

²⁵ These three basic elements have been defined by Euclidean geometry. They are used methodologically here and are not claimed to be/have been universally recognised by all art producers. Yet these elements are features that can be identified in art productions of very wide time and space scope, hence their methodological relevance.

²⁶ The concept of style can be relevant here (Sackett 1977, 1990, Wiessner 1983), but it will not be discussed because the emphasis of the analysis will not be put on searching for stylistic differences in the Fuegian body paintings. As will be shown, the analysis of the evidence suggests no intra-society 'stylistic' divisions within the body paintings of each society, unless considering the differences due to the various situations in which the paintings were worn as 'styles'. Instead, the differences in an inter-society level can be attributed to emblematic stylistic differences (sensu Wiessner 1990) or to identity differences (Barth 1976, Shennan 1989a, Washburn 1989), but these will not be explored in this thesis for limitations of space.

Various authors define the visual features the composition of an image in different ways, focusing on different characteristics (e.g. Arnheim 1956, Faris 1982, Drewal 1988, Moore 1991, 1992, Acton 1997). These visual features usually mix specific ‘properties’ of the elements or motifs, such as colour or size, with visual effects generated by viewing the whole composition, such as light and shadow or perspective. I have decided to separate these, since this allows us to define (and record) the *basic visual features* of the elements or motifs, and to distinguish them from the resulting *characteristics of the plastic composition* as a whole. While the basic visual features are analytically identifiable as independent characteristics of an image, the characteristics of the plastic composition are more complex, and result from the interaction of the former. The basic visual features are: form (shape and volume), colour, size, position, orientation, texture and repetition (the definitions of each can be found in appendix A).

Resulting from the combination of the specific values of the basic visual features (e.g. a motif of a certain size with a certain form and colour, positioned in a particular portion of the body and with a specific orientation), other more complex characteristics of the plastic composition are identifiable in the layout of an image design. For example, proportion, movement, balance, tension, direction, rhythm, saturation, perspective, light and shadow, etc. (Arnheim 1956, Moore 1991, 1992, Acton 1997). Many of the characteristics of an image plastic composition have also been identified in the area of the psychology of art as Gestalt ‘laws’ (based on the works of Wertheimer, Fechner and Worringer in Gestalt psychology), which work in the visual perception of images. These are: figure and ground, proximity, similarity, common fate, good continuation, closure, relative size, surroundedness, orientation and symmetry (Arnheim 1956, 1986, Segall 1976, Gombrich 1984, Bloomer 1990, Solso 1994, Bruce et al. 1996). The definition of each, and their direct implication in the construction of Fuegian body painting decorative elements are presented in appendix A.

Without either subscribing to all the theoretical implications of this framework (which will not be discussed here for lack of space), or claiming that these ‘laws’ of visual perception are universal, these can be used as methodological tools to identify underlying principles in the interaction between elements and/or features of an image composition. This in turn, helps in shedding light, with a systematic basis, on some of the visual cognitive principles that were involved in creating the designs, and possibly (though only speculatively) in their perception.

1.3.1.2.4. *Body painting database and analysis.*

The information related to the visual analysis was recorded in a database using 'Access 97'. The purposes of this database is to gather systematically the visual information about the body painting designs in such a way that possible layout patterns and visual conventions will be inferred when analysing the data. It will consider the following variables per individual²⁷:

- photo number
- individual number
- situation of body painting use [every day life (which situation), special occasion (which), ceremonial (which ceremony)]
- visible side of the body (in the photograph or drawing)
- gender of wearer
- age of wearer
- role of the wearer
- portion/s of the body painted
- types of decorative elements
- colour of decorative elements
- technique/s of application of paint
- combination of decorative elements
- combination of motifs
- position of decorative elements on the body
- orientation of decorative elements
- visual principles involved in the overall design
- symmetry of overall design in the face
- symmetry of the overall design in the body
- wearing masks?, if yes, masks decoration – including decorative elements, colour, spatial layout in the mask
- handling artefacts?, decorated? if yes, artefacts decoration – including decorative elements, colour, spatial layout in the artefact
- wearing ornaments?, if yes, which
- wearing clothes?, if yes, which

²⁷ Although some of these variables are also considered in the photo/drawing database to give an account of the kind of information these records provide, they are here recorded per individual (which is the unit of analysis), and with more detail, e.g. not just mentioning if they are wearing masks, but recording the masks decoration.

A sample of this database entry form and a list of the states of the variables and codes used for recording them is included in appendix A. The rationale about the definition of decorative elements and motifs recorded in the database, which have been identified using the visual perception and image construction criteria developed in section 1.3.1.2.3., is also included in appendix A.

The recording of these variables will make it possible to search for visual patterns generated by the recurrent use of two or more features of the design (such as motif and colour, or decorative element and position on the body). This in turn can unveil the existence of wearing conventions related to the roles of the wearers, the situations in which the designs were worn, etc.

The recording of the visual data about the body painting designs was done at two different levels. In recording the overall design, the unit of analysis is the individual. A number of variables are recorded at this level, such as which body portions are painted, which techniques, visual principles, and combination of motifs were used to create the designs, and if these were symmetric.

The design worn by an individual is formed by one or various combined motifs, and each motif is formed by one, two or more combined decorative elements. The features of the basic components of the design (the decorative elements) need to be recorded per decorative element (e.g. the type of decorative element, such as line, row of dots, etc., its colour, position and orientation, and the motif it forms part of). So the decorative elements are the smallest units of analysis of the database, and are recorded in the subform of the database entry form (see sample in appendix A).

In searching for visual patterns in the plastic composition of the designs, two main kinds of data analysis have been carried out. Qualitative analysis has been focused on the search for the use of certain visual features, such as colours, motifs, etc. in certain situations or by individuals of certain age or gender, or playing a certain role. This analysis treats the data at a nominal scale, looking for the presence or absence of a specific feature and its association with the state of another variable. This kind of analysis allows us to reach conclusions such as that a certain gender only wears certain types of motifs in certain situations.

But in many cases, qualitative analysis does not lead to any conclusive results, as the data may look ambiguous. Using the example cited above, certain motifs may have been worn by men and women, and no obvious relationship may be established between gender and motifs in a qualitative way. Quantitative analysis may help in finding out if a relationship between two variables did exist beyond the inconspicuous counts of

observations.

For the data under analysis, I have used the X^2 test (Blalock 1970, Shennan 1996a), because it can be applied to counts of nominal data and can determine if such a relationship between variables did exist or not. It should be noted that a positive answer to such a question does not establish a causal relationship between the two variables (e.g. that motif A is significantly related to men does obviously not mean that being a man ‘causes’ wearing motif A, or vice-versa). Rather, the test determines the existence (or lack) of a statistically significant relationship between two variables, which, in the cases under study, indicates the presence (or lack) of visual conventions in body painting designs. The reasons for the uses of these visual conventions are to be found in the information about their context (when available). What is most interesting is that this test can help in finding out ‘subtle’ conventions of visual codes which would otherwise remain undetected if only searched for in a qualitative way. This in turn sheds light on what a visual code can imply, given that if only straightforward patterns are expected (e.g. motif A being only worn by male individuals), very little could in fact be found out about the patterns of construction of body painting designs.

1.3.1.2.5. *Structure of the analysis.*

The study of body painting will be separated into two major stages: production and use (wearing and viewing). This organisation of the analysis will facilitate the study of each stage separately, concentrating on their specific dynamics. It will also enable the comparison between the production processes of the different everyday life, special occasions and ceremonial situations within a society (on an intra-society level, see below) and between societies (on an inter-society level, see below). Comparison between the use processes, in the same situations and levels as above, will also be carried out.

Study of production and use stages of body painting will also allow us to draw on their implications for one another, that is, on the qualities of the production processes that influence those of body painting use, and on the characteristics required by the different uses, which act as constraints of production. More broadly, the implications of both these stages for other areas of society (for example subsistence, myths, gender roles, etc.) will also be explored.

Given that the research is dealing with two societies, the Selk’nam and the Yámana, the visual and contextual analyses of the production and use stages will be developed in two different levels:

1) intra-group level:

1-a) production: contextual analysis, and visual analysis of the process of creation of body painting in the different situations in which it was involved

1-b) use: visual analysis and contextual analysis of the actions of wearing and viewing body painting in the different situations in which it was involved

2) inter-group level:

2-a) interaction analysis: analysis of the roles that body painting may have had in the interaction of the two aboriginal societies.

2-b) comparative analysis, both of visual and contextual aspects: comparison of the information and analyses for each social group, in order to search for similarities and differences between them, which in turn may shed light on their interaction, that is, level 2-a). Given that the Selk'nam and Yámana were neighbouring societies, living in the same region, and that they shared certain socio-cultural similarities, though had various other differences, the situation is highly favourable to making contextual comparisons, which can shed light on aspects of their body painting practices, as well as on some other related social aspects. Comparison will also be carried out in a methodological way, that is, by tracing particular aspects across the two societies, searching for their similarities and differences, and interpreting the information obtained according to the theoretical framework and research problems here presented.

Chapter 2.

Fuegians and Europeans in the uttermost part of the world.

History of research and background knowledge.

2.1. Introduction.

This chapter presents the background information about the Selk'nam and Yámana societies which forms the context in which body painting was produced, and to which it will be related along this thesis. As noted in chapter 1, since such information comes from historical, ethnographic and archaeological sources, it is crucial to develop a critical analysis of the construction of such records, before the information they provide can be further studied to shed light on the production and display of body painting by the Fuegian societies. Therefore, a history of research is presented in section 2.2. It should be noted that this is not a history of research of the topic, since Fuegian body painting has so far not been systematically studied, but a history of how the records that provide information about such visual productions were generated.

In sections 2.3. and 2.4., a panorama about the Selk'nam and Yámana societies is presented with the aim of providing the contextual information mentioned above. This background information is mostly based on the ethnographic data and focused on the contact period, since the available information about body painting comes from such sources, and refers to this period. These ethnographic panoramas purposely exclude body painting data, since these will be presented in chapter 3, and analysed from such chapter onwards, linking them to the contextual information provided here.

2.2. A history of research of the Yámana and Selk'nam societies.

2.2.1. Historical and ethnographic records.

The historical and ethnographic accounts of observations of Fuegian societies cover four hundred years, from the XVI to the XX century. The first recorded observation of painted Selk'nam aborigines dates back to the late XVI century (Sarmiento de Gamboa (1580-1584) 1950), while in the Yámana case it dates back to mid-XVII century (van Walbeek 1643). In both cases, the last first-hand observations of the paintings worn by these aborigines were made before 1930 (Gusinde 1924 and Spencer 1929).

The total number of first-hand authors consulted is 55, of which 18 refer to the Selk'nam case, 25 to the Yámana, and 12 to both. The number of written sources that provide

relevant information for this thesis is 75, while the visual records add up to 228 photographs and drawings, of which 130 provide evidence about the Selk'nam case and 98 about the Yámana case.

Given this great number of sources that refer to body painting, a full history of research that accounts for the circumstances of the construction of the records by each author clearly entails a lengthy text. For this reason, such detailed analysis is presented in appendix B. I will summarise in this section the most important points developed in this appendix, with the aim of pinpointing the background, biases and intentions of the authors, which have clearly shaped the written and visual sources. As noted in chapter 1, such critical analysis does not detach the information about body painting from such biased contexts, but rather brings awareness about its limitations and also about its potentials.

The history of the formation of the historical and ethnographic records about Tierra del Fuego can be divided into three different broad trends, which originated in chronological succession, although due to their different duration they also overlapped in time. These trends were developed by Western individuals and groups with very different aims and attitudes, which precisely help in characterising such tendencies; these are: the voyagers-explorers, the missionaries, and the ethnographers.

With the growing interest and competition between European countries to explore and take possession of different regions of the globe which had potential economic and strategic benefit, exploratory voyages to the southernmost portion of the American continent were planned in the early XVI century. The records that include information about the Fuegians started with the successful journey of Magallanes in 1520, in which he discovered the strait that connects the Atlantic with the Pacific¹, and for the first time observed the presence of humans in the region, hinted by their fires, hence the name Tierra del Fuego, the land of fire (Pigafetta 1946 (1520)).

The voyagers' journey records focus mostly on the description of the geographical features of shores and seas, since it is clear that these were needed as future reference to reach the places once discovered. But various of these also mention the encounters with aborigines when the expeditions went on shore, and/or when they were approached by those Fuegians that moved in canoes (i.e. the Yámana and the Alacaluf). Such encounters were in some cases violent, not only because of aggressive intentions of the Europeans or of defensive reactions of the aborigines (e.g. Van Noort (1599) in Alvarez 2000: 40), but also because of great

¹ Which was of crucial interest at that time because it was not known that land that existed further south was in fact not a massive continental landmass but a group of islands among which it was possible to navigate.

misunderstandings between the two groups, particularly when the voyagers intended to take aborigines as guides or interpreters (e.g. Sarmiento de Gamboa (1580-1584) 1950). It is interesting to note that the first records of encounters with the Selk'nam and Yámana aborigines (Sarmiento de Gamboa (1580-1584) 1950 and Van Walbeeck 1643, respectively) already indicate their use of body painting, which then dates such practices back to the XVI and XVII centuries respectively.

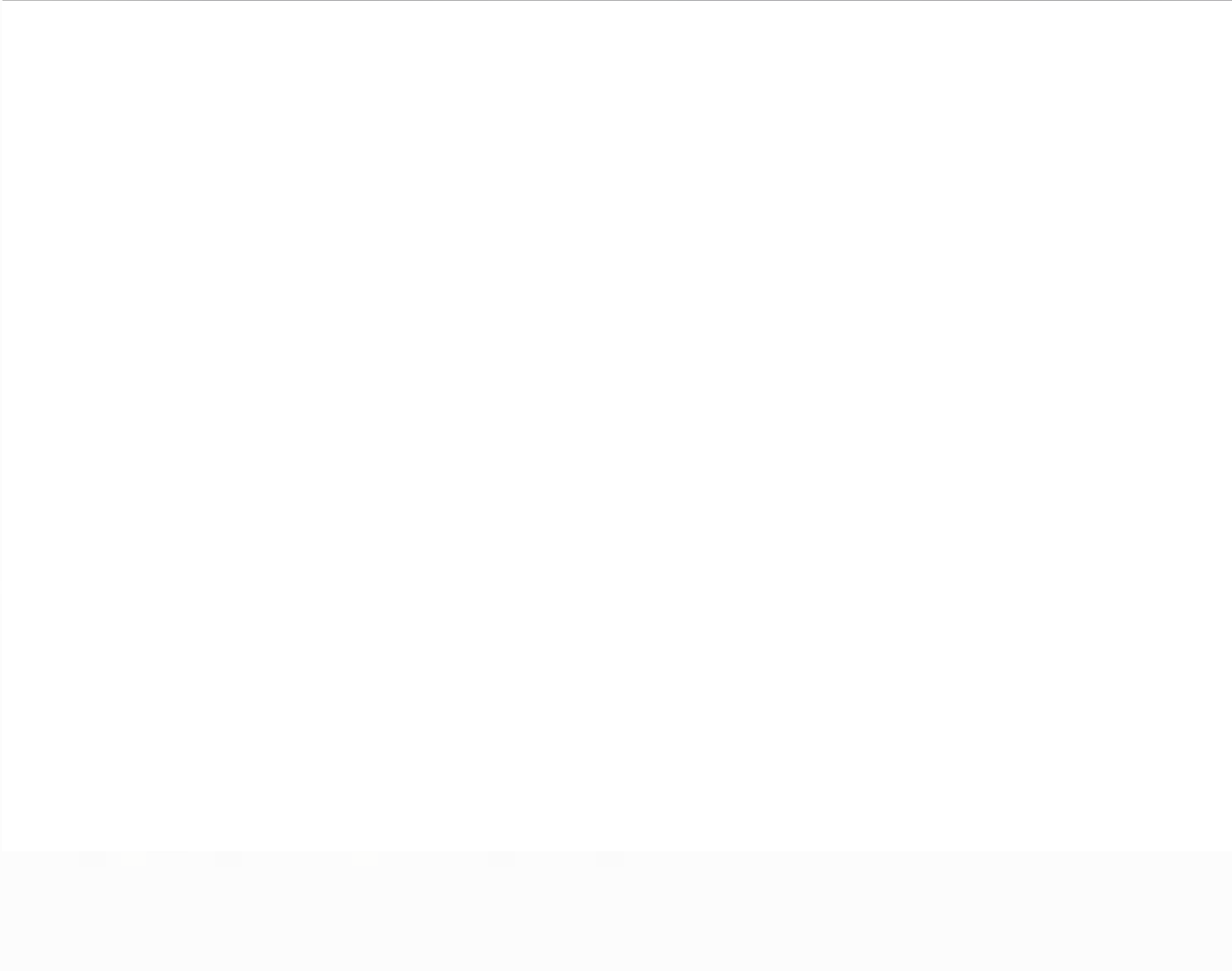


Plate 2.1. Drawing of two Fuegian aborigines wearing painted(?) designs on their bodies (Y95). In spite of the Western style of the designs, this might be the first visual record of such practice by the Yámana, dating from around 1630.



Plate 2.2. Detail from a map showing drawings of aborigines, possibly painted, possibly of Alacaluf origin (S130 a and b; this visual document has been included in the Selk'nam records only because of the territorial position of the aborigines within the map, and does not necessarily imply ethnic-social identification).

In the XVIII century, the voyagers reports show a shift in the quantity and especially quality of the observations about the aborigines. The clearest case of this new direction is found in the texts of Banks (1962) and G. Forster (1777), who were the naturalists on board of the two expeditions led by J. Cook in 1769 and 1772, which reached Tierra del Fuego. These texts show intentions not just of providing account of the observed customs, but also of generating explanations for what was observed². Such interest was also developed by the XIX century voyagers, the most well known example being that of Fitz-Roy (1839b) and Darwin (1839 and 1845), whose texts show an intricate mixture of ethnocentric opinions, with attempts of scientific description and contextual interpretation of the great cultural differences that were observed³. Within the former, Darwin's opinion that the difference between a 'savage' and civilised man was greater than that of a wild and domesticated animal (1945: 16), and his quotations from Western and aboriginal informants about the Yámana's cannibalism (ibid: 214) greatly contributed to generate a deeply negative image of the Fuegians which took several decades to be challenged (see below).

At the same time, the intentions to produce changes in the aborigines were taken to such extreme, that four aborigines (Fuegia Basket, York Minster and Boat Memory, of Alacaluf origin, and Jemmy Button, of Yámana origin) were taken to Great Britain by Parker King and Fitz-Roy in their first trip (1826-1830) to educate them according to the British-Western culture, with the aim of bringing them back to Tierra del Fuego in the second trip (1831-1836, in which Darwin took part). There, they were expected to teach what they had learnt to their compatriots, to 'civilise' and take them out of their 'savage' state. Such attempt is one of the clearest practical examples of the evolutionist framework, which went beyond explaining the differential stages of evolution of humankind and also included the possibility of fostering evolutionary change by subjecting the 'savage' individuals to learning new 'civilised' cultural customs.

Other XIX century expeditions (Webster 1834, Wilkes 1844 in Gusinde 1986: 111-116, Ross 1847) have contributed with observations, some of considerable detail, about the Yámana, and mentioned the positive effect that their visits must have had on the aborigines (Ross 1847), showing again not just ethnocentrism about the aborigines customs, but open interest in their transformation. And it is precisely at this time, in which a much more thorough and systematic transformation of the aborigines started to take place, the

² See chapter 3 and appendix B for the specific data on the explanations offered by Forster about body painting practices.

establishment of the missions, which originated the second trend of historical records about the Fuegians. The first institution to plan a Fuegian mission was the Patagonian Missionary Society (later renamed South American Missionary Society), which was founded in 1844 in Great Britain by Anglican members, and focused on the transformation of the aborigines of the southern area of Tierra del Fuego (see table 2.2 and map 2.1), mostly in terms of their religion and working habits. Its first attempt ended up with the death of A. Gardiner, the mission leader, and the six members of the expedition due to starvation and the extremely harsh weather conditions. The diary of one of the missionaries, R. Williams (in Hamilton 1845) records the events of this tragic experience, including observations about their difficult interaction with the Yámana aborigines. Yet in spite of the ethnocentric and fearful accounts about them, Williams saw in them “a fac-simile of our British forefathers” (ibid: 117), linking from an evolutionist perspective these different ‘savages’ and their own ancestors. For the missionaries, the Fuegians were the ‘others’, but these ‘others’ were, if remotely, related to them, and therefore deserved help to overcome what was considered some of the harshest living conditions in the world.

The Anglican missionaries included in their letters and diaries a number of observations about the Yámana, various of which refer to their body paintings (Williams in Hamilton 1854, Parker Snow 1866, Despard 1857, 1860, 1861, Stirling 1864, Bridges 1872, 1875, 1876, 1869, 1886, 1897, 1933). Of these, the most thorough texts are those written by Bridges, the step-son of Despard. He particularly focused on the Yámana language, compiling a Yámana-English dictionary including about 30,000 terms (Bridges 1933); other texts were also written as ‘ethnographic’ reports about the Fuegian customs (Bridges 1869, 1897MS). Though his perspective was clearly religious and not unbiased, the tone in the texts when addressing the Fuegian customs is quite balanced, and mostly avoided heavily value-laden terms. Moreover, in some cases he openly spoke in favour of the aborigines and stood for the need of their protection against the actions of other Western people who were aiming to destroy them. Such protection was obviously structured upon his own criteria, which included, among other things, keeping the ownership of the land he had acquired from the Argentinean government (estancia Harberton) when he retired from the mission, in which many Yámana and also Selk’nam people who came from the north, found shelter and were hired to do jobs (Bridges 1886: 204). Later, one of the sons of Bridges, L. Bridges (1951), wrote a book retelling the story of his father and family in Tierra del Fuego, and compiling a

³ Again, see details in chapter 3 and appendix B.

vast set of data about the Selk'nam and the Yámana, including various photographs (see catalogue in appendix C). His approach to the aborigines customs was very positive, even suggesting that certain habits would be beneficial for the Western society, although, in other cases, not lacking in ethnocentrist comments.

The other group of missionaries that was established in Tierra del Fuego was of Catholic religion, and belonged to the Salesian order. One of their principal missions was established in the northern section of the Big Island, and worked with the Selk'nam (see table 2.2 and map 2). A great number of missionaries spent time in the region, including father Fagnano, after whom the big lake of Tierra del Fuego has been named. Of these, Beauvoir (1915), Cojazzi (1911), Borgatello (1929), an anonymous Salesian missionary (1914, in Belza 1974), and De Agostini (1924, 1941) gathered information from their own observations and also from other Salesian missionaries, especially Zenone. Their texts include written data about the Selk'nam language, clothing and ornamentation (including body painting), subsistence, initiation ceremonies, etc. The information is mostly presented in these texts as generalisations about the Selk'nam society and culture, and hardly ever do they include references to specific observations and dates. This is mostly due to the fact that such texts were prepared for publication, and hence, unlike the Anglican fragments of diaries and letters, they mostly lack allusions to first-hand experiences. The texts are mainly descriptive, and combine very condescending terms towards the aborigines with open claims about the importance of contributing to their defence from extinction together with their adaptation to new rules of labour and religion, which, again, justifies the action of the Salesian missions.

Photos of the aborigines were also published by these authors, and were mostly taken by De Agostini. Such photographs clearly responded to an interest in documenting the 'original and savage' state of the aborigines (hence, at least partly, showing and justifying the need of the missionaries work), but also responded to De Agostini's sense of what should be photographed. Therefore, for example, he seems to have avoided scenes of nudity (which were frequent in Selk'nam life), and, at the same time, maybe for this reason or to avoid photographing Fuegians wearing western clothes, he pictured (in photographs, and in his documentary film), Yámana persons dressed as Selk'nam, although, as it will be shown in this thesis, they were still painted in Yámana fashion (details of the formation of these records are presented and analysed in appendix B).

During the phase of the establishment of missions, a number of expeditions to Tierra del Fuego were also carried out, with exploratory aims, either related to individuals interests, or to commissions by the Argentinean and Chilean governments. Various of these expeditions

generated information about Fuegian body paintings: Bove (1883 a and b), Lovisato (1884) and Spegazzini (1882); Barclay (1904), Gallardo (1910) and Dabbene (1904 and 1911); and Lista (1887) and Segers (1891)⁴, but their data are usually brief, and mixing the authors' own first-hand observations with unacknowledged quotations mostly from the comments of the Bridges family. Possibly the most extreme case of such procedure is that of Gallardo, who used information provided by L. Bridges without acknowledging it; L. Bridges had asked Gallardo not to mention his name in order to not upset the Selk'nam, who might think he had betrayed their confidence, yet Gallardo went beyond such request, and presented several anecdotes retold by L. Bridges as experienced by himself (L. Bridges 1951: 526). Gallardo also used pieces of a photograph (possibly taken by Ojeda) published by Barclay (1904) to illustrate his book, without acknowledging that these were portions of a bigger photograph, which had not been taken by himself (see details in appendix B).

⁴ This latter had mainly military-exploratory aims.



Plate 2.3. First known visual document of Selk'nam facial paintings (S79, see also S78).

Parallel to these exploratory expeditions, a third and final trend in the formation of the records about Fuegian societies started to develop: it corresponded to the scientific expeditions⁵. The Mission Scientifique du Cap Horn was in charge of a French team which spent a year (1882-1883) in Orange Bay, southern Tierra del Fuego. It was systematically carried out, and generated thorough ethnographic results about the Yámana, including data about body painting. Ethnographic observations were recorded by the director of the expedition, Martial (1888), and by Hyades, the doctor of the expedition, who was specifically in charge of such task (Hyades 1884, 1885, 1887, Hyades and Deniker 1891). The texts mostly consist of thorough descriptions, and give little explanations elaborated about the observations. Also, great care was taken to quote the sources of information (aboriginal interpreters/informants, missionaries such as Bridges) when this did not come from first hand observations. A great collection of photographs was also produced by this mission (all those gathered in the Musée del Homme have been published by Chapman 1995), including a few of Yámana individuals wearing body painting (see appendix C). These are the earliest visual records of such designs, some of which were worn until the XX century.

Later, within this trend of scientific missions, individual ethnographers reached Tierra del Fuego to conduct their field-work. This possibly happened because travelling alone in the area may have become less risky than in previous times. These individual expeditions include Furlong (1917 a and b), Gusinde (see below), Koppers (1991 [1924]), Lothrop (1928), and Spencer (1951), who produced texts rich in written and visual information. Their tone and explanations differ in terms of their theoretical frameworks, being much more environmentalist in Furlong's case, and a mixture between evolutionism and certain cultural-relativist concepts in Lothrop's case.

But it is clear that the most prolific individual ethnographer who worked in Tierra del Fuego is Gusinde (1919, 1929, 1922, 1924, 1931 [1982], 1937 [1986], 1951), who carried out four field-work seasons to the region: the three first lasted about 3 months each (December to March 1918-1919, 1920-1921, 1921-1922, in this latter, accompanied by Koppers, who made his own ethnographic records), and the last one about 17 months (December 1922 to April 1924). Gusinde was an Austrian priest who belonged to the Societas Verbi Divini. He did not visit the region to carry out missionary work, but to make ethnographic observations of the Selk'nam, Yámana, and Alacaluf societies. Gusinde received help and information from

⁵ As noted above, previous expeditions which had wider aims, included scientists in their crews. These expeditions, instead, were mostly and in some cases exclusively devoted to scientific observation. The term

Zenone (Salesian), and the Bridges and Lawrence families (Anglican), but in his text it is difficult to distinguish his observations from the information quoted from informants or from these sources. Moreover, his lengthy texts do include some internal contradictions which sometimes make the information questionable. He also produced a very vast photographic collection, of great use for this project, and indeed the process of its formation involves very meaningful events which not only disclose his own interests and intentions, but also those of the photographed subjects too (see chapter 4, and appendix B).

One of Gusinde's main aims was to prove that the Fuegians had a monotheist religion, since such a cultural feature would fit with his religious beliefs, and theoretical framework: being a follower of W. Schmidt and the "Vienna school", he expected to find that 'archaic' cultures were monotheist and that they had subsequently degenerated and been replaced by polytheist cultures (see appendix B). Yet in spite of such expected transformation, his explanations were constructed from an a-historical perspective, as if change had never happened, both constantly stretching the present observations to the past, and not acknowledging that present cultural habits could have originated in previous, and different, features of a single culture. Change, or rather, cultural replacement, was explained by a mechanism of diffusion of certain cultural traits which replaced others (Gusinde 1922: 431). In defending such mechanisms of diffusion, Gusinde's culture-historical perspective was clearly against evolutionism (Gusinde 1924: 28). But in spite of his diffusionist approach, Gusinde was very positive opinion about the Fuegian cultures, and praised the aborigines' attitudes and morale, showing also a cultural-relativist perspective which he eclectically combined with the culture-historical framework (Orquera and Piana 1995: 207). He also openly defended the right of the aborigines in relation to their land, and related their eventual disappearance to the abuses carried out by the Western people (1919: 22), though he approved the missionaries' work and their use/ownership of portions of the land. Finally, Gusinde claimed to be the first Western person to have fully observed the Selk'nam and Yámana initiation ceremonies (though it is clear that other Europeans already knew about them and also participated in some of them, e.g. Cooper 1917, L. Bridges 1951). He also claimed to be the last one, due to the imminent extinction of the Fuegian societies (Gusinde 1924: 40).

The two last researchers to carry out ethnographic field-works in the region are Chapman (1982, 1997) and Stambuk (1986). Given that they carried out their research in the second half of the XX century, when most of the aboriginal customs had been lost/abandoned,

scientific is used here to refer to systematic gathering and presentation of data, and does not imply that such observations were 'objective' or unbiased, even if the authors writing the texts would claim so.

they could not observe them directly. Rather, they interviewed Fuegian descendants⁶, and gathered first-hand oral information about the Selk'nam and Yámana societies, including some information about body painting. It is interesting to note that only in this recent period do we find two women working as ethnographers in Tierra del Fuego. It is therefore not by chance that their work provides information about the role of the women in these societies, although in both cases they embed such data in a much wider and detailed context, which, in Chapman's case, is thoroughly analysed from a socio-economic and symbolic perspective, focusing mainly on the kinship relations and the initiation ceremonies.

As noted above, this history of research focuses only on the formation of the historic-ethnographic records, since no research has focused so far on the study of Fuegian body paintings. The only publication that I am aware of is a short paper (Manzi 1991) in which some of the uses of paint by the Selk'nam aborigines have been presented. Manzi organised the information coming from some written sources following Schiffer's (1972) systemic context flow model, and commented that such a model might help in the future to generate hypotheses about activities that may be evidenced in the archaeological record (Manzi 1991: 140, 142). She also distinguished a) two general functions of the Selk'nam paints: the expression of ideas and feelings, and practical uses (which involve both body and object painting); and b) three differential uses of body painting: quotidian, ritual and social (ibid: 141-142). Though brief and not covering the whole range of authors and sets of data provided by each source, this paper is the first (and only) to have focused on the topic of paint uses by the Selk'nam.

In conclusion, this history of research (and the detailed analysis in appendix B) shows that an important set of written and visual sources about the Selk'nam and Yámana societies, including their body painting, was formed during the last four centuries (XVI-XX). The critical study of such collection of texts and images can shed light on the processes of their formation, both in relation to their authors, and to at least some of the dynamics that underlay Fuegian body painting practices. Such critical analysis is one of the bases of this research project.

⁶ Chapman carried out a series of long anthropological field-work seasons in Tierra del Fuego, in which she interviewed a number of individuals, of whom Angela, Lola, Federico and Esteban were crucial informants.

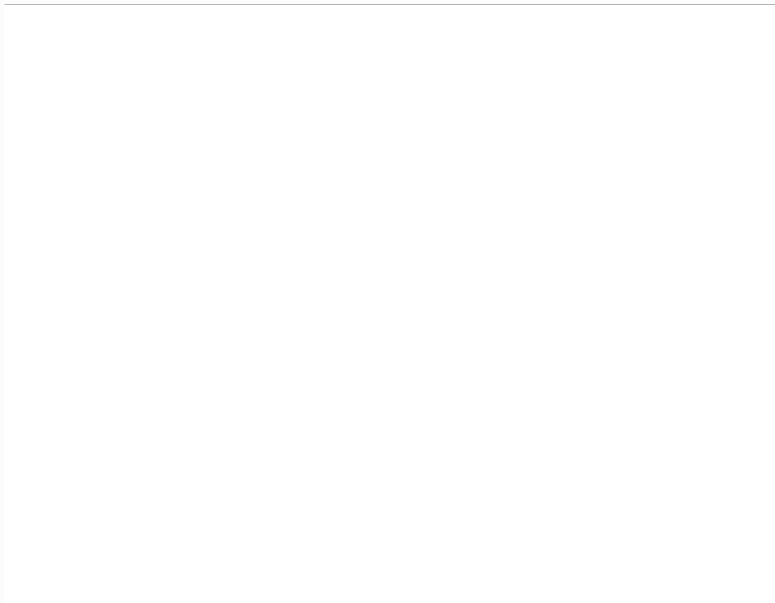


Plate 2.4. M. Gusinde with Yámana informants (Brüggemann 1989)



Plate 2.5. A. De Agostini taking photographs (Prieto and Cárdenas 1997)

Stambuk, instead, interviewed only one informant, Rosa, who she met in a hospital in Punta Arenas (Chile) and published in a short book a compilation of such interviews.

Table 2.1. Chronological list of written and visual records of Selk'nam and Yámana body painting.

Author and year of publication	Date trip	Selk'nam	Yámana	Language text	Visual records?
Sarmiento de Gamboa [1585] 1950	1579 & 1584	✓		S	No
Van Noort 1599	1599	✓		S	No
Nodal 1621	1615	✓		S	No
Van Walbeek 1643	1643		✓		Yes?
Labbe 1711 (Jesuit)	1711	✓		S	No
Anon 1765 in Schindler 1995	1765	✓		S	No
D' Arquistade in Gusinde 1986			✓	F	No
Cook 1777 ☿●	1769	✓		E	No
Banks 1768 ●	1769	✓		E	No
Forster 1777 ☿	1772		✓	E	No
Weddell 1825	1823		✓	E	No
FitzRoy 1839b ☆	1831	✓	✓	E	No
Darwin 1839 & 1845 ☆	1831	✓	✓	E	No
Webster 1834	1828		✓	E	No
Wilkes 1844 ●	1839		✓	E	No
Colvocoresses 1852 ●	1839		✓	E	No
Ross 1847 □	1842		✓	E	No
McCormick 1884 □	1842		✓	E	No
Williams (Anglican) in Hamilton 1850	1850		✓	E	No
Parker Snow 1857 – 1864 (Anglican)	1855		✓	E	No
Despard 1857 – 1861 (Anglican)	1855		✓	E	No
Stirling 1864 (Anglican)	1863 to 1869		✓	E	No
Bridges 1869, 1872, 1875, 1876, 1886, 1897 MS, 1933 (Anglican)			✓	E	No
Serrano 1879 in Lista 1887 & in Alvarez 2000	1879	✓		S	No
Bove 1883 *	1881	✓	✓	I	Yes
Lovisato 1884 *	1881	✓		I	No
Spegazzini 1882 *	1881	✓	✓	I	No
Martial 1888 ✓	1882 to 1883		✓	F	no
Hyades 1884, 1885, 1887; Hyades and Deniker 1891 ✓	1882 to 1883		✓	F	Yes
Lista 1887 □	1886 to 1887	✓		S	No
Segers 1891 □	1886 to 1887	✓		S	No
Popper 1887, 1891	1886	✓		S	No
Aspinall 1888 (Anglican)	1888		✓	E	No

Burleigh 1889 (Anglican)	1889		✓	E	No
Spears 1895	1891		✓	E	No
Payró 1898	1898?	✓	✓	S	No
Barclay 1926	1904	✓		E	Yes
Gallardo 1910	1904	✓		S	Yes
Dabbene 1904, 1911	1904	✓	✓	I	Yes
Coiazzi 1914 (Salesian)		✓	✓	S	Yes
Beauvoir 1915 (Salesian)		✓		S	No
Furlong 1917	1907	✓		E	No
Borgatello 1929 (Salesian)		✓		S	Yes
De Agostini 1924, 1929, 1930, 1941 (Salesian)	1910 to 1918 & 1922 to 1923	✓	✓	I & S	Yes
Gusinde 1919, 1920, 1922, 1924, 1982 [1931], 1986 [1937], 1951 (Societas Verbi Divini – ethnographer) 1918 to 1919; 1920 to 1921; 1921 to 1922; 1922 to 1924 ◆	1918 to 1924	✓	✓	G/S S	Yes
Koppers 1991 [1924] (Societas Verbi Divini – ethnog) ◆	1923		✓	G/S	Yes
Lothrop 1928 (ethnographer)	1924	✓	✓	E	Yes
L. Bridges 1951		✓	✓	E	Yes
Spencer 1951 (ethnographer)	1929		✓	E	No
Anonymous Salesian Missionary in Belza 1974 (Salesian)		✓		S	No
Chapman 1982, 1997 (ethnographer)		✓		E	Yes
Stambuk 1986			✓	E	Yes
Brüggemann 1989		✓ _x	✓ _x	G	Yes
Prieto and Cardenas	-----	✓ _x		S	Yes
Borrero, McEwan and Prieto	-----		✓ _x	E	Yes

The symbols (e.g. ☆☆, ◆ ◆, etc) indicate that the authors have been members of the same expedition.

Religious order indicated between brackets, next to the missionaries names.

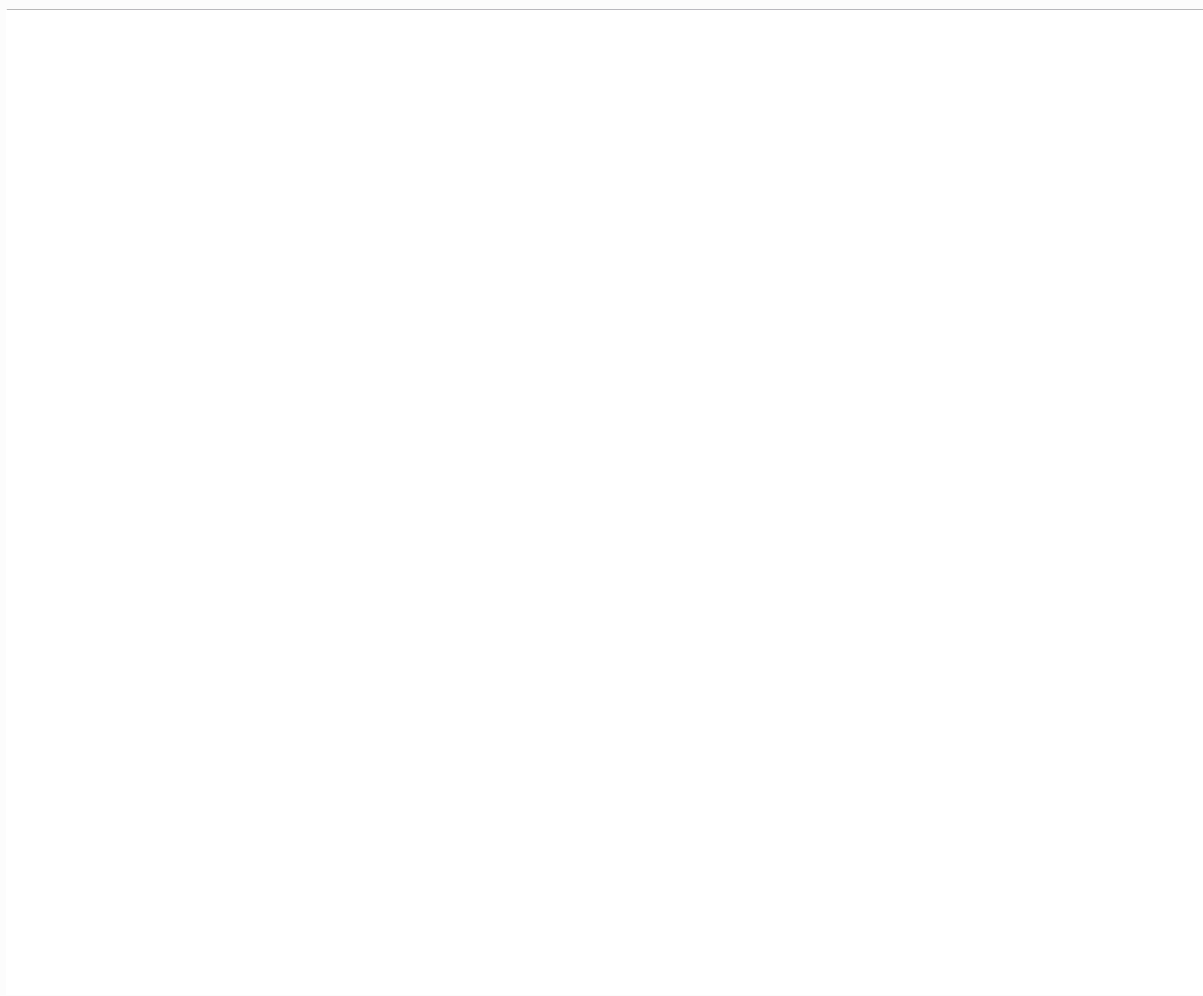
✓_x indicates second hand sources that have published first hand visual records

S = Spanish; E = English; G = German; I = Italian; F = French

Table 2.2. List of Anglican (A) and Salesian (S) missions.

Name of mission	Dates	Location
Cranmer Mission (A)	1855	Keppel island, next to West Falkland/Gran Malvina.
Lauaia (A)		Navarino island.
Ushuaia (A)	1869	Ushuaia, Isla Grande de Tierra del Fuego.
Wollaston (A)	1888-1892	Bayly island.
Tekenika (A)	1892-1906	Hoste island.
San Rafael (S)	1889-1911	Dawson island.
La Candelaria (S)	1893	Rio Grande, Isla Grande de Tierra del Fuego.
Douglas river (A)	1907-1916	Navarino island.

Map 2.1. Location of Anglican and Salesian missions (from Canclini 1984, modified).



2.2.2. Archaeological research: an overview.

This brief outline of archaeological research aims to provide an overview of the development of the archaeological studies of Tierra del Fuego. Given that a great proportion of the data that are analysed in this project do not come from the archaeological record, this section will only present a regional and chronological panorama about some of the most important sites. This will constitute a synthetic general background for the specific archaeological finds that will be introduced and discussed in further chapters (chapters 3, 4 and 6).

The region of Tierra del Fuego can be subdivided into several areas of archaeological research. The north of Isla Grande de Tierra del Fuego is where the earliest evidences of human occupation have been found so far: sites Marazzi (Laming-Emperaire et al. 1972) and Tres Arroyos (Massone 1987) show dates of 9,500 years BP⁷ and 11800 years BP respectively, including associated extinct megafauna in Tres Arroyos (ibid). The upper layers of Tres Arroyos have been related to the occupation by Selk'nam people (Massone 1990). Other sites towards the north-east, such as Bloque Errático and Punta María, are of much more recent date (about 1,500 BP; Borrero 1994-1995). Towards the south-east, the areas of Mitre peninsula (e.g. Lanata 1996) and Isla de los Estados (Chapman 1987, Horwitz 1993) have also been subject to archaeological research; the earliest date for site BC1 in Isla de los Estados is 2,730 BP (ibid).

In the south of Isla Grande, the north shore of the Beagle Channel was subject of some early studies (e.g. Vignati 1927) which established two archaeological phases (Bird 1938) or industries (Menghin 1956, 1960) in a clear normative fashion. Later, the existence of a long series of successive occupations was evidenced in various sites (e.g. 6,900 BP. to 450 BP. in site Túnel I, Orquera and Piana 1999). Some sites in southern islands of the Fuegian archipelago are also of early date (e.g. 6,120 B.P. in Grandi 1, Navario island, Legoupil 1993-1994), while others, further south, are of later date (e.g. 1410 B.P. in Bayly island, ibid).

Most of the archaeological studies of the Fuegian region have focused in the analysis of subsistence, settlement patterns, mobility, and technology, as well as on the formation processes of the archaeological record and on the contrasts found between the archaeological and historical-ethnographic evidence. No analyses of evidence potentially linked to body painting or, broadly, colouring substances manipulation, has been carried out and published. Potentially relevant evidence for this topic will be pointed out in chapter 3.

⁷ The radiocarbon dates are quoted as published, without calibration.



Map 2.2. Location of archaeological sites (from Orquera 1997, modified).

2.3. The Yámana. Ethnographic data.

2.3.1. Territory.

The Yámana occupied the southern portion of the Big Island of Tierra del Fuego (the Beagle channel region) and the archipelago that spreads towards the south of the channel, reaching Cape Horn. Given that the Yámana were maritime nomads, it is mostly the shores of this territory, calculated in 27000 km², what was in effect used. The eastern and western territory limits stretched from about London island in the west to Sloggett bay in the east (Orquera and Piana 1999b: 80).

2.3.2. Language and genitive term for identification.

The Yámana language was very rich in terms (T. Bridges (1933) gathered in his dictionary more than 30,000 words). The presence of five districts within the Yámana language suggests the existence of a certain circumscription and intra-society differentiation of groups (Chapman 1987: 85, Orquera and Piana 1999b: 503-509).

According to Bridges, the term Yámana meant man, human, humanity, alive, intelligent, etc. (1880: 74 and 1933: 641). The often used term “Yahgans” was created by Bridges, and did not have a meaning in the native language.

2.3.3. Subsistence, use of raw materials and mobility.

The area occupied by the Yámana is covered by mountains and woods, except for the sea shores. It is cold and rainy. The edible resources found in the woods were very scarce, while in the shores the availability of maritime resources was much higher: pinnipeds, birds, fish and shellfish were abundant and predictable. According to Orquera and Piana, this predictability of maritime resources, together with the inherent difficulties of mobility within the woods, influenced the mode of transport of the Yámana, who travelled by canoe (Orquera and Piana 1999a:95). This of course does not mean that the woods' resources were not exploited: wood (logs and bark) was a fundamental resource, used for making canoes and for building huts. Also, other non-predictable resources, such as beached whales, were consumed (idem). The Yámana subsistence was then based on hunting, fishing and gathering, and their nomadism relied on canoe mobility.

This linkage between the type of subsistence and the mobility requirements which it implied was pointed out by early observers, such as Darwin: “The inhabitants, living chiefly upon shell-fish, are obliged constantly to change their place of residence; but they return at intervals to the same spots, as is evident from the piles of old shells...” (1845: 224). But

although shellfish consumption was conspicuous due to the enormous middens generated by the leftovers (which have an extremely high archaeological visibility), the main dietary staple of the Yámana in terms of calories supply was constituted by the pinnipeds the “two hair seals” (*Arctocephalus australis*), and the “sea lions” or “one hair seals” (*Otaria flavescens*; Orquera and Piana 1999a: 15). The Yámana ate the pinnipeds meat and grease, converted the grease in oil; used their skin to make cloaks and straps, their bones to manufacture tools (including the harpoons with which the seals were hunted) and their guts to make bags (Gusinde 1986, Lothrop 1928, Orquera and Piana 1999b), some of which were used to store pigments (see chapter 3). The pinnipeds were mostly hunted with harpoons by men standing on the canoes, while women rowed these. This gender division of labour and collaboration in such a fundamental subsistence task is part of a social structure based in gender difference but semi-egalitarianism, that was pervasive throughout the Yámana mode of life. As it will be shown in this thesis, such semi-egalitarian differentiation was partially constructed by the manipulation of body painting techniques and the display of painted designs.

Guanacos (*Lama guanicoe*) were seldom hunted by the Yámana, since these animals were only found in the coasts during winter, when they came down from the mountains, mostly in the eastern half of the Beagle Channel region, and in Navarino island. Their meat was consumed and their leather and bones were used to make artefacts (idem).

Otters were also hunted, as well as penguins, cormorants, some species of ducks, and other birds. Eggs were seasonally consumed. Bird bones were used to make tools (like punches) and ornaments (like beads), their feathers and down were used for ornaments and as tinder, and their maws as bags (idem).



Plate 2.6. Group of guanacos (postcard published by Zaguier and Urruty).

Plate 2.7. Group of sea lions.

Fishing was an everyday activity. It was mostly rewarding during summer (when shoals of sardines were captured) and autumn. Women were particularly skillful fishers, they captured the fish with canes with bait but without fishhooks, which required a great technical dexterity, admired by the Western men (e.g. Hyades and Denniker 1891: 371). As seen above, shellfish, especially mussels, were an important subsistence resource. They were a predictable and evenly distributed resource, which did not require elaborated techniques or physical strength to gather, and could be collected by any member of the group (Orquera and Piana 1999a: 110).

Finally, in spite of the claims about the practice of cannibalism by the Yámana, originated by Walbeeck (1643) and fostered by Fitz-Roy (1839b) and Darwin (1845: 214), especially after the latter author became a world-wide renowned scientist, such practices have been emphatically denied by a great number of observers (e.g. Bridges 1897: 18, see a list in Orquera and Piana 1999b: 205). A very interesting point about this issue is that the Yámana actually avoided the consumption of foxes, and of certain land birds, because they were suspicious that these animals might have fed on dead human bodies. Such open fear of 'distant cannibalism', which was even documented by Darwin (1845: 214) himself, suggests that the Yámana did not develop such practice. But more interestingly, it indicates that deep ideational concepts were regulating certain aspects of the Yámana subsistence.

2.3.4. Property.

Communal property existed among the Yámana. Nevertheless, many items were familiar or individual property, such as canoes, weapons, fishing lines, dogs, ornaments, etc. (Orquera and Piana 1999b: 194-195, 481-484). Generosity and reciprocity were common and highly regarded and maintained, yet individual property was to be respected by the others. Barter was a very common system, and was practised among the Yámana, who also attempted to practise it with the European voyagers. Still, many written records mention situations that were considered by the Westerners as theft, and the Yámana sometimes even suffered physical punishment for such actions (Weddell 1825).

Women had personal goods, which their husbands could not dispose of, and which they could even give away without asking them for permission (Orquera and Piana 1999b: 481-484). This implies again that the socio-economic position of women was at least semi-egalitarian in relation to the men.

2.3.5. Technology⁸.

The harpoon was probably the most conspicuous tool made and used by the Yámana⁹. It had a bone point, which could vary from one-barb to multi-barbed, and a long wooden haft. There were two different types of harpoon: one had a fixed point, which was firmly attached to the haft, the other type had a detachable point with a distal protuberance that helped in tying it to the haft by a strap which unfolded when the point hurt the prey (Orquera and Piana 1999a: 55).

Other bone tools were wedges (used to cut wood of bark), punches, drinking tubes, etc. Buckets and jars of leather or bark were also made. Baskets made of bullrush were often used by the women. Shells and some big mussels were used as knives, they were sometimes hafted using a beach pebble (ibid: 331, 348).

Fishing was carried out with lines made of algae or with braided tendons, without fishhooks, and with a pebble which acted as a weight and a feather stem in which the bait was inserted. When the fish swallowed the bait, the fisher-woman gently and swiftly pulled the line with one hand and trapped the fish with the other hand (ibid: 152). Although this technique did not require a sophisticated artefact gear, it required instead the development of technical skills to carry out the task with effectiveness.

The Yámana used slings, traps and clubs for hunting birds. Two-forked and four-forked pincers were used to collect limpets, mussels, spider crabs and sea urchins (ibid: 231). Bows and arrows were used to hunt guanacos, but the information about the intensity and frequency of their use is not clear (ibid: 219).

The information about the tools made of lithic raw material is contradictory: although these kinds of artefacts were found in archaeological sites of the “contact period” (Orquera and Piana 1999a:50-51), the ethnographic accounts about this time do not mention the existence of these artefacts. This may have been related to the artefacts’ simplicity, which may have not called the observers’ attention, or to the fact that they were being replaced at least partly by iron and glass pieces brought by the Europeans.

Canoes were made with bark slabs sawn to each other, covering a structure of wooden transversal shafts and longitudinal boards. The floor was covered with bark slabs and in the middle an earth, pebbles and/or shells platform was placed, where fire was always kept burning. The canoes were of 3 to 5,5 m. long, and could carry about seven persons. They had

⁸ This section excludes body painting technology, which is presented and analysed in chapter 4.

⁹ From 6,000 to 4,000 BP, these were one of the most commonly decorated types of artefacts, but later such tradition vanished, and these instruments were not decorated during the contact period.

no keel or helm, and specific technical skills were necessary to row them properly (Hyades and Deniker 1891), which only the women usually mastered. After 1880, canoes made of excavated trunks and also with wooden tablets were introduced in the Yámana region. Both these new models came from the Alacaluf region and by the end of the XIX century had replaced the bark canoes (Orquera and Piana 1999b: 235).

In relation to the technical knowledge and skills, there were persons who had greater ability than others for certain tasks, and due to this they enjoyed certain prestige. There were even some specific terms to name persons who were particularly skilful in the production of certain objects. Nevertheless, there were no specialised craftsmen who would make objects by request or produce goods that would be destined for exchange (Gusinde 1986: 492).

2.3.6. Shelter.

Two kinds of huts were built by the Yámana. One had a half-sphere form, and it was made with thin intertwined branches covered by foliage. The other one had a conic shape and it was made with trunks of medium thickness (Gusinde 1986: 361). Both had circular floor plan and a diameter of 3 or 3,5 m. The entrance was not closed, or at most was covered with a hanging hide. A hearth was permanently burning¹⁰ in the centre of the hut, around which the occupants squatted¹¹. The huts could last during various years, they were never destroyed (except when somebody died in them) and were reoccupied by the same or by different persons. Huts of much bigger size were used for carrying out the *kina* and *chiéjaus* ceremonies (see below).

¹⁰ Fire was used for heating, cooking, for some technological activities including baking pigments and for making smoke signs.

¹¹ Various residues were accumulated around this space, forming afterwards the archaeological shell-middens which are abundant in the Beagle channel region.

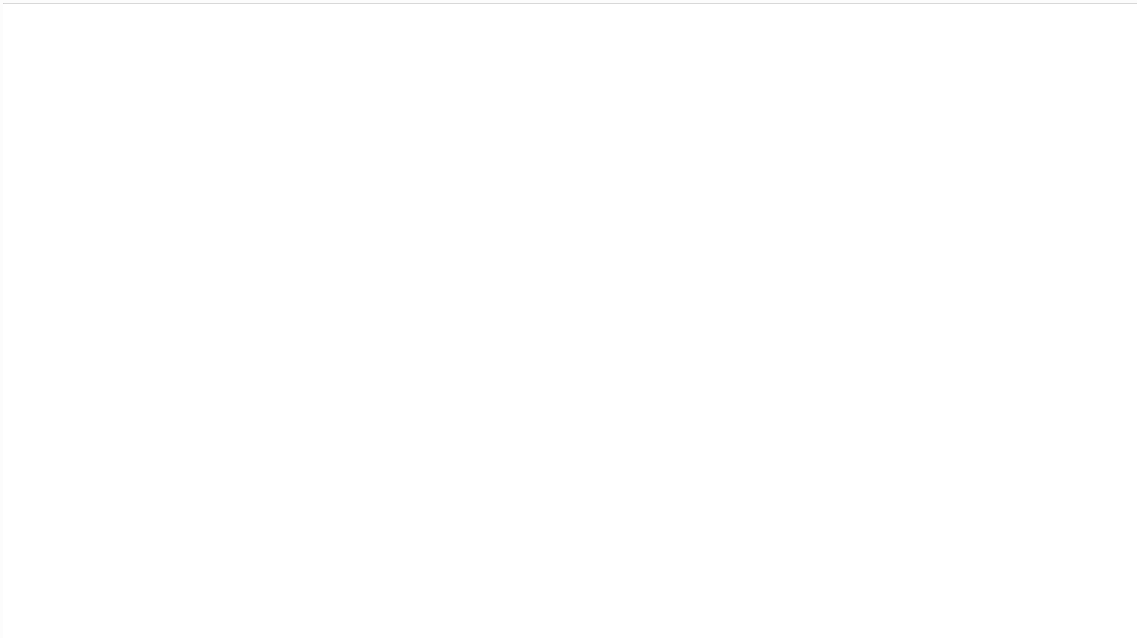


Plate 2.8. Yámana people with canoe (postcard published by Zaguier and Urruty).



Plate 2.9. Yámana canoe and artefacts (Mission Scientifique du Cap Horn, in Chapman et al. 1995).

2.3.7. Clothing and ornaments.

Although they lived in an extremely cold region of the planet, the Yámana clothing was very scarce. From the XVI to the XIX century, men were frequently seen completely naked, and women only wearing a hide loin cloth. Both men and women wore cloaks made of pinniped or guanaco skin, or foxes, otters or bird skins roughly sewn. These cloaks were worn over the shoulders and covered the back until knee-high, but did not wrap the chest.

The reasons for not wearing more clothing were inferred by Gusinde as related to the damp weather of the area, since the frequent rains in the territory would have caused the clothes to be continually soaked and hence would have not fulfilled their function of keeping the body from the cold (1986: 394). The also very frequent trips in canoe would have had the same dampening effect in the clothes. Yet it is clear that such habit was also related to socially sanctioned customs about the exposure of body portions, which differed according to the gender of the person. Such considerations seem not to have been directly raised from environmental conditions, but from a socially-built context¹².

Besides their clothing, the Yámana covered their faces and bodies with ashes, soot, grease or paint, not with a decorative purpose, but rather for skin protection. Contrarily, the use of paint for making designs on the face and/or body did have decorative purposes and were used in specific everyday life and ceremonial circumstances (see chapters 3, 5 and 6).

Feather head bands of different kinds were used in a number of special occasions (these are mentioned in the respective sections). The archaeological record shows a consistent bead-making tradition, that developed from about 6,000 BP. Beads were manufactured with small bird bones, some of which were decorated by engraving, and with *physurella* shells (Orquera and Piana 1999a: 58). Such tradition continued until the contact period, except for the production of decorated beads which became extremely infrequent. There are no direct observations about tattooing, and the few existing records are based on oral information provided by some aborigines (e.g. Gusinde 1986: 830).

2.3.8. Beliefs.

According to the XIX century observers, the Yámana did not believe in God, nor they had any concept of soul. Opposing this, Gusinde stated that they did believe in a supreme God. Both the influence of Anglican missionaries, and Gusinde's own religious and

¹² Pfaffemberger (1988) has cited this case as an example of the non-existence of universal needs and of technical 'responses' which are directly determined by environmental factors external to the society.

theoretical interests (as shown in section 2.2 and appendix B), seem to have played a part in shaping such panorama.

The Yámana believed in spirits, “*këspix*” of the sea, rocks, trees, etc., most of which were evil. They also feared the spirits of the dead *yekamushes*/shamans, and believed in dreams and foretelling. There were three supra-human beings (but not deities), two brothers and a sister called the Yoalox, who had taught the Yámana ancestors many useful things, like how to light a fire, how to hunt birds, how to make harpoons, etc. These and other beliefs were contained in several myths, which had both explicative and recreational functions.

2.3.9. Ceremonies.

The Yámana celebrated a number of rituals and ceremonies at different moments of their lives. The girls’ first menstruation, the weddings, individual (*talawaia*) and collective mourning (*yamalashemoina*), and the initiation of new shamans/*yekamushes* involved the development of specific rituals, which included the use of body painting (Cooper 1917, Gusinde 1986, Orquera and Piana 1999b). But the two most important ceremonies carried out by the Yámana were the *chiéjaus* and the *kina* (Bridges 1897, Cooper 1917, Lothrop 1928, Gusinde 1986, Chapman 1982, Chapman 1997, Orquera and Piana 1999b). Due to the higher amount of available information, their complexity and social importance for the Yámana, I will briefly introduce these two in this section, while the rest are synthesised in chapters 4, 5 and 6 in the corresponding sections dealing with body painting analysis.

2.3.9.1. The *chiéjaus*.

The *chiéjaus* was a mixed initiation ceremony through which both girls and boys acquired the adult status: after passing the ceremony, the girls were able to get married, while the young men still had to go through a second *chiéjaus* before being considered as adults. The ceremony was not regularly celebrated; rather, the reasons for carrying it out were related to the gathering of a group of families which joined a sufficient quantity of candidates, and enough material resources to support the participants during all the time (even months) taken by the ceremony. The participants were the initiands/candidates, called *uswaala*, their “godparents” (two of the same sex as the candidate, and one of the opposite sex), an instructor or master, several guards/officials who controlled the candidates’ attendance and submission to the rules, the parents of the candidate, as well as any other adult who wished to participate (Lothrop 1928: 168). The ceremony was carried out in a big hut (*mánaga*) built for this

purpose (ibid: 165). Its wooden structure was decorated with painted patterns, and decorated tablets were hanged from the frames (see section on decorated objects).

This ceremony was considered by several authors as an educational means through which the Yámana taught their youngsters how adult life should be carried out according to their socio-cultural rules (Lothrop 1928: 165, Gusinde 1986). The initiands had to fast and remain still for long periods, had little sleep and worked very hard in everyday tasks (which varied according to the gender of the initiand) under the direction of the adults. This had the aim of getting them used to bearing the adversities of life and to diminish their rebelliousness. They were also taught altruistic norms that contained very high and strict moral values, and were warned that if they did become unruly, they would be hunted by Yetaite, an evil spirit (see below).

Also as part of the initiands' control, the 'guards' had a seal-hide thong adorned with red dots, which was used to tie up undisciplined candidates (Lothrop 1928: 167). Body painting was involved in this ceremony in the decoration of both the adults and the initiands.

Both the initiands and the adult participants of the *chiéjaus* had to permanently wear a white down diadem (called *hapaxel*) (Gusinde 1986: 828), yet Gusinde noted that the adults took it off on several occasions for comfort reasons (idem: 882). This points to a loss of tradition by the adults, or by a stricter enforcement of the ornamentation rules on the initiands. As it will be shown in chapter 6, a very similar situation happened in relation to body painting. Other headbands were mentioned by Lothrop: heron-plume headbands (*hapawára*) worn by the officials, kelp-geese down headbands (*paqal*) worn by the others present, a narrow hide headband painted white (*hehel*) worn by the initiands during part of the ceremony (Lothrop 1928: 167). These different headbands seem to have worked as means of visually marking the different roles played by the individuals during the ceremony.

Also during the *chiéjaus*, the Yámana held a dancing wand (*tumoistáka*, see decorated object section below) when singing and dancing¹³. "When not in use they were thrust upright in the ground or struck in the frame of the lodge. If one fell on the ground it was considered an evil omen" (Lothrop 1928: 167). Both the *hapaxel* and *tumoistáka* were symbolically related to each other, and to the *chiéjaus* hut itself (idem: 829, see details in chapter 6).

Besides songs and dances, collective games were also played, and myths were told by the adults to the initiands. All these visual and sound displays played a crucial part in constructing and communicating the mythical contents to the initiands:

¹³ Lothrop was told that "these wands were not in use among the easterners" (1928: 167).

“By means of song they sought both to communicate with and to keep at a distance the *Yetaite*, a great evil spirit, who, the candidates were told, might seriously injure the occupants of the initiation lodge. Dancing served to neutralise the evil of his presence. To frighten him, the walls of the hut were beaten with sticks. Candidates were told to follow directions exactly or the *Yetaite* would seize them. Sometimes the *Yetaite* actually appeared – a man fantastically painted. Finally the candidates were told who it was and were warned that the real *Yetaite* was much worse than what they had seen.” (Lothrop 1928: 169).

The presentation of this spirit to the initiands and the subsequent revelation that such a being was only a disguised (painted) man shows a clear similarity with the *kina* ceremony, and with the *hain* ceremony of the Selk’nam (see below). When the ceremony was finishing, the candidates were given some gifts by their godparents: a basket adorned with feathers and of very good technical quality, a hollow bird-bone like those used as drinking straws, and a scratching stick (*w’matámia*) painted white¹⁴ (ibid: 170), to scratch lice bites, which should not be scratched with the finger nails (Stambuk 1986).

¹⁴ Lothrop was told that this stick was used only by the easterners (ibid). This might indicate that the western Yámana used dancing wands while the eastern used scratching sticks (which are two entirely different kinds of objects in terms of their functions, and also of their decoration), but there are no other sources to confirm this.

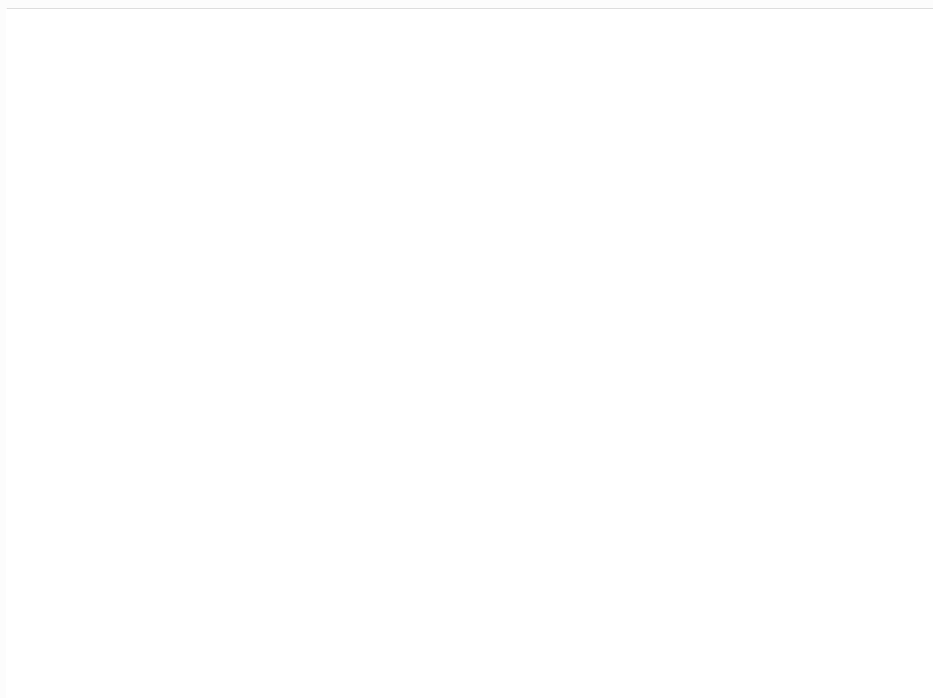


Plate 2.10. *Chiéjaus* hut (Gusinde in Brüggemann 1989).

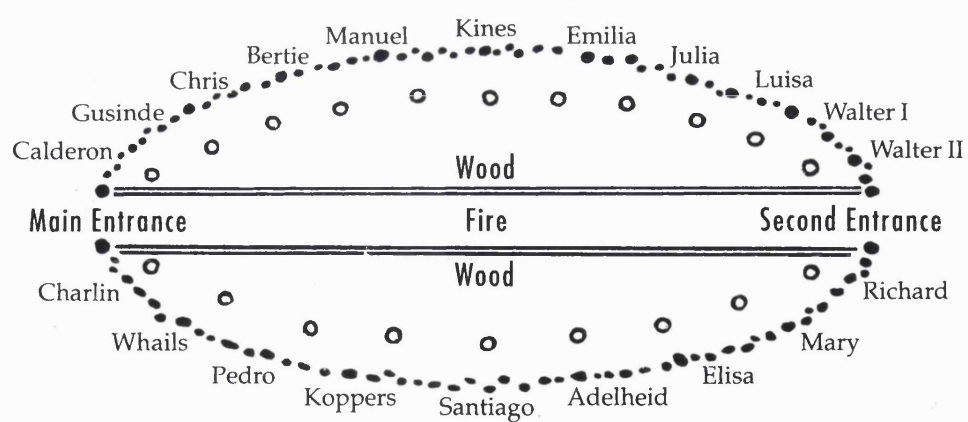


Plate 2.11. *Chiéjaus* hut plan and position of participants in 1922 (Chapman 1997: 94).

2.3.9.2. The *kina*.

After passing the *chiéjaus* twice, the men had to pass the *kina*, in order to become initiated adult men. The *kina* was based in myth of origin which stated that in ancient times there existed a female supremacy, and that women continued this influence via a secret ceremony in which they disguised themselves as spirits, but they were later discovered and since then the men carried out a similar secret male ceremony to impose over them. The name of the ceremony, “*kina*” is also the term used to name the hut where it was celebrated. Such myth of origin is very similar to that of the Selk’nam *hain*, but with differences in some key points, as it will be seen below and throughout this thesis.

During the *kina*, the men secretly painted their bodies and wore painted masks to represent a great number of spirits. Through these representations, justified by the myth of origin, they intended to control the women by scaring them. The Yámana women acted as the audience of this ceremony, showing fear of the disguised men. Nevertheless, they seem to have known that these were not authentic spirits. This idea is reinforced by the remark of T. Bridges, who “speaks of the ribald laughter among the Yahgan women when a mask fell off a supposed spirit, thus revealing his human character” (Gusinde 1986: 1358). Also, at least in modern times, some women were invited to participate in the *kina*, although they had to hold the same commitment to keeping “the secret” as the men did.

The *kina* ceremony was firstly mentioned by Bridges (1897). Its similarity to and possible borrowing from the Selk’nam *hain* was pinpointed by Cooper in 1917 (1917: 156; see an excerpt of his text in appendix D). Later, in 1922, Gusinde and Koppers fostered the celebration of the *kina* in order to observe it, and published their accounts (1986 and 1991 respectively), in which they developed very similar ideas to those of Cooper. The *kina* was considered as a foreign custom, imported from the Selk’nam, since it did not fit with the overall Yámana social structure, particularly because such a male-dominant ceremony was not consistent with the more gender-balanced Yámana society (Gusinde 1986: 1358). Much more recently, Chapman (1997: 86) has also adhered to such opinion, noting that the *kina* was a ‘watered down version’ of the Selk’nam *hain*.

Yet whether the *kina* was borrowed from the Selk’nam *hain* or whether both ceremonies had a common origin, they had very clear differences which in turn correspond to the social structures of each society. As it will be shown in this thesis, the differential manipulation of body painting practices in these ceremonies was indeed a crucial factor that marks the singularity and differentiation between the *kina* and the *hain*.

2.3.10. Decorated objects.

One of the features that identifies the Yámana culture is their habit of decorating objects. This may be traced back to the populations living in the Beagle channel region between 6,000 and 4,000 BP (Orquera and Piana 1999a: 58), who engraved some of their bone artefacts and ornaments, such as harpoons, awls and beads, with geometric designs of varied degrees of design and technical complexity (Fiore 1999a). A few cases of potentially painted bone wands have been found in archaeological sites (e.g. Mischihúen I), but require further physical and chemical study before this can be asserted.

Ethnographic cases of artefact decoration by painting, not engraving, are recorded in the written and visual documents. The decorated materials were mostly ceremonial, and include:

- the structure or pillars of the ceremonial huts (Koppers 1991: 48, 150 and 101, Lothrop 1928; Gusinde 1986: 801-802, 1299-1300 and 1378; Gusinde 1951: 274)
- *broad boards* which were inserted at regular intervals in the *chiéjaus* hut frame (Lothrop 1928: 167)
- small *wooden tablets* which were hung inside the *chiéjaus* hut (Lothrop 1928: 167)
- *dancing wands* (*tumoistáka*; Koppers 1991: 48; Lothrop 1928: 167; Gusinde 1986: 801-802, 813-814 and 1444; Stambuk 1986: 44, 45 and 84)
- *scratching sticks* painted white (Lothrop 1928: 167)
- *hide headbands* (*kehel*) painted white and worn by the *chiéjaus* initiands (Lothrop 1928: 167)
- *kina masks* (Lothrop 1928: 126; Gusinde 1986: 1338, 1342, 1346-1350 and 1444; Koppers 1924: plate XV a-b)
- the *seal-hide thong* used to tie up the *chiéjaus* candidates if they became undisciplined (Lothrop 1928: 167)
- non specified *tools* (Lothrop 1928: 126); smearing of harpoon points, bows and paddle hafts with ochre (Hyades and Deniker 1891: 350). This use of colouring substances is quite likely not decorative but rather due to artefact lubrication or conservation purposes.
- *bark recipients* (Lothrop 1928: 132)

2.3.11. Kinship and life cycle.

The Yámana society was divided into five 'dialectic districts', which were loosely circumscribed, and were not strictly endogamous (Chapman 1997: 85). The families were

usually formed by the father, mother, children and occasionally other relatives. Kinship was consanguineous both from paternal and maternal sides. The children were predominantly cared by the mothers until they were three or four years old. Later, fathers took more direct care of the boys, while the girls care continued in charge of the mothers. The daughters usually contributed in the adults tasks, while the sons started their training in the use of weapons (Orquera and Piana 1999b: 473-475).

The youngsters lived with their parents until they got married. Although they had freedom until that moment, the women owed fidelity to their husbands when they got married. Couples of different ages were common, since it was considered that such difference might bring adult experience and youthful diligence into the couple. The father of the bride could give her in return for presents and help with tasks. Nevertheless, the girl could oppose to being given to a husband that she did not like. Freedom of election was higher if the partners-to-be were widows or widowers. Marriage between cousins was not permitted.

The Yámana marriages were very unstable and could be ended by either of the partners. The relationship between the spouses was quite egalitarian. Women could for example have an opinion in communal debates.

Polygamy was frequent but not widespread. Men could be married to several women, and all of them were considered as wives, although the first wife had certain predominance. Polygamy frequently resulted from taking the wife of a dead brother under a man's protection, or from a wife asking her husband to take a second wife to help her in her daily tasks.

Elderly people were respected and sick persons were taken care of, although if they were in a helpless state they were killed. When a person died, the body was buried (away from the possible action of scavengers) or cremated. The belongings of the dead person were either destroyed or distributed among the funeral attendants. The place where the person died was abandoned, and it was not revisited for a long time. The dead's name was not mentioned, and other persons or places with the same name were renamed. Mourning involved an individual process (*talawaia*) and a communal ceremony (*yamalashemoina*), and a complex system of body painting (see chapter 5).

2.3.12. Social relations.

The main core of the Yámana society was the family, and there was no institution that organised them or had power over them. There were no clans or tribes, nor where there any chiefs or social strata. Bigger groups were gathered when two or three families shared a beached whale, when a ship visited the shore, or when a *chiéjaus* was celebrated.

Nevertheless, these bigger groups did not last, and the only influence that some individuals could have over the rest came from their personal prestige. Adults did not receive orders from anybody, while youngsters did. As it will be shown in this thesis, such age division was partially constructed and reinforced through body painting production and display.

The *yekamushes*/ shamans had certain influence and prestige. These persons were feared for their power to do evil at a long distance, but they could also be punished if their functions were not effectively fulfilled. Every adult man who wanted to be a *yekamush* might become one, but it was very rare that women could have such a role. Such gender inequality is different from many other Yámana social dynamics, in which women had different, but not unequal, roles than the men.

Intra-society tensions between Yámana families and groups did exist. Fights were frequent, and so were blood revenges, in which the relatives of a dead person would make an expedition to fight against the ‘murderer’, and which involved body painting (see chapter 5). Inter-society tensions existed between the Yámana and their Selk’nam, Haush and Alacaluf neighbours. But at the same time there were mixed marriages with Alacaluf persons, and peaceful contacts in the territorial borders.

2.4. The Selk’nam. Ethnographic data.

2.4.1. Territory.

The Selk’nam were the inhabitants of the north of Isla Grande de Tierra del Fuego. Their territory ranged between the Estrecho de Magallanes and southern mountains. There was an internal division among the Selk’nam: the *parikas*, who lived between the Estrecho de Magallanes and Río Grande, and the *herrshtkas*, who lived between Río Grande and the southern mountains.

2.4.2. Language and genitive term of identification.

The Selk’nam spoke a different language than the Yámana, which was in turn similar to the language spoken by the Aonikenk (who lived in southern Patagonia, Cooper 1917)

The Selk’nam were referred to pejoratively as Onas by the Yámana. Such term is commonly used to refer to this society, but it is not their own word of self-identification

2.4.3. Subsistence and use of raw materials.

The landscape of Selk’nam territory was mainly formed by a steppe with pastures and scattered trees. This was the natural habitat of the guanacos, which were an important prey for

this society. They were hunted by men with bows and arrows, all year round. Although they have little fat, their meat and bone marrow had a significant dietary value. Guanaco bones, tendons and hide were used as raw materials for clothing, shelter and tool-making. Meat, grease and bones to make tools were also obtained from beached whales. Pinnipeds were seldom consumed. The vegetable resources were scarce: just a few berries, mushrooms and edible leaves (Borrero 1997: 65).

The Selk'nam also consumed rodents, which they captured using slings or clubs, and coastal birds, hunted with traps or slings. Mussels, limpets and other shellfish were consumed, as well as fish, captured by hand, using a one barbed harpoon of fixed point or with small nets made of guanaco tendons. Yet the information about their consumption found in the ethnographic and archaeological record is contradictory. For example, "Although birds are not ascribed a central role in the subsistence of the Selk'nam by some ethnographers, abundant bird-remains show up at archaeological sites in what is considered traditional Selk'nam territory." (ibid).

Almost no Selk'nam was exempted from carrying out subsistence tasks. There was a clear gender division of labour. Men were in charge of hunting, fishing with nets, weapon making and taking care of the dogs. Women did gathering tasks, such as collecting eggs, shell fish and vegetables; they also fished in tidal pools and were in charge of cooking. Unlike the Yámana, there seem to have been no tasks in which both genders contributed on a regular basis.

2.4.4. Technology.

The Selk'nam were particularly skilful in making bows and arrows (e.g. Gallardo 1910, L. Bridges 1951, Gusinde 1982). *Nothofagus* wood was used for making the bows. The strings were made of tendons of guanaco legs. Different arrows were used for hunting terrestrial prey and maritime birds, and according to these different uses, different types of wood were employed to make the hafts, which also varied in shape. The arrow points were made with different lithic materials; glass was also used during the contact period (Casamiquela 1978, Borrero 1991).

End scrapers, knapped punches and cutting edges of lithic fragments were also used. The use of bone instruments was much less developed by the Selk'nam than by the Yamana (Orquera and Piana MS). Bags were made with leather and with bladders or pieces of bowels; some of these were used to carry pigments (Gusinde 1982). Bullrush baskets were also made (ibid, Cooper 1946b).

Some craftsmen were more skilful than others in the production of different objects, and they might be asked for help, for example in the making of bows. This difference in technical knowledge could also lead to the exchange of products (Orquera and Piana MS).

2.4.5. Shelter.

Two types of hut were used by the Selk'nam. The most common, particularly in the north of Selk'nam territory, was a portable wind shelter, which was carried on the back by the women when moving from one site to another. Yet, unlike the Yámana women, the Selk'nam women's fundamental role in the whole group's mobility does not seem to have been recognised as socially important.

The other type of hut, more common in the south, was a conic hut made of logs from the surrounding woods. These were not transportable and were abandoned when leaving the site for possible later reoccupation (Gusinde 1982).

A special kind of conic hut, of much greater size, was built for the secret ceremony of male initiation (Gusinde 1982: 786). Both hut and ceremony were called *hain*, though Gusinde called the ceremony '*kloketen*', which is in fact the term used to refer to the initiands.

2.4.6. Clothing and ornaments.

The typical Selk'nam garment was a long cloak of guanaco fur. The men wrapped it around the body and held it across the chest with one hand (unless when shooting arrows, in which case they dropped it entirely and remained naked). The women tied it with stripes around the chest. and was worn with the fur outside. Men were naked under this cloak, while women wore a kind of underskirt, under which they wore a loin cloth, both of which they did not take off in public. Leather shoes were worn to cover the feet. Both the cloaks and the shoes could be made of any portion of the guanaco skins, or of special sections, such as the limbs, which denoted special good quality of the garments (L. Bridges 1951).

The men wore on their foreheads a triangular head band made of skin of a guanaco forehead, called *kocel*, which were handed to them after being initiated¹⁵. Feather diadems called *ownh* were worn in special occasions by the *xons*/shamans and wrestlers (Gusinde 1982, yet I have not found photographs illustrating these).

Tendon necklaces, bone beads necklaces, shell necklaces and bullrush bracelets and anklets have been recorded by a number of observers (e.g. Banks 1962, Gallardo 1910,

¹⁵ The relation between the same area of the body of the animal and the person is quite striking, but I have found no information indicating an intentional and/or meaningful selection of this guanaco skin portion.

Gusinde 1982). Scars and very simple tattooing were worn as ornaments, especially by young people (Gusinde 1982: 211). Body painting was worn in a great number of situations, with ornamental, expressive and other purposes. Mineral pigments and paint were also used for body cleansing, body protection from cold, and object protection (Gusinde 1982: 194, 207, 1099).

2.4.7. Property.

The hunting and gathering products were shared with family and neighbours (L. Bridges 1951). Cloaks, weapons, tools, hunting and gathering products were considered individual property (Gusinde 1924: 29), and according to Gusinde, their exchange was a basis for Selk'nam commerce. But it seems more adequate to consider this as barter (Chapman 1982: 41), since Gusinde's claim was based on the aim of dismissing the evolutionist idea of primitive communism, rather than on the existence of a fully developed commercial system. Everyday life goods could be shared and also given as gifts, as part of a reciprocity system. Contrarily, all the goods used in the *hain* big hut were directly considered communal property of the men (Gusinde 1982: 803, 804).

Exchange was also carried out when obtaining certain raw materials. Raw materials circulated within the Selk'nam territory: wood for bows usually circulated from south to north; and pinniped leather or other objects gathered on the coast shores were moved from the coast to the interior of the island (Gusinde 1924: 29).

2.4.8. Ceremonies.

The Selk'nam celebrated rites in certain circumstances, such as the girls' first menstruation, the 'engagement' and wedding of a couple, and peace rituals, all of which involved the use of body painting (see chapters 4 and 5). But the most important ceremony, which is also the situation that involved the most varied and elaborated production of body painting designs, was the *hain* initiation ceremony.

Records of this ceremony have been made by three different observers, in three different occasions: an Anonymous Salesian Missionary (written in 1914, published 1974), L. Bridges (1951) and Gusinde (1982). The ceremony could last for various weeks, and when it was observed by Gusinde in 1923, it was celebrated in winter.

The *hain* was a very complex ceremony with a two-fold purpose: the initiation of the young men to adulthood, and the actual practice of the suppression of the women by the men

(both male adults and young male initiands) by scaring them as spirits (disguised with masks and body paintings to represent spirits and conceal their real identity).

The young men were initiated through very tough tests of physical and mental endurance, which fostered and developed practical skills, self-discipline, alliance with the adult men, and access to secret mythical knowledge. The Selk'nam myth of origin stated that in *hoowin* epoch (mythical time), women had maintained their superiority over men by celebrating a female-*hain*, in which, guided by Moon, a powerful shaman, they disguised as spirits by wearing masks and body painting to scare the men. The Sun then discovered the women's secret, and he and the men killed the women (except for the little girls and for the Moon, who escaped to heaven¹⁶). They afterwards started celebrating the male-*hain* to keep the women under control. Such secret mythical knowledge was the core around which the *hain* was built: its transmission revealed that the spirits of the ceremony were men disguised to control and suppress the women, as the women had done in ancient/mythical times in order to suppress them.

The *hain* was celebrated in a special big hut, built near the woods in front of a flat grass land, where most of the spirits performances and dances took place. This place could be seen from the domestic camp, which was located at about 200 metres to the west of this flat space (see plate 2.13). Such place has been called 'stage' by Chapman, who compares the whole ceremony to a theatrical performance carried out by male 'actors'¹⁷ and mostly viewed by female 'public' (1982: 77; 1997: 90). The hut's entrance faced east, towards the woods, and hence it was not visible from the camp, keeping what happened inside it out of the sight of the camp's residents (mostly women and children). The hut had seven wooden poles (in the mythical first male *hain*, they were made of stone, dragged by seven great shamans), four aligned with the cardinal points, which represented the 'skies' (*sho'ons*) which were the places of creation of the universe (Chapman 1997: 86), and three placed between these, at the north-east, south-east and south-west. The seven posts were linked to the Selk'nam territories and lineages (see section 2.4.9), and the spatial location of the participants in the *hain* hut was indicated by such territorial and kinship symbolic structure (ibid). Some of the *hain* spirits were also related to these skies, and, as it will be shown in this thesis, so was their body painting.

¹⁶ Due to her battering, her burns and bruises are still visible in her face; she will be persecuted by Sun for eternity (Chapman 1982: 70). After being found by the men, the women metamorphosed into natural elements such as animals, plants and landscape features (Gusinde 1982: 961).

¹⁷ This does not imply that the men were just deceiving the women, since as Chapman notes, they also believed they were in touch with the spirits (ibid).

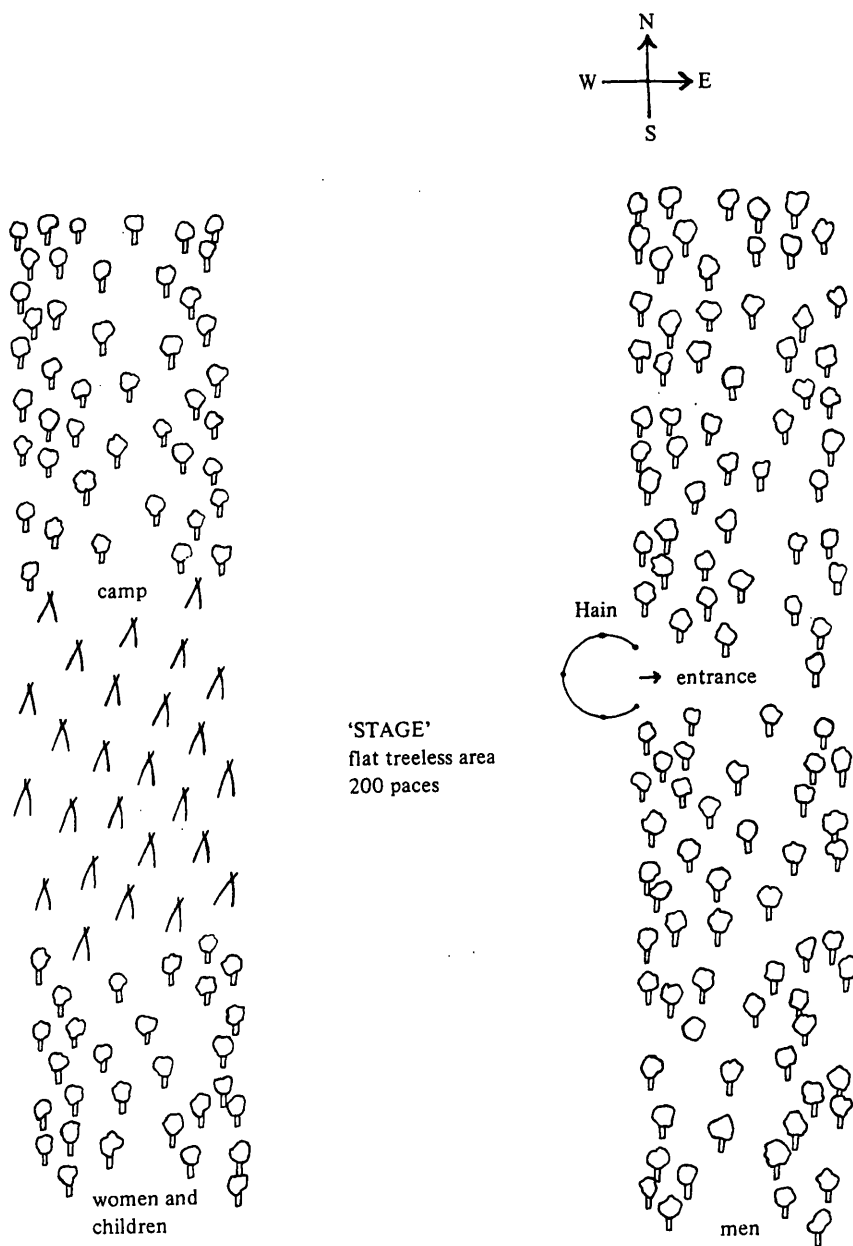


Plate 2.13. Location of *hain* hut, 'stage', and domestic camp (Chapman 1982: 79).

Plate 2.14. *Hain* hut (Gusinde in Brüggemann 1989).

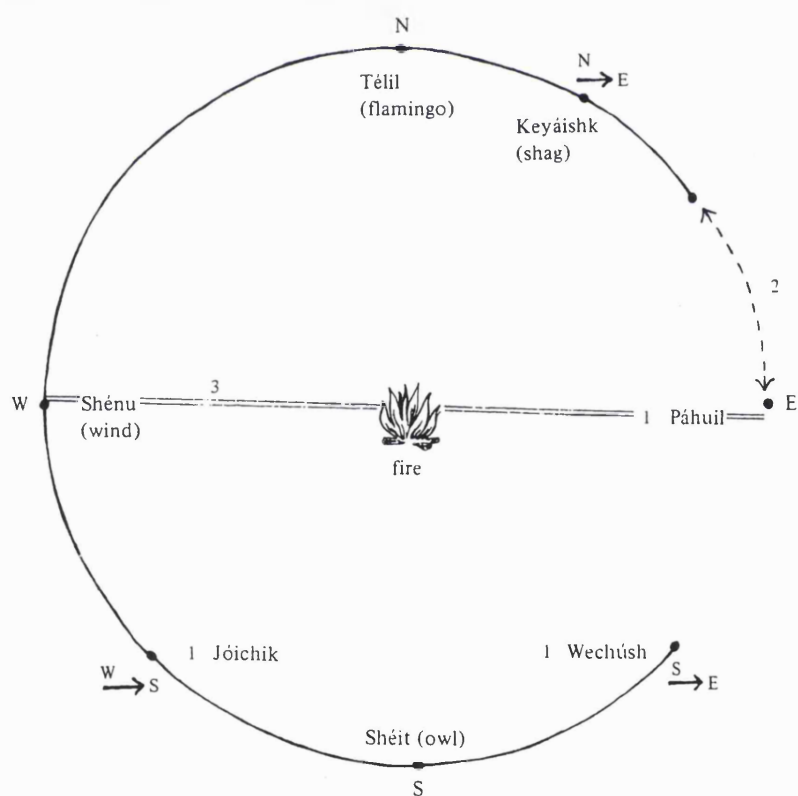


Plate 2.15. Plan of *hain* hut, note the hut poles and their cardinal orientation (Chapman 1982: 81).

The ceremony involved many spirit presentations performed by the men, who wore body paintings and painted masks and had to move in specific ways according to the spirit being represented (Gusinde 1982: 887-984). The presence of these, and of other non-visible spirits, was also hinted by specific sounds. The women took part as 'public', observing the spirit apparitions, but also responded by singing and painting their faces. The spirits went sometimes to the camp to scare the women, shaking their huts and throwing their belongings out of them, while the women remained hidden inside, covering their faces. The spirits, and the men as spirit-emissaries, also collected offerings (mainly meat and pigments), which the women had to provide to calm them down (Chapman 1997: 102). According to Chapman, the women did know that the spirits they saw were men in disguise¹⁸, although they firmly believed, as the men did, in the real existence of the spirits (ibid: 107); nevertheless, the women were terrified by the apparitions of the spirits and sympathetic towards the men when they suffered their attacks (ibid: 105). Various dances or 'games' were also celebrated by the men, and the women participated actively in some of these; all wore body paintings for such occasions (see chapter 6).

The spirits supposedly treated the men very badly, abusing them physically by beating and hurting them and also, in the case of female spirits, by forcing them to have sexual intercourse. In particular, Xálpén, a female spirit who was the most powerful supernatural being, had both the power of killing them and also of having a baby with them, K'ternén, who was born in each *hain* (represented by an initiand with a very special body painting and ornament design).

The masks were made of guanaco skin or bark, and were painted according to the design of the spirit. They were re-painted for re-use, and were considered communal property. When the ceremony was finished, they were hidden in the woods, since they were not to be seen by any woman, child or person who did not take part of the ceremony within the hut. They were stored with the aim of using them in the next ceremony, if their state of conservation allowed it. If they were deteriorated, they were abandoned to fully decay. Masks were seen with great respect and it was not considered adequate to burn them (Gusinde 1982: 804, 891, 1027).

¹⁸ Yet Angela told Chapman that "the spirits didn't look like men. You could never tell they were!" (Chapman 1982: 88). Also, there is an exception to the women's suspicion about the male representation of the spirits: they did believe that the most powerful spirit of all, Xálpén, who was represented by an enormous 'puppet', was in fact the spirit itself, and not just a man-built object (Chapman 1982: 118). The fact that the women also mocked some of the main spirits as in a 'sham *hain*' (away from the sight of the men) is interpreted by Chapman as another indication of the realisation of the women about the hoax, in spite of their firm beliefs in the spirits (Chapman 1982: 146, 1997: 107).

2.4.9. Kinship.

The Selk'nam had a very complex kinship organisation, which was structured in 'skies', large exogamic units called *sho'on*, which were the north, the west and the south¹⁹. Each of the eighty *harwen* territories were associated with one sky according to its location in the island (Chapman 1982: 50-51, 85). The marriage was exogamous; the exogamy rule was based on the *sho'on* of the *harwen* where the person was born. The children were part of the father's *harwen* (ibid: 52), and the lineage was patrilineal and patrilocal (ibid: 54). As noted above, the 'earths'/*harwens* and 'skies'/*sho'ons* formed part of a harmonic universe represented in the circular plan of the *hain* hut. Other kinship relations, called 'kindreds' by Chapman, determined the consanguineous relationship of one individual with the members of his lineage, and his/her forbidden and suitable marriage partners (ibid: 52). Finally, the smallest kinship entity of the society was the family (ibid: 58), which included the father, mother, sons and daughters and occasionally other relatives.

The lineages did not have a leader, and the families moved and acted independently. The families included in each lineage had a shared right to the total amount of goods and hunting preys, and food was also shared among hunting parties of different lineage groups (Chapman 1982: 65). The access to another lineage's territory was not allowed without having previous permission. If any subsistence activity was carried out in a foreign territory (with permission), immediate retribution as well as reciprocity for possible future situations were required. Trespassing the territories boundaries could lead to retaliation (ibid: 19). The linkages between lineages due to the (exogamous) marriages helped in contributing to mitigate the conflicts, but nevertheless there were frequent hostilities (Orquera and Piana MS).

¹⁹ Conversely, the Haush skies, were the north, the east and the south (Chapman 1982: 50). Due to their position in the island during the contact period, the Selk'nam lacked the east because it was occupied by the Haush, and the Haush lacked the west sky because it was occupied by the Selk'nam (ibid).



Plate 2.16. Selk'nam women carrying tents (De Agostini in Prieto and Cárdenas 1997).

2.4.10. Social relations.

When walking, the men only carried their cloaks and the bows and arrows, since they were supposed to have freedom of movement to hunt. Women carried the window shelters, bags, other objects and their babies. The role of the wife was subordinated to that of the husband in the economic and social aspects, and the Selk'nam society was clearly patriarchal (Chapman 1982: 40).

There were no social differences due to birth or to wealth, nor were any chiefs or council of elders (ibid). A role of particular importance was that of the *xon*/shaman. Men and women could be *xons* (ibid: 51), although I have found no visual records of female *xons*, which may indicate that such role was either declining in the early XX century or hidden from the westerners. The most powerful 'top rank shamans' were nevertheless mostly men (ibid). The *xons* were supposed to have power over the weather, hunting, war and health, and could make predictions (Bridges 1951). Other roles which involved some differential status were those of the sages, prophets, warriors, hunters, archers, runners, wrestlers, artisans and cormorant hunters²⁰, all of which were played by men, while very few women could only be prophets and artisans (Chapman 1982: 51). A beautiful and well-built body, termed *hauwitpin*, was celebrated as a very positive feature; mostly men and very few women were considered *hauwitpin* (ibid). This feature is quite important in relation to ceremonial body painting, for it was a criterion by which men were selected to represent some spirits.

The Selk'nam did not express their feelings openly; they exercised a rigorous self-control. They did not show surprise or thankfulness. They had to be initially indifferent to food (even if hungry) or to presents, and should resist without complaining cold, tiredness, hunger and thirst (L. Bridges 1951).

Group gathering occurred due to many circumstances, such as the beaching of a whale, collective hunting, the celebration of a *hain* ceremony, sport competitions, etc. (L. Bridges 1951, Gusinde 1982). The intra-society relations were regulated with norms which pursued both courtesy and security, such as not entering a camp but waiting at a distance until being invited. In spite of such norms, the Selk'nam could be irritable, aggressive and vindictive.

In relation to the inter-society relations, there were a few mixed marriages between Selk'nam and people of Haush or Alacaluf origin (Orquera and Piana 1999b).

²⁰ Specific terms were used to refer to these statuses.

3.1. Introduction.

As an ephemeral creation of extinct societies, the Fuegian body paintings are only known today through the records made by western observers. Since there are no descendants of these aborigines who could give testimonies about this tradition, these written and visual records are the only sources from which it is possible to learn what the designs looked like, who wore them, when they were produced and displayed, etc.

In this chapter I will develop a series of issues related to the spatial and temporal distribution and development of body painting in Tierra del Fuego, with the aim of setting up a diachronic and synchronic contextual perspective within which the more detailed analysis of body painting production (chapter 4) and display (chapters 5 and 6) can then be understood. Firstly, the values that European observers gave to the body painting habit will be presented and discussed, particularly because it is through their own value-laden records that this activity can be approached, and because, as it will be shown throughout this thesis, these Western persons had a direct influence in the body painting practices.

The dates, geographical locations and seasons in which the paintings were observed are presented, in order to give a panorama of the temporal, seasonal and regional distribution of these creations, which in turn can contribute in assessing the construction, transmission and transformation of body painting traditions. In relation to this, the archaeological evidence that might bear implications for body painting production – or more generally, colouring substances management – is also presented and discussed. The insularity factor is also taken into account in the analysis, given its potential impact on the development of the body painting traditions in the Fuegian archipelago, particularly when compared to the southern continental Patagonia societies.

Then the information about the paintings is synthetically presented in two sections to give a panorama of the data about the Yámana and Selk'nam body paintings that have been compiled from the written and visual sources. An initial visual analysis of the photographic data is then introduced, in order to develop a first account of the overall similarities and differences found in body painting when comparing the two cases, regardless of the specific situations in which such ornaments were worn. Such presentation also introduces and illustrates the use of quantitative data in visual analysis.

Further qualitative and quantitative data are analysed in chapters 4, 5 and 6, focusing on the particular situations in which body painting was produced and displayed.

3.2. The values of body painting from a non-aboriginal perspective: an overview.

The values that body painting was given while being described in the written sources greatly varied according to the authors, but mostly according to the time and context in which they were written. I will focus here on the presentation and brief characterisation of these different trends. Due to lack of space, the several quotations that evidence such different perspectives are presented and analysed in appendix E.

Body painting appears in many of the written sources, particularly in the earlier ones, associated with the skin colour of the aborigines, and with their lack of clothing. This is not unexpected, since body painting creation requires painting the skin (and the hair of the head, in some occasions), and its viewing implies at least a certain degree of nakedness. It is almost obvious that, within the encounter of the Europeans with the Fuegian aborigines, skin colour and clothing (or the lack of it) would become fundamental points of reference for the definition of 'the others'. Body painting was also a visible feature which contributed to this definition, and was also the subject of a series of very interesting observations, comments and speculations, which unveil the frame of mind and perspective from which the records were made.

The texts of Walbeeck (1634 in Gusinde 1986: 51), Forster (1777), Weddell (1825), and Nodal (1621 in Gusinde 1982: 26-27) are examples of this trend. The two latter also show a mixed perspective, involving very ethnocentric statements and at the same time attempts to understand the 'exotic' habit of body painting within the aboriginal cultural context, and also within the broader history of humanity. Such ambivalent vision can also be found in the texts by FitzRoy (1839b) and especially Darwin (1839, 1845), who combined various deeply ethnocentric and contemptuous comments with attempts at systematic descriptions of their observations. FitzRoy shows in his text a much more dynamic and contextual attempt to understand the practice of body painting, even linking it to the British ancestors, while Darwin did not develop such understanding of the habit, which he clearly associated with dirt and lack of civilisation.

The written records show, in some cases, the active and intentional interference of the Europeans either to interrupt or to foster this habit, which helps in uncovering the reasons underneath these attitudes, and suggests factors of foreign influence on aboriginal body painting practices. Most of these influences came from the

missionaries, who openly wanted to change the Fuegian custom of painting the body, since it was considered dirty, untidy, and possibly ‘indecent’, given that it sometimes involved exposing body portions that from a Western perspective should remain covered. The texts written by Webster (1834), Ross (1847), Despard (1859) show their interest in making the Yámana abandon the body painting habit, and the strategies they developed to pursue such goal. Later in time, a more positive approach to body painting was shown by L. Bridges (1951), who fostered such custom in the Selk’nam. Yet his reasons for doing so are not without an ethnocentric burden, since he considered it a ‘clean’ habit, because it involved rubbing off the paint when erasing it.

Finally, from the late XIX century, an ‘ethnographic’ interest in recording the different habits of the Fuegians was developed. This included body painting as one of the desirable features that should be included in the visual records of the ethnographers. The ‘exotic’ and ‘inappropriate’ habit then became the fascinating and culturally different custom that was interesting to document (Martial (1888), Hyades (1884, 1885, 1887), Hyades and Deniker’s (1891), Gusinde 1982 and 1986, Koppers 1991, De Agostini 1924, 1941 and film). Moreover, body painting came, like its producers, under the threat of extinction, making it even more crucial to record its existence before it would disappear forever. But in doing so, some ethnographers clearly had to convince the aborigines to paint themselves (e.g. Dabbene 1911, possibly reporting on Barclay’s photographs, Gusinde 1922). On the one hand, some photographs were re-constructed by retouching and cutting fragments published afterwards as separate illustrations without acknowledging it (Gallardo 1910, e.g. S89, see appendix B). On the other hand, the ethnographers intentionally influenced some of the ‘ethnographic’ features to be recorded. This is the case of De Agostini, who preferred to photograph Yámana individuals with ‘aboriginal’ clothes, even if these were typically Selk’nam (see Y45), or Gusinde, who published a photo of Lola wearing facial paintings (S68) with the caption “quotidian painting” (Gusinde 1989: 661), which Lola later explained had been “applied for the photographer” (Chapman 1982: 148). Body painting had become an interesting characteristic of the overall ‘aboriginal picture’ that was to be captured in photographs, even if faking it. Yet such biased records were neither playing on an empty field, nor documenting a neutral subject, and the aborigines’ own intentions, interests and visual traditions played also an active role in constructing them. It is for this reason that the study of the photographs provides relevant data about the two groups of agents involved in producing, displaying and recording body painting.

3.3. Body painting in time.

The uneven chronological distribution of the information about body painting, which is very general and infrequent in the early voyagers texts and so much richer in the later ethnographic reports, makes it impossible to trace diachronic continuities and/or changes in its production and use. For this reason, the analysis in chapters 4, 5 and 6 remains basically synchronic, although when a specific set of data stretches further back in time, this is analysed as much as possible. It is clear that the questions that could be addressed if having sufficient diachronic data would be of extreme importance to shed light on a number of fundamental issues about these visual productions. These include possible changes in the designs, techniques, situations of use, and meanings of the paintings, which in turn might shed light on issues such as the long term processes of transmission of visual traditions, and the continuous or changing relationships with other aspects of the societies such as their subsistence, territoriality, technologies, kinship, etc. These issues are in fact addressed in the analysis, but mainly with a synchronic perspective.

3.3.1. Archaeological finds in relation to body painting: colouring substances and potential painting tools.

The written sources show that body painting practices have existed in Tierra del Fuego since at least the XVI century. The analysis of archaeological finds can help in broadening the time scope of this visual production, although not unambiguously. Colouring substances have been found in sites of the Pacific coasts and the Beagle channel – the Alacaluf and Yámana areas respectively (Legoupil 1997; Orquera and Piana 1999). There is no published information about finds of colouring substances in Northern Tierra del Fuego – the Selk'nam territory.

Pigment residues have been found in the northern shore of the Beagle Channel in sites Túnel I (31 samples), Imiwaia I (15 samples), Shamakush I (3 samples) and Mischiuén I (samples not checked yet as fieldwork was still in progress by the time of completion of this thesis). A preliminary inventory of the samples taken includes a) rocks, shells and one flake stained with pigments/sediments, b) pigment powder, and c) small chunks of lumped pigment which seem to have been intentionally bound to form a clod. The pigments are mostly of different hues of red, although some yellow and brownish colours have also been found. The dates of the layers from which the samples were extracted go from 6600 to 1920 BP in Túnel I site (Orquera and Piana 1999: 34), 940 BP in Shamakush I (idem: 35), and about 6000 BP in Imiwaia I (ibid).

Though impossible to assure for which purpose (body painting, artefact smearing/painting) what is clear from the archaeological materials is that the manipulation of colouring substances goes a long way back in time. Further study of these samples' chemical composition will allow to determine if similar or different materials were used in different sites and periods, the potential sources of raw materials, and the procedures involved in processing them (mainly hydrating, greasing, burning, grinding and moulding). The uses of pigment lumps as crayons or as clods from which powder was obtained, could to an extent be determined by studying their macro and microwear traces (e.g. Christensen in Legoupil 1997: 227-233).

The use of the three colours (red, white and black) can be related not only to the plastic intention of the Fuegians in relation to these, but to the availability of raw materials which could be used as colouring substances and of techniques to process them. Black is readily available from the charcoal of fire hearths. White could be produced by using lime, clay or gypsum, while other less usual procedures could also generate white colouring substances (see chapter 4). Red was mainly generated by using sediments of such colour; other substances were seldom used. It is difficult to imagine the creation of substances of other colours, such as blue or green, using only inorganic materials (or exceptionally, bone/shell residues), and the preparation procedures mentioned above. Hence the availability of raw materials and of techniques to prepare them seem to have been limiting conditions under which the development of painting colours occurred.

In relation to potential painting tools, Darwin, Hyades, L. Bridges, Gusinde, Lothrop and Stambuk described the rods and spatulas that were used (see chapter 4). An important number of bone rods, and some bone sub-rectangular objects which can be described as tablets or spatulas have been found in the Beagle channel sites, especially in Túnel I (Orquera and Piana 1999). The purpose of these objects is in fact unknown, but some tablets/spatulas, found in this site (6,000-4,000 BP) look like the one shown by Lothrop in photo Y86 (object d), identified by him as a painting instrument (see plates 3.1, 3.2, 3.3, 3.4). According to a preliminary microscopic observation, these archaeological artefacts do not show pigment residues, but this obviously could be the effect of post depositional processes which could have erased the pigments¹.

¹ Three of these tablets/spatulas have been decorated with geometric rectilinear engravings, and have been formatted in very particular shapes, mostly sub-rectangular, including the narrowing of one of the ends with notches with a potential hanging function. These objects show the same shape than the *chiéjaus* ornamental tablets, with the only difference that these were painted, not engraved (see further comments in chapter 5). So these artefacts can be linked to the painting tools due to their general 'spatula' shape, but they can also be related to the decorated *chiéjaus* tablets because of their format details.

Finally, two instruments recently found in site Mischihuen I, show potential traces of pigment. One is a small elongated bone rod of sub-rectangular section, decorated with engravings similar to those in many other instruments found in this and other sites of the Beagle Channel region (e.g. in Tunel I, Tunel VII, Lancha Packewaia, etc., mostly found in ancient layers -(6,000-4,000 BP)-, and adding up to 207 artefacts). But inside of one of the grooves of this rod a red pigment residue has been observed with the aid of a microscope. This observation is only preliminary, and various other observations and tests to the pigment residue itself need to be carried out before claiming that this could be an artefact decorated with engravings *plus* painting. If this were the case, then the practice of decorating artefacts with paint might not have only been occurring in recent times, but would also have been practised in ancient times too. Conversely, with the exception of very few bone beads with engraved dashes found in sites of recent date (Tunel VII and Lanashuaia) the ethnographic artefacts of the Beagle Channel never show traces of engraved decoration, which was common in ancient times. The loss of this tradition is still to be explained, and is actually one of the future aims of research which stem from this project.

The second artefact is a bigger rod, of circular section, which shows near one of its ends a dark patch of a substance that impregnates it perimetally. Again, specific chemical and microscopic analyses are required to determine the nature of this 'stain'. Observation with the naked eye suggests that this is more likely to be a residue from decoration than a residue from dipping the rod on paint and using it as a painting tool, both because of the position of the stain –which is not at the end of the object–, and because of the size and weight of the rod, which makes it difficult to manipulate it as an instrument to apply paint with certain precision. (For less precise application it is expected that the paint would be applied directly with the hands, rather than using a tool).

3.3.2. Seasonality and body painting.

Although some seasonal changes occur in Tierra del Fuego, affecting the weather and the availability of resources (particularly hunting preys), both the Selk'nam and Yámana mainly structured their hunting activities overcoming seasonal differences. Archaeological data indicate that the Yámana mainly hunted sea lions from March to September by means of harpoons, approaching them in the water by using canoes, even though in summer they were accessible on the shores (Orquera and Piana 1999: 106).

Ethnographic data confirm that this activity increased in winter (Vidal 1997: 115), disregarding seasonal availability. A similar situation happens in the Selk'nam case, in which a constant interaction between the coast and the interior of the island happened all year round (Borrero 1991: 44-45). Although their main dietary source, the guanaco, had less greasy meat by the end of winter, it was distributed homogeneously along the island, and was still hunted, although the diet was completed with the consumption of shellfish, sea lions, stranded whales and fish, the latter being captured all year round (ibid: 29-30, 44).

Consistently with the lack of very marked seasonal activities, body painting was recorded by different observers as practices by the Selk'nam and Yámana in the four seasons (table 3.1).

Table 3.1. Geographical, seasonal and chronological data about body Selk'nam body painting observations.

Author and year of publication	Place of observation	Date of observation	Season
Sarmiento de Gamboa	Magellan strait Hanover island	1557	S
Van Noort	Magellan strait	Nov	S
Nodal	Good Success bay	Jan 1619	S
Labbe 1711	Good Success bay	Nov 1711	S
Anon 1765 in Schindler 1995	East coast of Isla Grande 54°30'		
Cook 1777	Good Success bay	Jan 1769	S
Banks 1768	"	"	"
FitzRoy 1839b	Good Success bay	Dec 1832 to Feb 1833	S
Darwin 1839 & 1845	"	"	"
Serrano			
Bove			
Spegazzini 1882			
Lista 1887	San Sebastian cape Peñas cape Thetis bay Policarpo cove	Dec 1886	S
Segers 1891	"	"	"
Popper 1887, 1891			
Payro 1898			
Beauvoir 1915	Rio Grande?		S
Dabbene 1904 & 1911	Beagle Channel	Jan-Feb 1902	S
Barclay 1926	"	"	"
Gallardo 1910	"	"	"
Coiazzi 1914			
L. Bridges 1951			
Borgatello 1829	Dawson island		
De Agostini 1924			
Gusinde 1982 [1931]	Fagnano lake Rio Grande	About 5 months. See itinerary in appendix B	S A W
Koppers 1991 [1924]		1 week 1922	
Lothrop 1928			

Table 3.2. Geographical, seasonal and chronological data about body Yámana body painting observations.

Author and year of publication	Place of observation	Date of observation	Season
Van Walbeek	Schapenham bay Windhond bay	1623	
D'Arquistade in Gusinde 1986	Orange bay	April	A
Forster 1777	York Minster peninsula in Waterman island Christmas sound	Dec 1774	S
Weddell 1825		1823	
FitzRoy 1839b	Shingle point	Dec 1832 to Feb 1833	S
Darwin 1839 & 1845	Ponsomby sound Wollaston islands - Woolya	Dec 1832 to Feb 1833 Feb/March 1834	S
Webster 1834	St. Martin's cove In Dumas peninsula Hoste island		
Wilkes 1844	Orange bay Nassau bay	March 1839	A
Colvocoresses 1852	"	"	"
Ross 1847	St. Martin's cove in Dumas peninsula	Sept-Oct 1842	SP
McCormick 1884	"	"	"
Williams 1850	Banner roads, Garden island (near Picton island)	1854	
Parker Snow 1857 - 1861 - 1864	Banner cove, Picton island	Oct 1855	SP
Despard 1857 - 1861	Cinco-mai harbour In Navarino island Beagle Channel Woollya	Dec. 1859 Nov. 1859	SP SP
Stirling 1864			
Bridges 1869, 1872, 1875, 1876, 1886, 1897, 1933	Ushuaia?	April 1872 May 1875 Dec. 1875	A A SP
Bove 1883	Ushuaia?	May-June 1882	A
Lovisato 1884	"	"	"
Spegazzini 1882	"	"	"
Martial 1888	Orange bay	1883	
Hyades 1884, 1885	Orange bay Ponsomby sound	Feb 1883	S
Hyades and Deniker	Orange bay	Aug 1883	W
Aspinall 1888	Wollaston islands	May? 1888	A
Burleigh 1889	Wollaston islands	June 1889	W

Spears 1895			
Dabenne 1904 and 1911	Beagle channel Tekénika bay Orange bay	Jan/Feb 12 1902	S
Coiazzi 1914			
Furlong 1917	Douglas river In Navarino island		
De Agostini 1924	Mejillones In Navarino island		
L. Bridges 1951			
Spencer 1951			A W
Gusinde 1986 [1937]	Remolino Mejillones In Navarino island	About 9 ½ months See itinerary in appendix B	S
Koppers 1991 [1924]	Mejillones in Navarino island		
Lothrop 1928			
Stambuk 1986			

Key: A = autumn, S = summer, SP = spring, W = winter.

The greater number of summer records does not necessarily reflect a greater intensity of production of paintings in this season. Rather, it should be related to the fact that most voyages were done during summer because the travellers must have expected to have better weather conditions, which are crucial at such high latitudes. Hence there is no evidence that suggests that there was a differential production of body painting according to seasonality.

3.4. Body painting in space.

3.4.1. Location of observations of body painting in Tierra del Fuego.

As tables 3.1 and 3.2 show, Selk'nam and Yámana body painting was mainly observed on the shores of Isla Grande de Tierra del Fuego, and of other islands of the Fuegian archipelago. Map 3.1 shows these locations. It is obvious that does not show an aboriginal preference of wearing body painting near the shores, but that it rather marks the geographical situations of the observers, whom in many cases did not explore the inner territories of the islands. The accounts by different observers that refer to the same location is also related to the voyagers' route, although in this case it does show a consistent repetition of the presence of painted aborigines in these places. The locations of the observations show that body painting was worn along many points of the Fuegian archipelago, including the shores and some inner points of Isla Grande. Its wearing does not seem to have been restricted to any specific areas.

Map 3.1. Geographical distribution of observations of body painting wearing in Tierra del Fuego.

3.4.2. Insularity, geographical barriers and bridges, and the regional distribution of body painting.

This section explores the spatial distribution of body painting in Tierra del Fuego and Patagonia with the aim of establishing similarities and differences in the body painting practices of the societies that lived in these regions (see map 3.2). The distribution of the paintings, and their main features, can, in turn, be used as indicators for assessing the influence of geographical features on inter-societies contact and influence. In particular, the fact that the Fuegian societies (Yámana, Selk'nam, Haush² and Alacaluf) lived in islands makes insularity an important variable to take into account³.

Of the Fuegian aboriginal groups, the Yámana and Alacaluf are the less similar to the Aonikenk (Southern Tehuelche) who lived in continental Patagonia. They differed in their physical appearance, the former being much smaller than the latter. They also spoke different languages (FitzRoy 1839, Cooper 1917) and had different means of subsistence, since the Yámana and Alacaluf mainly exploited sea resources using canoes as a means of transport, while the Aonikenk were terrestrial nomadic hunter-gatherers (Cooper 1917, McEwan et al 1997). As opposed to this situation, there is a series of general similarities between the Selk'nam and the Aonikenk, although these aspects show specific differences that distinguish the two societies. Both wore guanaco skin robes, although the Aonikenk wore them with the fur towards the inside⁴, while the Selk'nam wore them with the fur towards the outside⁵. Both societies hunted

² As explained in the introduction, the information about the Haush is so scarce that their situation will not be analysed here. Their closeness to the Selk'nam society makes it likely for this society's analysis to be to an extent applicable to their case.

³ Insularity is not necessarily a synonym of isolation, and as much as it should be considered in geographical terms, it needs also to be addressed in terms of the perception that each society had of the islands as landscape features (Broodbank 2000), since such social perception of landscape also shaped the interaction of populations with it, and with other groups. Possible contact with the continent might have been made by the societies that used canoes as a means of transport (the Yámana and the Alacaluf), using water as a bridge to the continent instead of perceiving it as a barrier. This in turn might have implied some indirect contact of the Selk'nam and the Haush with the continent, via interaction with the Yámana and/or the Alacaluf. Yet this does not imply that contact was easily made by the Fuegians with the Aonikenk, since the vast area they inhabited was at the east of the Andes. This leaves the Magellan strait North shore as the main via of access to their territory from Tierra del Fuego –a strait which is difficult cross. The transversal valleys that go through the Andes from West to East could have also been used as corridors by the Aonikenk to go West or the Alacaluf, who lived in the islands and continent shores towards the west of the Andes, to go East. This requires an intentional investment of effort which would be expected mainly if the populations were pressured by some need to move or expand, which does not seem to have been the case. Moreover, there is no available information providing evidence of such movements or contacts resulting of them.

⁴ This led to the availability of a hide surface -clean of fur- which was sometimes painted by the Aonikenk with intricate rectilinear geometric patterns, including right angle lines and figures.

⁵ There is only one known case of Selk'nam cloak wearing with the hide towards the inside and painted decoration of its external hide: the four Tanu spirits of the *hain* ceremony, whose cloaks were painted with series of parallel lines and rows of dots (see chapter 6, section 6.4.4.g.). Though these designs do not

guanacos and used bows and arrows for this and other subsistence tasks, but the artefact assemblages in sites of both regions show differences, for example, in the sequences followed for the production of lithic tools (Nami in Borrero 1989-1990). Their languages were also similar (Cooper 1917: 51). These cultural similarities point towards the possibility that these populations were originally linked in the past.

To these cultural similarities, it can be added that Selk'nam and Aonikenk were also physically alike, being tall and strongly built, which marked a high contrast with the small-built Yamana. Yet studies of the osteology of human remains of individuals belonging to Fuegian and Patagonian populations, show that the different Fuegian populations (terrestrial and maritime hunter-gatherers) showed more similarities among them than in comparison to the Patagonian hunter-gatherers (Cocilovo 1981 in Borrero 1989-1990:136, Coscillo and Guichon 1985-1986), which in turn suggests that the Patagonian and the Fuegian populations (as a whole) did not interact for a considerable period of time and had evolved with certain independence (Borrero *ibid*). Hence the general cultural similarities mentioned above suggest that the Patagonian Aonikenk and the Selk'nam Fuegians may have originated from a common population, but the osteological differences indicate that the separation of the populations that led to the Aonikenk and the Selk'nam existence, occurred far back in time.

The earliest dates of sites in Southern Patagonia and Northern Tierra del Fuego (i.e. in North and South shores of the Magellan strait) are similar. For example Fell, Palli Aike, and Laguna Blanca (11,000-8500 BP, Orquera 1987: 350-351, Borrero 1989-1990: 136) in Patagonia, show similar dates to Marazzi and Tres Arroyos (11,900-9,000 BP, Orquera 1987: 360, Borrero 1989-1990: 136) in Northern Tierra del Fuego, hence indicating that what today are two separate regions were already occupied by human populations by that time. These regions' division occurred with the formation of the Magellan strait, around 9000 to 8000 years BP (Borrero 1999:323). With it, the human populations inhabiting these regions were also –to an extent– isolated (see below)⁶. This in turn suggests that the traits that Aonikenk and Selk'nam share should

resemble at all the Aonikenk patterns, the coincidence of the cloak painting by both societies is still striking, and consistent with the similarities of other cultural features of these two societies.

⁶ For this reason, the population process of Tierra del Fuego can be explained, in biogeographical terms, as the result of vicariance, given that the two populations, which originated from the same population, became isolated as a consequence of the formation of a barrier - the Magellan strait (Borrero 1989-1990: 135). Note that the definition of vicariant species includes the fact that they occupy similar ecological niches in geographical isolation (Simmons 1979, Cox and Moore 1995). There existed geographical differences between southern Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego, which Borrero acknowledges (*ibid*: 136), but these two regions can be considered as generally similar.

be ancient and that, if they had no contact later in time, the two populations may have diverged considerably in the following development of their cultures.

Having briefly pointed to the general similarities in the physical appearance, subsistence, linguistic and clothing traits between the Aonikenk and the Selk'nam, and their possible early common origin, plus their also early isolation (which seems to have led to the osteological differences quoted above), I want to focus now on their visual productions in general, and body paintings in particular and discuss them in the light of the available information.

As noted in the previous section, due to the lack of published information, it is not possible to ascertain whether colouring substances manipulation occurred in early times in Northern Tierra del Fuego, and the same happens in Southern Patagonia. For this reason, the possible diachronic processes that these two areas underwent in relation to this activity, and the links drawn between them, can be neither confirmed nor rejected. Nevertheless, two major hypothetical diachronic trends can be established.

A first possibility is that the Southern Patagonia and Northern Tierra del Fuego populations always produced body painting, even before their geographical separation. Their potential sharing of this activity in a distant past would in turn suggest an ancient practice from a common origin population that was maintained along a vast period of time and in spite of their isolation. A second possibility is that body painting may have been created independently by the Selk'nam and Aonikenk, or by their ancestors, when they were already geographically separated. This convergence would in turn indicate that both contexts could afford and generate body painting practices, and that these had some advantage for the societies creating them (or were at least 'neutral', although this latter possibility seems rather unlikely, given the implications that body painting had for the Fuegian societies – see chapters 4, 5 and 6).

Leaving aside these hypothetical diachronic processes, we can focus now on the available information that characterises Patagonian body painting in order to compare it to the Selk'nam body painting. The Tehuelches (including the Gununakena, in North Patagonia, and the Aonikenk in the South) have been described by a great number of voyagers as aborigines who wore body paintings⁷ (Pigafetta [1520] 1946; Ladrillero 1557 in Alvarez 2000; Drake in Fletcher 1652; Byron [1764] 1957 and [1764] in Gallagher 1990*; Bougainville 1766*; Viedma [1780] 1972*; Pineda 1789; Parker King [1828] 1933; Arms and Coan [1833] 1939; Fitz Roy 1839a; Roncagli 1833 (including

⁷ The references marked with * indicate quotations from Martinic (1995: 272-275); the rest of the references have been directly quoted from the corresponding published sources.

two drawings)*; Transilvano 1837; Goupil 1838 (including a drawing)*; D'Urville 1841*; Wilkes in Sherman 1844; Bourne 1853; Schmid [1858] 1964; Claraz 1865; Musters 1869 and 1872; Cunningham 1871; Moreno 1876; Rogers 1878*; Dixie 1880*; Lista 1884; Spegazzini 1884; Bertrand 1885; Onelli [1903] 1930; Borgatello 1929; De Agostini 1941; Cooper 1963 – this latter source is a second hand compilation of first hand observations).

Most of the descriptions refer to their wearing of facial paintings of simple design, mostly made by blotches or lines of paint. Paintings of the arms and trunk are also recorded, but with less frequency. The first of these references, which retells an observation made in Puerto San Julian (Southeast Patagonia) in May 1520, is an example of this:

“This man was so tall that our head only reached his waist. Of great figure/height, his face was tinged with red, except his eyes, surrounded by a yellow circle, and two traces in the shape of a heart over the cheeks. His scarce hairs looked as if had been whitened with some powder.” (Pigafetta [1520] 1946: 56-57)⁸.

The information in these sources indicates a general use of body painting for several purposes, such as ornamentation, skin protection and mourning (Cooper 1963: 146 and 156), and birth celebration (Musters 1891: 240-241). Mood expressions associated to colours were also recorded –red for happiness, white for war and black for mourning– (De Agostini 1941: 289, these sound suspiciously similar to those noted by the same author for the Selk'nam and it would not be surprising if De Agostini had overgeneralised the data for the two societies). Overall, this indicates less situations in which body painting was worn, in comparison to the Fuegian situations.

From the very first text, the sources indicate that both men and women got painted. This marks a contrast with the observations made about the Selk'nam, which, as noted above, did not include women until much later in time. A few of the observations about the Aonikenk also indicate the practice of tattooing (Musters 1872: 197; Lista 1884: 97), which, although less frequent than body painting, seems to have been more developed than in the Selk'nam case.

But the most distinctive feature that marks a difference between the Aonikenk and the Selk'nam body painting is the degree of complexity and variety of the designs. While according to the written sources the former seem to have been quite simple, mainly based on grounds or patches of paint and on lines, the latter show a great complexity and variety, as described above (see also analysis in chapters 5 and 6). First

⁸ It is due to chronicles such as this, plus to some drawings, that the Patagonian inhabitants were regarded as giants by the Europeans for a considerable period of time (see Duviols 1997). 141

of all, this difference should not be taken for granted and might be related to a lack of adequate and thorough ethnographic observation of the Aonikenk, of the quality that Gusinde achieved with the Fuegian societies. It is clear that had it not been for his observations, most of the richest body painting creations, such as those related to the initiation ceremonies, would have ceased to exist without having been thoroughly recorded by any western observer. This situation may have happened in Patagonia, and the possibility that the Aonikenk may have had other more elaborate body paintings should not be entirely dismissed.

Bearing this shortcoming in mind, the available information indicates the existence of a noticeable difference between the Aonikenk and the Selk'nam *body paintings*, the former being much less diverse and elaborate than the latter, and apparently worn on less occasions. Conversely, the Patagonian populations created *rock art* and *painted their cloaks* with intricate designs (Prieto 1997) while the Fuegians did not, which implies a further divergence in the visual productions of the two regions. A final point to be taken into account, which reinforces the idea of difference of the Fuegian and Patagonian populations, is that all the Fuegian societies celebrated male initiation ceremonies in which body painting was combined with *painted masks*, while the latter –according to the available information– did not. Hence, although with qualitative differences (which are explored in chapters 4, 5 and 6) the Selk'nam, Yámana and Alacaluf show more similarities in their visual productions than with those created by the Aonikenk, which in turn suggests that the three former were in more contact with each other than with the latter.

In conclusion, we do not know how long this difference in the Patagonian and Fuegian body painting dates back in time, but the variations observed can be related to a) the different socio-cultural needs, desires and possibilities of the Patagonian and Fuegian societies, which seem to have given the body paintings deeply different purposes and values, and b) the insular isolation of the Fuegians from the Aonikenk (regardless of whether the origins of this practice can be related to a drift from a common tradition or a convergence of customs). Although body painting is present both in the continental and insular portions of Fuego-Patagonia, when considered in terms of its variety and degree of elaboration, its spatial distribution seems to have been influenced not only by cultural context but also by geographical isolation.

Map 3.2. Territories of aboriginal societies of Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego (from Orquera 1987, modified).

3.4.3. Selk'nam and Yámana body painting and the neighbouring Fuegian societies.

As much as body painting marked a difference between the Aonikenk with the Fuegian societies, it is my contention that it also marked differences between the Selk'nam, Yámana and Alacaluf, and possibly the Haush.

The Selk'nam and the Haush. The lack of visual information and very few written data about the Haush make it impossible to study their case. It is likely that their body paintings were more similar to those the Selk'nam, given their close relation to this society, but this idea cannot be tested or explored.

The Yámana and the Alacaluf. The Alacaluf case is also not analysed in this thesis for the same reason. But given the existence of 14 visual records of their body paintings and masks (see illustrations in appendix T), a series of general observations can be made:

- a) entire body paintings are commonly made of white grounds, with very few other decorative elements used
- b) facial paintings are also commonly made of white grounds that cover the whole face, leaving the eyes and mouth unpainted, but encircled by the white ground or, in some cases surrounded by dark circles
- c) other facial paintings include rows of dots or lines radially displayed
- d) masks are of three shapes: conical, cylindrical and tabular with a distal transversal appendix that looks like a phallic representation. All of them are very long. In one case a mask has its eyes and mouth encircled as a facial painting.
- e) feather diadems are made of very long feathers

Except for point c), which shows similarities with Yámana and Selk'nam paintings, all these features make the Alacaluf paintings, masks and diadems quite different from those of their Yámana neighbours and of the Selk'nam. This in turn reinforces the established divisions between these three societies, based on their languages, subsistence, technology, mobility, etc.

The Selk'nam and the Yámana. The similarities and differences between the body paintings, as well as the masks, decorated objects and head ornaments of these two societies are one of the main axes of analysis of this research project. I propose that in spite of similarities in the colours used and the situations in which body painting was worn, there were very deep differences in the designs and in the manipulation of the wearing, viewing and production processes of the paintings. I will try to show that these differences were related to socio-economic and ideological factors of the Yámana

and Selk'nam contexts, that they actively contributed to constructing these contexts, and that, to an extent, they were linked to differential Western influences undergone by these societies. The following section and next three chapters explore all these differences and their implications.

3.5. The Yámana and Selk'nam body paintings.

The data about the paintings of these two societies are synthetically presented in the following sections (3.2.1 and 3.2.2, and summarised in appendix F) according to the following topics:

- situation of use, divided into everyday life, special occasions and initiation ceremonies.
- wearers, specially gender and age, and also role played -if any- within the situation
- portions of the body painted
- motifs/designs worn
- possible meanings of the designs
- production of the paintings

The division between *every day life*, *special occasions* and *initiation ceremonies* is based on the fact that body painting was worn at situations that could be repeated in time several occasions (i.e. everyday life), while it was also worn at particular moments in life which marked a transition in the person's existence (i.e. special occasions, such as birth, wedding, becoming a shaman, etc.). Initiation ceremonies are in fact another case of a special occasion, and have only been separated from these for organisational and analytical purposes, because there is a greater amount of information about them. Graphic 3.1 shows the different situations of body painting use for the Selk'nam and Yámana cases.

The everyday life situations in which body painting was worn include a large number of circumstances. But most of these have been poorly documented both visually and in the written records, and sometimes the reference to their whole existence depends on only one observer's account. This in turn points to several non-exclusive possibilities a) infrequent occurrence, b) private or hidden occurrence, c) lack of interest for the observers, d) difficulty of interpretation by the observers of the nature of a specific use of body painting. No matter which of these factors was operating behind the recording of the everyday situations body painting, the fact is that the low frequency and detail of the data about them makes it impossible to search for recurrent visual and/or action *patterns* that can be further analysed within these specific contexts of situation.

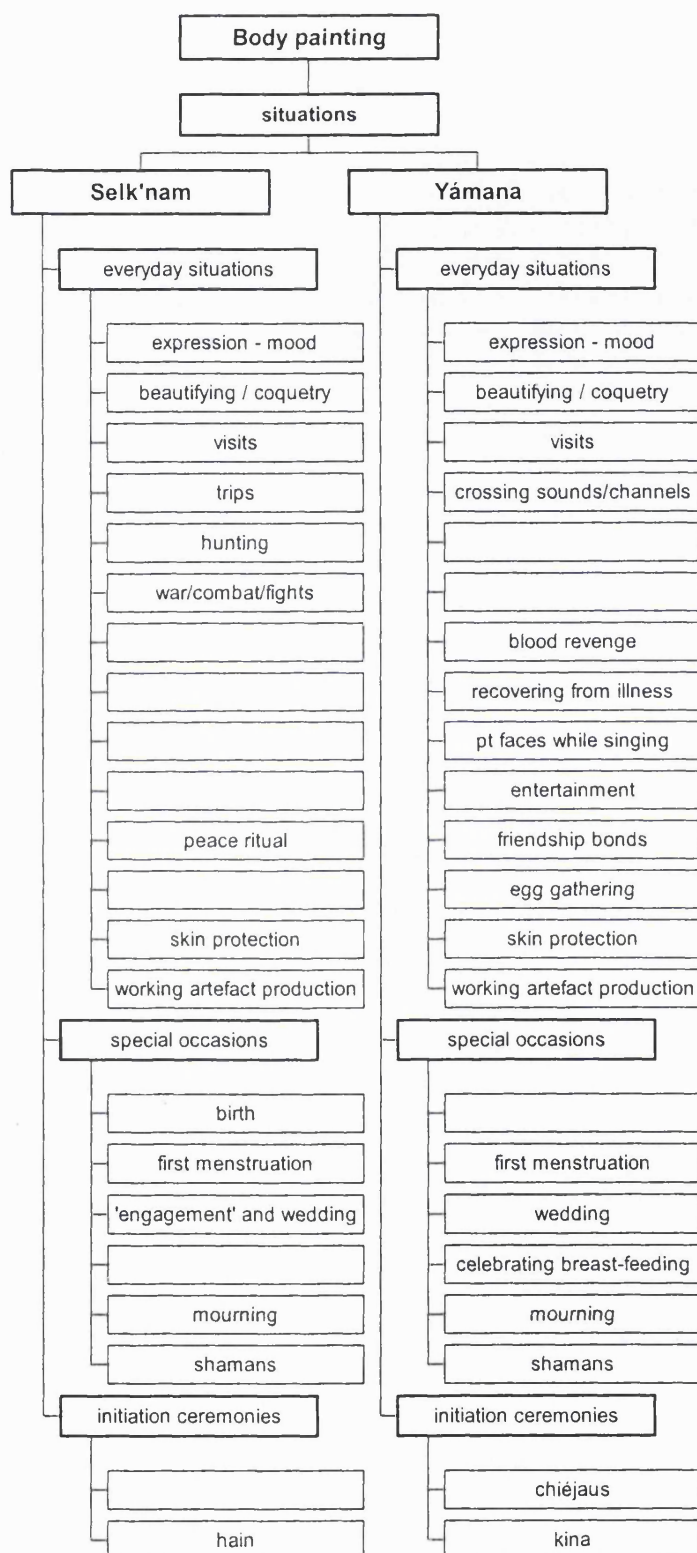
Nevertheless they will still be qualitatively analysed in chapters 4 and 5, to present a full panorama of body painting creation and display, and to allow drawing comparisons with the rest of the situations.

In relation to the *colours*, it is clear that there is no way of contrasting the terms used by each author with the colours and hues that they were trying to describe. In this sense, the recording of this data is difficult to assess and what will be presented here stems directly from the terms used in the texts.

In relation to the *motifs* worn, what will be presented here is a synthesis about the motifs as they have been recorded by the observers. A motif list has been made on the basis of the observation of the visual records, and these have been recorded in the database from which the visual analysis will be carried out (in chapters 5 and 6). These motifs will not be referred to in this chapter, since its main aim is to show the state of knowledge and corpus of information available before carrying out this research project.

The *possible meanings of the designs* recorded from the aborigines or attributed to them by the observers will be summarised. The critical assessment and analysis of the actual representational quality of the designs and their meanings is carried out in chapters 5 and 6, for each situation in particular. Finally, the *production of the paintings*: producers and situation of production, materials and techniques used.

Graphic 3.1. Situations of body painting display in Selk'nam and Yamana societies.



3.5.1 Yámana body paintings.

Body painting was worn by the Yámana in everyday life, in special occasions, and in the initiation ceremonies. As noted above, the everyday life situations are varied but scarcely documented. In the Yámana case, these include:

- beautifying, coquetry, ornamental paintings (FitzRoy 1839b: 177; Martial 1888: 188⁹; Hyades 1884: 562, 1885: 408; Lothrop 1928: 126, Gusinde 1986: 1445)
- visiting occasions (Hyades and Deniker 1891: 349-350; Bridges 1897: 68-70). Gusinde made a distinction between paying a visit (Gusinde 1986: 416, 982-983, 1445) and receiving visitors (Gusinde 1986: 416 and 983).
- mood expressions (Fitz-Roy 1839b: 177; Martial 1888: 188, Hyades and Deniker 1891: 349-450, Lothrop 1928: 126; Borgatello 1929: 182)
- blood revenge (Fitz-Roy 1839b: 177; Despard 1861: 179, 1867: 179; T. Bridges 1872: 125, 1875: 13-14; Martial 1888: 188; Gusinde 1986: 1090; Lothrop 1928: 126)
- protecting the skin -painting with little or no visual purposes- (FitzRoy 1839b:177)
- to ensure good weather before navigating to cross sounds or sea channels (Spencer 1951: 87)
- to achieve the recovery of a sick person (Spencer 1951: 97; Stambuk 1986: 64)
- painting faces while singing -without any known purpose- (Gusinde 1986: 1450)
- entertainment, only mentioned by Hyades and Deniker (1891: 349-350) quoting Bridges, but not found in Bridges texts
- celebration of first bird eggs of the spring season (Gusinde 1986: 412)
- body painting worn while producing artefacts. This situation has only been observed in visual records (photographs Y65, Y66), but there is no written information describing any intentional wearing of body painting during artefact making.

Some of the special occasions are also documented with low detail and/or by few authors, but the information about others is much richer and allows a deeper analysis, as it will be shown in chapters 4 and 5.

- first menstruation (Gusinde 1986: 725)
- wedding (Hyades and Deniker 1891: 378; Spears 1895: 69; Koppers 1991: 97; Gusinde 1986: 632 and 634; Stambuk 1986: 72)
- celebrating breast feeding (Hyades and Deniker 1891: 194)

- shamans painting (*yekamushes*) (G.P. Despard VP 1859: 136; G.P. Despard VP 1863: 717; Bove 1883^a: 131 and Bove 1883b: 134, L. Burleigh SAMM 1889: 267; T. Bridges MS 1897; Bridges 1885b: 332; Koppers 1991: 117; Lothrop 1928: 173; Gusinde 1986: 1338, 1394 and 1397; Stambuk 1986: 64 and 65). Gusinde also stated that the *yekamushes* had specific designs of their own (1986: 1412). The attendants to the *yekamushes* “school” smeared their bodies and faces (Koppers 1991: 152; Gusinde 1986: 1383; Gusinde 1951: 346 and letter published by Koppers 1991: 151; Stambuk 1986: 65). When they died, the *yekamushes* were also painted (Gusinde 1986: 1382-1383); this is the only case of mortuary painting known within the Yámana.
- mourning – *talawaia* (G. Despard 1859: 129 and 273; T. Bridges 1876: 80, T. Bridges 1886: 209, T. Bridges 1933: 21 and 453; T. Bridges MS 1897; Lovisato 1884: 147, Hyades 1885a: 405; Hyades and Deniker 1891: 245; Martial 1888: 206; Aspinall 1888: 192; Spears 1895: 71)
- *yamalashemoina*, the collective mourning ceremony (Gusinde 1922: 428; Gusinde 1924: 15; Gusinde 1986: 1101-1102; Koppers 1991: 141).

In comparison with the rest of the situations, the initiation ceremonies were fully observed and recorded much later in time. Nevertheless, these are the situations for which there is the greatest amount of data.

The *chiéjaus* initiation ceremony was observed twice by Gusinde, in 1920 (Gusinde 1922: 425, 1986: 778-779, 1951), and together with Koppers in 1922 (Koppers 1991: 50). Bridges (1897) may also have observed some portions or preparations for it, although his accounts are mixed with those related to the *kina* ceremony; in any case, he does not describe the body paintings worn in such occasions, but rather refers briefly to the uses of masks, hence the possibility that he was referring to the *kina*. Rosa Yagan, Stambuk’s informant, took part on the 1910 and 1922 *chiéjaus* ceremonies, and also mentioned information in relation to the body paintings worn in them.

The *kina* ceremony was observed by Gusinde (1986: 1286) together with Koppers (1991:101) in 1922. Lothrop published visual information about the two ceremonies, but did not witness them: these are photographs and drawings of objects

⁹ Although he called the paintings ornamentations, he stated that he did not know why women would wear them to make themselves ugly (ibid). 149

which formed part of his ethnographic collection of objects which he is likely to have specifically asked the Yámana to produce for him.

The information provided by these authors which is related directly to body painting is quite abundant

- *chiéjaus* ceremony (Koppers 1991: 70, 72, 73, 75, 77, 88, 89; Gusinde 1986: 805-807, 817, 820, 827-828, 831, 874, 875, 882-884, 891, 898, 905-906, 912, 917 and 1448; Gusinde 1951: 275, 281; Lothrop 1928: 169; Stambuk 1986: 43-44 and 83)
- *kina* ceremony (Bridges 1933: 135 and 270, 1897: 58-61; Koppers 1991: 102, 103, 106, 110, 113, 115, 116; Gusinde 1922: 427; Gusinde 1924: 14; Gusinde 1986: 1304, 1326-1327, 1336, 1338, 1342-1343, 1345-1351)

The body painting wearers were both male and female. Both genders appear very frequently mentioned in the texts, and are also pictured in the photographs, many of which are mixed, showing painted men and women together. The only obvious gender difference perceptible at first hand is that while men wore body paintings and painted masks to represent spirits during the *kina* ceremony, while the women did not. The texts do not make any explicit comments about any trend or patterning of the paintings in relation to the gender of the wearer. But as I will try to show in the following chapters, there were gender differences in the body portions that were painted and in the designs worn, while the handling of the information about the technical production of the paint and about the processes of painting the designs was less differential.

The age of the wearers is not always mentioned in the written records, but it is clear that these show differences from the information provided by the visual records: while the former almost do not mention the use of body painting by children and old people, and only refer to young persons and adults, the latter also show old persons and children wearing paintings. Again, differences per age group in relation to the body portions painted or designs worn are not pinpointed in the texts, but will be shown through the data analysis.

The paintings were worn over the whole body, including face, arms, trunk and legs, varying according to the different situations. The written records include various mentions of paintings which were not restricted to the face, but most of the photographs show instead a marked tendency towards facial painting. Being mostly recent photographs (the majority taken by Gusinde and Koppers in the early 1920's), this shows the effects of Western culture on the Yámana, since they were influenced to wear Western clothing and most likely also incorporated the sense of 'decency' from

them. Even the ‘staged’ photographs taken by De Agostini (between 1910 and 1930), in which he wanted to depict the aborigines in their ‘savage’ or ‘natural’ state, involve covering the body (with amazingly inappropriate Selk’nam costumes) and only show facial paintings. The implications of this influence are shown and discussed in chapters 5 and 6.

The colours used for creating the paintings were white, black and red. The level of coincidence between the different written sources about the use of these colours is very high, which suggests that they are quite accurate¹⁰. This limited range of colours can also be related to the availability of raw mineral materials (see section 3.4.1 and chapter 4). Various authors mentioned the use of the three colours, while others recorded the use of fewer colours (see appendix F). Coinciding with FitzRoy (1839b: 139 and 219), Gusinde noted a preference for red, which he related to the Yámana regard for the *maku* flower, which was also red and, in way, a “criterion for beauty comparison” (idem: 1441-1444). The terms to name the different colour pigments used in the Yámana language have been recorded by various authors, these are *imi* for red, *tumarapu* for white and *yapushlaj* for black (see appendix G).

The use of the three colours was related by the observers to a number of situations and sometimes to meanings too. As it will be shown in chapters 5 and 6, the information is in some cases not consistent and even contradictory. Moreover, the colour uses and possible meanings were far from univocal and straightforward, and require detailed scrutiny of the sources and analysis of the data to support their potential representational quality and linkages with the circumstances in which they were worn.

The designs were simple but varied, constructed by various decorative elements, of which the most frequently mentioned were dots (e.g. Despard 1857:109-110, Bridges 1872: 125, Hyades 1885a: 408; Hyades and Deniker 1891: 349; Aspinall 1888: 192; Gusinde 1986:966; Lothrop 1928: 126) and lines (e.g. Weddell 1825: 152-153; Despard 1863: 679; Colvocoresses 1852 in Gusinde 1986: 118; Bridges 1933: 9; Bove 1883a: 126 and 1883b: 129; Hyades and Deniker 1891: 300, 349, T. Bridges 1933: 610; Gusinde 1986: 416 and 1394; Lothrop 1928: 126). The use of what can be described as plain grounds of colour, bands and patches of paint has also been recorded (e.g. FitzRoy 1839b: 177; Bridges 1875: 13-14; Aspinall 1888: 192; Gusinde 1986: 1090; Koppers 1991: 70).

¹⁰ There are authors nevertheless which may have copied information from others, even if they themselves were first hand observers. These cases will be pointed when analysing the respective situations.

Some of the data about the designs have been recorded independently by various observers, while other traits have only been noted by fewer authors. The observations also greatly vary in their level of detail, and as with many other aspects, Gusinde offers the most complete set of visual and written information. There is comparatively much less information about the motif meanings and situations than in relation to the colours. Nevertheless, these will be quoted and explored in chapters 5 and 6, in search for possible visual codes that underlie their construction and visualisation.

The dictionary compiled by T. Bridges (1933) and the volume by Hyades and Deniker (1891) mention various Yámana terms which refer to body and face paintings, their colours, as well as the designs and in few occasions even the purposes for wearing them. A list of these aboriginal terms and their meanings is quoted from these sources in appendix G. These terms will be mentioned within the different sections of chapters 4 and 5, according to the colours and situations they refer to.

Information about the raw materials procurement and storage, paint preparation, conservation, and dilution, application techniques, circumstances about the production process and gender and age of the producers can also be found in the written records (Darwin 1845: 241, footnote; Lovisato 1884: 147; Hyades 1885a: 408; Hyades 1887: 329; Hyades and Deniker 1891: 300, 408, 410; Martial 1888: 188; Bridges MS 1897, 1933: 498, 519, 548; Spencer 1951: 84; L. Bridges 1951: 366-367; Gusinde 1986: 412, 884, 1346, 1347 and 1367; Lothrop 1928: 126; Stambuk 1986: 44). With the exceptions of Darwin, Hyades and Deniker, Gusinde and Lothrop, who had a clear interest in recording information related to the technical processes involved in body painting production, the rest of the authors did not set out intentionally to do so, but still provide relevant data on which to ground this aspect of the analysis, which is dealt with in chapter 4.

There is little information about the practice of *tattooing* among the Yámana. Most of the authors do not mention it at all. The only author who mentioned its existence is Gusinde (1986: 830). He stated that he did not observe the tattooing himself, but that rather it was an ancient practice that was described to him by some Yámana persons during the *chiéjaus* (see chapter 6). Contrary to this description, neither L. Bridges nor his father observed the practice of tattooing in the Yámana (1951: 367). The same is stated by Lovisato (1884: 147), although possibly he quoted this information from Bridges.

A similar situation happens with *scarification*, which was only described by Cojazzi as a mourning process (1914: 106). As explained in chapter 2 (and

appendix B), Cojazzi compiled his text mostly from other Salesian observers information rather than from his own experience, hence this information should be taken with caution, particularly because it does not agree with accounts given by other first hand observers. Again, L. Bridges clearly stated that his father never saw the Yámana produce scarifications (L. Bridges 1951: 364, 367).

According to Lothrop, body painting was the chief form of decoration of the Yámana (1928: 125). Yet the Yámana also *decorated* certain ceremonial *objects* for the *chiéjaus* and the *kina* ceremonies. The *chiéjaus* painted ceremonial objects include:

- wooden tablets hung inside the *chiéjaus* hut (Y1, Y2, Y3, Y68, Y73)
- some portions of the wooden hut frame itself
- dancing wands (Y3, Y16, Y19, Y23, Y24, Y26, Y27, Y28, Y29, Y30, Y39, Y50, Y58, Y68, Y71, Y73)
- the hide (?) string used to ‘catch’ the escaping candidates appears to have been painted in some cases too (see photo Y23, compare to possibly non-painted rope in Y26, and Y50)

The decoration was created by using basic elements such as dots, dashes, chevrons and lines, which were repeated by translating them along the surface of the object, forming highly geometric and symmetric patterns. The designs are not known to have had any meaning.

The habit of decorating artefacts is characteristic of the Yámana, and distinguishes this society from the Selk’nam, who seem not to have decorated their objects. Moreover, it is interesting to note that this Yámana custom is similar to that observed in the archaeological record of the populations living in the same region (the Beagle channel shores) from 6,000 to 4,000 BP., who decorated their bone artefacts by engraving them mostly with sinuous lines, dashes, dots and fewer straight lines and figures. The types and materials of artefacts are different –wooden tablets and wands in the later Yámana, and bone harpoons, ‘tablets’, beads and other instruments, in the ancient archaeological populations– as well as their decorative designs. But the fact that two populations inhabiting the same region and showing many similarities in their subsistence, mobility, lithic and bone technology and hut structure (Orquera and Piana 1999) did decorate some of their material culture pieces, while the rest of the Fuegians did not, is striking. Moreover, a certain shape resemblance between a decorated archaeological bone object from Túnel I site and an Yámana painted tablet is presented and discussed in chapter 6, section 6.2.13, on the *chiéjaus* decorated objects.

During the *kina* ceremony, the men wore painted masks to represent spirits

(Y4, Y17, Y42, Y43, Y47, Y57, Y59, Y60, Y69, Y70, Y75, Y76, Y77, Y78, Y79, Y80). These were made of hide, had a conical shape, and decorated mainly with lines and dashes, mostly matching the painted designs worn on the body by the men (Gusinde 1986, Lothrop 1928).

Finally, during the collective mourning ceremony (*yamalashemoina*) (Gusinde 1986: 1101-1102; Koppers 1991: 141) and also in the blood revenge attacks witnessed by Bridges (T. Bridges 1885b: 332), painted objects were used. The former include painted rods and painted canoe paddles (Y41), while the latter involved painting the weapons used to attack the supposed murderers of a dead person, especially the rocks thrown at them.

Plates 3.1 and 3.2. Bone archaeological artefacts (beads -plate 3.1- and harpoons -plate 3.2) decorated by engraving (site Túnel I, photos L. Orquera).

Plate 3.3. Bone archaeological artefacts (tablets/spatulas?), decorated by engraving (site Túnel 1, photo L. Orquera). Note the resemblance to the ethnographic painting tool in plate 3.4, and to various of the ethnographic ceremonial objects drawn in plate 3.5.



Plate 3.4. Yámana ethnographic tools: 'd' is a painting tool (Y86).



Plate 3.5. Decorated wooden artefacts –ornamental tablets and dancing wands– used for the *chiéjaus* (Y3).

3.5.2 Selk'nam body paintings.

The Selk'nam also wore body paintings during everyday life situations, special occasions and in several moments of their male initiation ceremony, the *hain*. As in the Yamana case, the Selk'nam everyday life situations are the worst documented, both in terms of the low number of observers who recorded them, and of the lack of detail of the records. The everyday life situations include:

- the expression of states of mood (Lista 1887: 101; Gallardo 1910:152; Borgatello 1929: 182; De Agostini 1924: 276, 1945: 68; L. Bridges 1951: 367; Gusinde 1982: 207)
- beautifying and coquetry purposes (Gallardo 1910: 152; Borgatello 1929: 182; Gusinde 1982: 209)
- visits (Gallardo 1910: 151; Gusinde 1982: 208)
- trips. Being terrestrial nomads, movements in land from one location to another one where the camp would be set up were part of the everyday life of the Selk'nam. This is what can differentiate a trip from a visit. Nevertheless, the information about both trips and visits per se, and about the body painting worn during them is very scarce (Beauvoir 1915: 206; Gusinde 1982: 208).
- hunting, camouflage (Segers 1891: 69; L. Bridges 1951: 367; Gusinde 1982: 208)
- war, combat/wrestling/fights. It is very difficult to distinguish in the early texts between the mention of an activity such as war or combat, that is, involving the violent attack of one group to another aggression or aggressive encounter between them, from the more sportive one-to-one combat which was documented with accuracy by the more recent observers. It is for this reason that they have been recorded together within the same category. (Lista 1887: 101; Segers 1891: 61; Payro 1898: 210; Beauvoir 1915: 206; Gallardo 1910: 151; Dabbene 1911: 263; Borgatello 1929: 182; De Agostini 1924: 272; L. Bridges 1951: 272, 318; Gusinde 1982: 209, 1101-1102)
- skin protection (Barclay 1924: 214; Dabbene 1911: 224; Gusinde 1982: 206; Lothrop 1928: 58-59)
- working in the production of artefacts. As in the Yámana case, this situation of wearing paintings has only been documented in visual records, while there are no texts mentioning any specific use of body painting in such circumstances. In this case, it is only one drawing, S109 published by Gallardo, showing a young man working with a tool (on a piece of hide?). This makes the record about the situation

even more dubious than in the Yamana cases, both because of the nature of drawings and their implications, already discussed in chapter 1, and because of the several attitudes already found in and about Gallardo's book in relation to the manipulation of photographs, commented in chapter 2.



Plate 3.6. Selk'nam young man working, wearing facial and body paintings (S109).

The Selk'nam special occasions in which body painting was worn show various similarities with the Yamana ones. Nevertheless, there are also qualitative differences in the ways the paintings were employed by each society, which will be pointed and discussed in chapter 5.

These special occasions were:

- birth. (Lista 1887: 92-93; Payro 1898: 195; Beauvoir 1915: 208; De Agostini 1924: 283; L. Bridges 1951: 371)
- first menstruation (Gusinde 1982: 383, 390)
- 'engagement' (Gusinde 1982: 307)
- wedding (Gusinde 1982: 310-311)
- shamans painting (*xons*) (Segers 1891: 69; Dabbene 1911: 260; De Agostini's film; Gusinde 1982: 207-208; Lothrop 1928: 96)
- mourning (Lista 1887: 101; Segers 1891: 69; Popper 1891: 138; Gallardo 1910: 150; Borgatello 1929: 182; De Agostini 1924: 290; L. Bridges 1951: 364; Gusinde 1982: 209; Koppers 1991: 39)

As explained in chapter 2, the Selk'nam celebrated an initiation ceremony called *hain*. Although the *hain* ceremony was strictly exclusively male, women also wore body paintings at some points of the ceremony. The information about the *hain* paintings comes mainly from Gusinde (1924, 1982, 1951). But there are also two previous accounts of this ceremony by L. Bridges (1947) and by an anonymous Salesian missionary (in Belza 1974), which mainly confirm the information provided by Gusinde in relation to the paintings, although showing differences in other details, particularly the mythical contents of the ceremony.

Persons of male and female gender wore body paintings. In the written records, painted men are much more often mentioned than painted women (see appendix F). This panorama can be the result of two different factors: a) that women got painted less often than men or b) that women were seen by the European voyagers less often than men because of a possible safety attitude of the Selk'nam towards the strangers, which would involve only a party of men contacting them. This latter option is quite likely to have been fostered by the violent and frequently lethal aggressions of the Westerners towards the Selk'nam. In the most modern records, it becomes clear that both women and men wore body paintings. This does not mean straightforwardly that there were no gender differences in the display of the paintings by female and male wearers. As with the Yamana case, the most obvious difference is that related to the representation of

spirits in the *hain* ceremony, a role which was always played by painted and masked men. Other gender differences need to be searched for in detail, and are dealt with in chapters 4, 5 and 6.

Similarly to the Yámana case, the age of the Selk'nam wearers does not appear clearly mentioned in most of the written records. In most cases, these refer to painted 'men' or 'women', with no details about their age, while only in very few cases are old people, children and babies mentioned. The visual records, instead, show painted persons of all ages – although old individuals, children and babies are still infrequent.

The Selk'nam painted their faces, trunks, arms and/or legs. Most of the early texts do not specify if the aborigines were wearing paintings over their bodies, and only refer to their facial paintings (e.g. Van Noort 1599 in Gusinde 1982; Nodal 1615; Labbe 1711; Banks 1768; FitzRoy 1839b; Darwin 1839 and 1845). Paintings over the body appear nevertheless on the later written sources (e.g. Lista 1887; Segers 1891; Payró 1898; Gallardo 1910; Dabbene 1904, 1911; Coiazzi 1914, etc.). The visual records show Selk'nam persons wearing both facial and also facial plus body paintings. These latter were mostly worn during the *hain* ceremony, which was not only cautiously kept secret from the women but also from most of the white men; it seems likely that for this reason the painting of the body was much less frequently recorded by the western observers than the facial paintings.

The colours used by the Selk'nam to make their body paintings are the same than those employed by the Yámana: red, white and black. This coincidence may be explained at least to an extent by the availability of the raw mineral materials with which the paints were made and by the similar technical processes through which they were transformed into paint. Gusinde collected a series of terms related to colours and paintings, which are listed in appendix I. The Selk'nam had various words to name colours, clays and other colouring substances, but of these, *akel*, the red sediment-pigment, was by far the most frequently quoted. The written records are very consistent in the documentation of the use of these three colours, which are mentioned by most of the authors who wrote about Selk'nam persons wearing body painting; few authors mention less colours (see appendix F).

Several authors mentioned the differential use of these colours in different situations. Moreover, in some cases the colours were described as having a communicational purpose, entailing a certain meaning. These mentions are not always coincident with each other, and are analysed per situation, in chapters 5 and 6.

The information about the Selk'nam painting materials and techniques

comes from less sources than in the Yámana case (Sarmiento de Gamboa [1579] 1950; Spegazzini 1882; Lista 1887; Segers 1891; Gallardo 1910; Dabbene 1904, 1911; Borgatello 1929; De Agostini 1924; L. Bridges 1951; Gusinde 1982; Lothrop 1928). Nevertheless, these written sources provide data about: a) raw materials procurement, storage, exchange and specific uses, b) paint preparation, conservation, and dilution, c) application techniques, and d) circumstances about the production process and the producers, which are the basis of various important theoretical and analytical implications regarding various technological and economic aspects of body painting (see chapter 4). Much of this information comes from Gusinde's records, part of which were clearly intended to provide a technical description about the painting procedures, while other details are less straightforwardly technical, yet as informative as the rest.

As opposed to the Yámana case, *scarification* and *tattooing* were recorded by a number of observers as practised by the Selk'nam. Scars were made both with ornamental and with mourning purposes (Lista 1887; Segers 1891; Gallardo 1910; Cojazzi 1914; De Agostini 1924; Borgatello 1929; Gusinde 1982: 211; Koppers 1991). The mourning scars are discussed in chapter 5, section 5.3.2.5. The ornamental scars are described by Gusinde as follows:

“During puberty boys and girls usually entertain themselves making ornamental scars called *lósti*. A branch of “*Chiliotrichum*” burning without flames and of the width of a pencil, cut in such a way that the end is flat, is put in the interior side of the left forearm and is slightly pressured. The more the burning penetrates the tissue, the more visible the scars will later be, of about 8 mm. If they have resulted well rounded, they will be shown with pride. In different persons I could count between two and eight of these scars, distributed in an uneven form; nobody lacks them.” (Gusinde 1982: 211).

Although Gusinde states that the scars were worn so frequently, these are not visible in any of the photographs. In relation to tattooing, only Cojazzi (1914) and Beauvoir (1914) openly stated that it was not practised by the Selk'nam, while it was recorded by Lista (1887), Segers (1891), Payró (1898), Gallardo (1910), De Agostini (1924), L. Bridges (1951) and Gusinde (1982). Its purpose seems to have been mainly ornamental, and its design was very simple, formed by short faded blue parallel lines. They were made by cutting short and deep incisions on the skin with a pointed knife, after which a fine charcoal powder was introduced inside the wounds (Gusinde 1982: 211). These tattoos are not visible in the photographs, but this could be related to their very faded colour. It is clear nevertheless that both scarification and tattooing were not prominent ways of decorating the body by the Selk'nam (even less by the Yámana), at least during the contact period, which in turn enhances the importance given to

body painting.

Selk'nam *object decoration* was not recorded by any observer, marking a clear difference with the Yámana society. With the exception of the painted masks (see below), the Selk'nam did not use to decorate their artefacts. Yet they did sometimes smear them with paint (Nodal 1619, Anonymous in Schindler 1995), but this seems to have been done mainly with the aim of protecting hide artefacts from moist or making them flexible (Gusinde 1982: 1099). There is only one quotation that suggests that paint was used to “make the object or the body itself more beautiful.” (Gusinde 1982:1099), but this seems not enough evidence to sustain the existence of this activity.

The masks worn in the *hain* by the men representing spirits were painted with the same colours than the bodies and with matching designs. There were two different types of masks, *tolon*, (conical, made of bark or hide) and *asl*, (hood-like, made of hide). While the former are somehow similar to the Yámana masks, the latter are exclusively Selk'nam and were worn by no other Fuegian society.



Plate 3.7. Selk'nam facial paintings (S89).



Plate 3.8. Yámana facial paintings (Y62).

3.5.3. An introduction to the visual analysis of Yámana and Selk'nam body painting designs.

This section presents an introduction to the visual analysis of the information retrieved from the photographs recording Selk'nam and Yámana body paintings. The quantitative analysis results presented here, and throughout the thesis, are based on visual information of photographs, and not of drawings, since the latter do not necessarily represent an actual individual case, and may synthesise observations of more than one individual. Repetitions, that is, cases of an individual wearing the same design, photographed in the same setting and with the same bodily position, have been excluded, since these are double records of one single situation, and would then bias the frequencies of the sample. Excluding drawings and repetitions, the original sample of 235 Selk'nam and 214 Yámana individuals is narrowed to 167 and 156 individuals respectively (see table 3.3), coming from 97 and 71 photos respectively. For the analysis of the designs, which requires appreciation of detail, low visibility cases have also been excluded (though the data are recorded in the database). This results in a total number of 130 Selk'nam and 123 Yámana individuals.

Table 3.3. Sample of Selk'nam and Yámana individuals wearing body painting.

Society	Total individuals	Without repetition	In photographs	High visibility
Yámana	214	183	156	123
Selk'nam	235	205	167	130
Total	449	388	323	253

The visual analysis can be done considering the whole sample of individuals of a society, and also dividing it according to the situations in which body painting was worn. In this section, and in appendix J, the whole sample of each society is analysed (with the restrictions mentioned above). This allows us to use not only the records for which there is known contextual information, but also those for which we lack information indicating the situation of display of the designs. Hence this analysis of the whole samples beyond the situation of body painting display a) uses visual information which would otherwise remain unexplored, and b) searches for patterns that run across the different situations, such as wedding, mourning, initiation ceremonies, etc. (these are analysed separately in the following chapters) showing social trends that were constructed along these different circumstances, and which can only be uncovered when regarding the whole set of cases together.

The visual analysis can address a vast number of questions that may shed light on different aspects of the visual structure, technical production, and display of body painting. Many of these require quantitative analysis of the data because the patterns that underlay such productions cannot always be qualitatively grasped. A clear example of this is that while there is no need to carry out a quantitative analysis to realise that all the Yámana and Selk'nam individuals that wear masks are men, other more subtle but strong tendencies can only be found if analysing two variables (e.g. gender and body portions painted, see below) in search for statistically significant relationships.

I will introduce here two of the core results of the visual analysis of the whole sample of individuals (excluding low visibility and repetitions). Due to lack of space, the remaining sections of the analysis are presented in appendix J.

One of the key questions that can be answered through visual analysis is if the Selk'nam and Yámana had similar or different motif repertoires. Out of a total of 24 groups of motifs, the Selk'nam wore (at least once) 18, and the Yámana wore 14. This indicates a general similarity in their repertoires.

Table 3.4. Presence/absence of groups of motifs per society.

Group of motifs	Selk'nam	Yámana
A	Yes	Yes
ADS	No	Yes
AXB	No	Yes
B	No	Yes
BAM	Yes	Yes
BDM	Yes	No
C	Yes	Yes
CBM	Yes	No
CR	Yes	No
D	Yes	Yes
E	Yes	No
F	Yes	Yes
G	Yes	Yes
H	Yes	Yes
I	Yes	No
L	Yes	No
P	Yes	Yes
Q	No	Yes
R	Yes	No
S	Yes	No
T	Yes	No
V	No	Yes
W	Yes	No
Z	No	Yes
Total: 24 group motifs	18 groups of motifs	14 groups of motifs

Yet this initial similarity is mostly based on the qualitative appreciation of the presence/absence of these motifs groups, but not on the frequency with which they were worn by individuals of each society. Such frequencies suggest that the Selk'nam and Yámana had different preferences for certain motif groups (see table 3.5). A X^2 test of the most frequent motif groups shows that the different motif groups are significantly associated with the societies ($X^2=193.54$, $df=11$, 99% level of confidence), confirming the existence of social preferences for some of these motifs groups and of an inter-society difference of the motifs repertoire.

Table 3.5. Most frequent motif groups worn by Selk'nam and Yámana individuals.

	Selk'nam	Yámana	Total
A	15	87	102
B	0	10	10
BAM	35	5	40
BDM	17	0	17
C	25	16	41
D	7	7	14
E	61	0	61
F	22	18	40
G	18	2	20
H	2	15	17
P	5	7	12
S	10	0	10
Total	217	167	384

Also, when considering the actual varieties¹¹ of motifs which these groups include, deep differences arise. For example, within motif group A, the Selk'nam wore only varieties A and Ap, while the Yámana wore these in much higher frequencies, and also wore A(yf), ADS, Ap(yf), Apl, Aplx, Ax and Ax(yf) (see appendix J). Hence the varieties of motifs worn by each society show both qualitative and quantitative differences (these have not been statistically tested due to the low frequencies of many of them). Therefore, while the general similarities in the motif groups might be accounted for a potential common tradition and/or interaction between both societies, all the differences found suggest that the Selk'nam and Yámana societies had developed distinct visual productions in terms of the design of the motifs involved. The reasons for such differences may lay in plastic choices and traditions, iconographic codes (when the motifs were representational), non-representational visual codes (which may have indicated that certain motif were adequate for certain situations, roles, etc., fulfilling a

¹¹ Out of 73 varieties, the Selk'nam wore 49, and the Yámana 32.

socially sanctioned situation without necessarily representing and conveying a meaning), etc. Such factors, which require not only visual but also textual information are analysed in the following chapters, according to the different situations in which body painting was displayed, and to the available information about them.

A series of core issues that can also be unveiled through visual analysis are those related to the gender of the wearers. One of the questions that can be analysed is if there were gender differences in relation to the portions of the body which were painted. In both Selk'nam and Yámana cases, there are many more female individuals wearing only facial paintings than wearing paintings on their faces plus their bodies, while the male individuals wear paintings in such body portions in a much more proportional way. This indicates that in both cases there exists a strong relationship between the gender of the wearer and the general portions of the body that were considered appropriate to paint ($X^2=13.89$, $df=2$, 99% level of confidence for the Selk'nam case; $X^2=8.40$, $df=1$, 99% level of confidence for the Yámana case).

Table 3.6. Selk'nam: painted body portions per gender.

body portions	F	M	Total
bo	1	29	30
fa	24	59	83
fa + bo	5	49	54
total	30	137	167

Table 3.7. Yámana: painted body portions per gender.

body portions	F	M	Total
bo		1	1
fa	58	53	111
fa + bo	11	33	44
total	69	86	155

In the first place, this might reflect a decision of the western photographers, who may have chosen not to photograph women wearing paintings all over the body as the men did. Yet the reluctance to photograph naked bodies could have been equal for both genders, and this potential selection by the photographers to avoid female nudity¹² remains unexplained. But the choice to appear or not appear naked or semi-naked in the photos, showing paintings on the body and not exclusively on the face, could also have been made by the aborigines themselves. In the Selk'nam case, it seems that there was

no social sanction for the men in showing their entire naked bodies. Rather, as it will be shown in chapter 6, it was a source of power. But this indeed seems to have been an issue when related to the women. This coincides with the written records, which indicate that the Selk'nam women had a deep sense of modesty and would never remove the undergarments that were part of their aboriginal clothing in public (Bridges 1951: 371; Gusinde 1986). Such custom could have been an ancient tradition, but it also may have been originated after the contact with the European missionaries and colonisers. Though the Selk'nam did adopt the Western clothing, in the early XX century they still had access to their aboriginal clothes, which they seem to have worn spontaneously in some cases, and clearly at the request of photographers (sometimes reluctantly) in other cases (Dabbene 1911, Gusinde 1982). But in spite of wearing aboriginal clothing (there are no photos of painted Selk'nam wearing Western clothes), the gender differences related to painted body portions are clear-cut. Thus, such gender differences seem to have been grounded on aboriginal custom, and might have been maintained by Western influence.

In the Yámana case, the gender differences are also clear, and might have responded to the same influences. Early photos of Yámana people show men and women entirely naked, wearing their aboriginal clothes. Under the missionaries influence, the Yámana started wearing Western clothes. This clearly restricted the zones of the body which could be shown painted. Yet the gender differences cannot be attributed to the western clothing, rather, they happened through wearing it. When the Yámana women wore paintings on their bodies, these covered their arms and calves, but not their trunks and legs, which usually remained covered by clothing. In turn, the men did paint their trunks (removing their shirts) and their legs (rolling up their trousers). But the Western influence also changed the Yámana men's paintings: they did not paint their thighs, hips and genitals, as the Selk'nam men. Instead, they wore rolled-up trousers or a loin-cloth (e.g. Y78 vs. S44). This difference in the portions of the body that Selk'nam and Yámana men got painted (for specific ceremonial situations) suggests that the two societies suffered a different impact from the missionaries. While by the end of XIX century both societies were adopting the Western clothing, the Selk'nam men would fully 'return' to their body painting customs, which involved entire nakedness, while the Yámana men would not. These opposed trends also indicate that, although the pictures were taken by the same photographers (Gusinde and Koppers), the

¹² I use the terms nudity and naked to refer to the lack of clothing. There is no explicit information as to whether the aborigines considered the paintings as a way of 'dressing' or covering the naked body or

differences observed are related to aboriginal customs, and not necessarily to the recorders' choices.

To conclude with this section, it can be noticed that the examples developed so far show the different results that can be achieved according to the unit of analysis (motif group vs. motif varieties, general body portions vs. specific body portions) chosen to carry out the visual analysis. Each of these units of analysis reveal different aspects of the body painting designs, which help in shedding light on similarities and differences, on the unity and variety of the patterns that structure the paintings. A first example of the usefulness of the combined handling of visual and textual information for the visual analysis has also been shown.

Beyond these first methodological conclusions, the results obtained so far indicate that the Selk'nam and Yámana body paintings had certain formal and functional similarities, but also differed considerably. Many other intra-society trends and inter-society differences are presented and analysed in appendix J and chapters 4, 5 and 6, in which the technical choices and design developments made by each society are analysed through the same methods.

Chapter 4.

The creation of body painting: implications of its production process.

4.1. No visual effects without image making, or why it is relevant to study the body painting production processes.

This chapter focuses on the analysis of the body painting production processes of everyday life, special occasions and initiation ceremonies by the Selk'nam and the Yámana. The information available on the production processes of Tierra del Fuego body painting is more limited than that regarding its display. Nonetheless the study of body painting production constitutes a coherent research topic, with its own dynamics and social implications. This makes it possible, useful and clearer to carry out its study separately, not only because it will focus on the specific logics behind its development, but also because it will shed light on many of its uses, some of which were generated during production. This will also show that people did not interact with and through body painting only once it was completed, worn and viewed, but also during its production process.

This chapter focuses on four main issues related to such production processes, which have already been discussed in chapter 1:

- a) its importance in the representation and construction of social roles and relationships (mainly based on age and gender) during the development of the production process,
- b) the implications it has for the subsequent effects of the paintings' display, which in turn show the non-neutrality of technique and its political and ideological manipulation by social agents
- c) its significance in the construction and continuation of body painting traditions
- d) the importance of differential access to the knowledge and the practice of such production processes as a factor of internal division of the Fuegian societies

4.2. The body painting production process: action and knowledge in the creation of painted images by the Selk'nam and the Yámana.

The analysis of the production processes will be developed by following the different groups of situations in which body painting was created – every day life, special occasions and initiation ceremonies –, dealing firstly with the Yámana case, then with the Selk'nam case, and drawing comparisons between the two. Before presenting each group of situations, the body painting techniques used by each society will be introduced, with the aim of not repeating them in the analysis of each situation. Similarities and differences between techniques will nevertheless be pointed out in each situation. Appendix L presents the information provided by each author in relation to the materials, tools and techniques of preparation and application of body painting for both societies. Appendix K summarises such information following the general stages of the production sequence for each society¹.

4.2.1. Yámana case.

4.2.1.1. The Yámana body painting techniques.

Body painting techniques can be generally and systematically described by following the series of stages in which the production sequence unfolds. These are:

- *procurement* of raw materials, (pigments and binding mediums), which includes what substances were obtained, and where and how they were obtained
- a possible stage of *storage* of these raw materials (mainly the pigments) without any further processing until they were required for their use;
- the *preparation* of the paint, that is, processing the raw materials by diluting the pigments with the binding mediums so that the resulting colouring substance will be adhered to the skin (for a certain lapse of time, usually short);
- a possible stage of *storage* of the paint;
- a possible stage of *preparation* of the tools with which to apply the paint;
- the *application* of the paint to the skin with different tools and means, in different technical ways;

¹ The identification of actual production sequences involve following the stages involved in the creation of each design by each different set of materials and techniques. Such detailed identification is not the aim of this general schematic appendix. According to the available information, the specific differences in the sequences development are commented in this chapter.

- a possible stage of *maintenance* of the painted designs;
- a possible stage of *erasing* the painted designs

As noted in chapter 3, the colours used by the Yámana for their body painting were red, black and white. The *procurement* of the raw materials differed according to the different colours. White pigments (*tumarapu*) were obtained from:

- clay (FitzRoy 1839b: 177, Darwin 1845: 230 (sediment from creeks), Bridges 1869: 115, Lovisato 1884, Martial 1888: 188 (similar to 'caolin'); Hyades 1884: 562, Hyades and Deniker 1891: 300, Dabbene 1904: 33 (similar to 'caolin'), Borgatello 1929: 181, Lothrop 1928: 126)
- ashes (Despard 1859: 273, Borgatello 1929: 181, Gusinde 1986)
- lime (Bridges 1885: 332, Gusinde 1986: 412, 884, 1346, 1347, 1336 and 1367). The lime powder was obtained by scraping the piece of lime with the teeth (ibid: 412, 1336 and 1382-1383). It was procured in two ways: a) in outcrops near Puerto Róballo and Puerto Eugenia, in the north of Navarino island (the lime was mixed with water and kept in entrails bags), or b) by burning and grinding mussels shells (in which case the term for naming the resulting powder should not be lime).

Black pigments were extracted from ground charcoal (Fitzroy 1839b: 177, Darwin 1845: 216, Bridges 1897, Martial 1888: 188, Hyades 1884: 562, 1887: 329, Hyades and Deniker 1891: 300, Dabbene 1904: 33, Borgatello 1929: 181, De Agostini 1941: 68, Gusinde 1986: 412, Lothrop 1928: 126).

Red pigments (*imi*) were extracted from

- ochre (Weddell 1825: 175, FitzRoy 1839b: 177, Webster 1834: 181, Ross 1847: 306, Hyades 1884: 562, Lovisato 1884: 147, Borgatello 1929: 181),
- unspecified earth/sediments (Bridges 1897, Borgatello 1929: 181, Lothrop 1928: 126, Stambuk 1986: 44),
- clay (Lovisato 1884: 147),
- 'ferruginous' concretions/salts (Martial 1888: 188, Hyades and Deniker 1891: 300, Dabbene 1904: 33, Gusinde ibid: 412-413), which were scratched and mixed with water,
- large sea-urchin fluid from ligament (Spencer 1951: 84),
- blood (Despard 1859: 179, Payró 1898: 190, Gusinde 1986: 1306, 1307, 1341, 1344, Koppers 1991: 102, 104, 112, 115).

Pigment procurement was usually done personally, and was not carried out by a

special group of people (Gusinde 1986: 412), with the exception of the *kina* ceremony, in which the women handed in pigments to the ‘spirits’ (see section 4.2.1.5.c.). As it will be shown below, this constituted part of a ritual by which the women showed submission to the men. Yet in everyday life cases pigment gathering and storage were not in charge of a particular age or gender group or related to any specific social role.

The white and red pigments were *stored* in hide bags (called *yai* or *yaiyi*), made of the esophagus of a duck, of dolphin tracheas or of pinniped gut (Bridges 1869: 115, Hyades and Deniker 1891: 350, Gusinde 1986: 413). The red ones were also moulded and conserved humid in a cloth or leather (ibid: 412-413). Black pigment was not stored since it was very easy to obtain immediately, by using charcoal (ibid: 414). Hence the storage of colouring substances seems to have been carried out in relation to their availability, a point that coincides with the Selk’nam approach to pigment storage (see below).

The *preparation* of the paint involved mixing the pigments with grease (of pinniped, whale, dolphin or birds), oil (of fish), or water (FitzRoy 1839b: 177, Webster 1834: 181, Ross 1847: 306, Bridges 1897, Hyades 1887: 329, Borgatello 1929: 181, De Agostini 1941: 68, Koppers 1991: 70, Stambuk 1986: 44). The pigments were diluted in the hand, or in a mussel shell (Lovisato 1884: 147, Bridges 1897, Gusinde 1986: 413 – red–, 827 –black–, 884 and 1389 –white–, 1446 in general, Koppers 1991: 70). Preparing paint also involved sometimes cooking/baking the pigments (Bridges 1897, Lovisato 1884: 147, Borgatello 1929: 181, Lothrop 1928: 126, Stambuk 1986: 44²).

Gusinde provided a more detailed description of the preparation of paint, according to the pigments used. Red pigment was heated with fire, and after it was very dry, it was grounded until it was pulverised and gathered in a bag (Gusinde 1986: 412-413), it was then mixed with pinniped oil (Gusinde 1986: 413) or fish oil (ibid: 884 and 1336). Black pigment was mixed with water, saliva or fish oil (ibid: 827, 1336). White pigment was mixed with saliva (by chewing it) or water (ibid: 412, 884, 1347). According to Gusinde (ibid: 412) this pigment was never mixed with oil in order not to make the colour fade; nevertheless, he also described that lime was indeed mixed with fish oil, so the information he provides is contradictory in this point.

Different techniques have been described in relation to the *application* of paint.

² Rosa – Stambuk’s informant – recalled that ordinary? wood (‘canelo’) was not to be used, but rather special wood was used to make the fire to cook the sediments, and that such baking could be tried more than once until the desired effects/results were obtained. No other information about this point is recorded.

According to Gusinde (1986: 827) the paint could be applied rapidly and easily. The three first techniques listed here were used for positive painting and the fourth one for making ‘negative’ designs. Paint was applied to the body by the Yámana by:

- the palm of the hand (Gusinde 1986: 412; technique #1 in the database³)
- spitting the paint over the skin and then rubbing it with the palm (technique #2)
- the fingers (Gusinde 1986: 412, 1336, 1347, 1443; also Gusinde 1951: 223; technique #3)
- a rod / spatula (Gusinde 1986: 413, 1336, 1443; also Gusinde 1951: 233; technique #4). This 10 cm rod had an acute end and the other end in the shape of a spatula⁴, it was used to make dots and lines. The Yámana terms for this implement were *telaxikamana* (Gusinde 1986: 413 and 1478) in occidental dialect, and *puscitakutasena* (ibid: 413) in central dialect. Gusinde stated that “Practically all women take this rod always with them” and that “If they lack it, they will fabricate it again immediately with ease.” (ibid). This indicates not only the women’s knowledge about the body painting techniques, but also their ‘independent’ and active role in terms of producing the necessary tools to make them. Besides gender, age seems to have also been a relevant factor in relation to the skills in the manipulation of this tool: “Young people handle the painting rod meticulously, while the elderly are very careless.” (Gusinde 1986: 415; technique #4).
- smearing the skin with a background colour applied with the hand, and then scraping it with the hand nail/s forming negative lines that would generate a dark contrast with the skin colour (Gusinde 1986: 1383, and Gusinde’s letter published by Köppers 1991: 151; technique #6)⁵.

The applied paint was sometimes dried near the fire (Gusinde 1986: 884). Finally, the *maintenance* and *erasing* stages only happened in very specific occasions: the former in the painting of initiands for the *chiéjaus* ceremony, and the latter after the presentation of the *kina* spirits.

³ A complete list of the techniques identified in both Selk’nam and Yámana cases is included in appendix A.

⁴ The description of this tool is more detailed than that provided by Gusinde for the Selk’nam rods. In comparison to these, the Yámana rod/spatula seems more complex due to the different shapes of its ends, which afforded at least two different uses. Given that the appearance of this tool seems more specific, this description serves as a better archaeological indicator for pointing at potential body painting tools, although it is not entirely unambiguous – rod/spatulas might have been used for other purposes too.

⁵ Gusinde identified another technique, which consisted of grinding clay or charcoal and spreading the powder over an already painted design (1986: 884). Such technique could not be identified in the photographs (hence no cases are recorded in the database), possibly because of its low visibility. 176



Plate 4.1. Bags for pigments (top, Y85; bottom, Y90).

4.2.1.2. Everyday life paintings.

As noted in chapter 3, body paintings were worn in a number of everyday life situations, the most frequent being when visiting and receiving visitors and for coquetry purposes. Other less frequent and/or well documented circumstances include mood expression, blood revenge, skin protection, recovering from illness, etc.

The maker of the everyday paintings varied according to the situations in which these were used. When paying a visit, ‘good manners’ indicated that the visitor should apply himself/herself paint. This included young people visiting their elder family members, sons and daughters visiting their parents, young people visiting their godparents and young men visiting their girlfriends. Getting painted to pay a visit was indeed an obligation according to Gusinde, and it expressed the visitor’s happiness to be with the visited person. It was a manifestation of love and respect, and was well regarded by the neighbours. This obligation involved young, middle aged and old people, but among the latter group, the elderly men were not taking care of it anymore (Gusinde 1986: 416). This loss of the painting custom by the elderly Yámana was also recorded in other situations (such as the *chiéjaus*). The reasons for it are not clear, but the information shows a deep deterioration of such habit, possibly related to the influence of Western culture (as noted in chapter 3).

When receiving visitors, the paint was self-applied, using a pocket mirror (Gusinde 1986: 70). Such Western artefact had then been adopted, and adapted as an aid for this aboriginal habit. It might also have fostered the self painting process, although there is no evidence to support such suggestion. If the visit was expected, the person would paint himself/herself some time in advance. If the visitor arrived unexpectedly, the visited person would *not* paint himself/herself during the presence of the visitor, but rather would return the visit afterwards, also wearing paint (ibid: 416). Hence the action of getting painted in visiting situations was private, and only the result (the painted design) was appropriate for viewing by the visitors.

A very special process took place when an already initiated youngster visited his/her *chiéjaus* godparents (wearing red straight lines radially painted along the cheeks). The initiands were linked to the godparents

“by a particularly intimate relationship, since they themselves [the godparents] used to apply daily this paint in the initiation big hut. Inevitably it will be the godmother, since she is the one who occupies the place of second mother, who out of pure joy for the visit of her godson/goddaughter, will erase immediately

the ornaments [i.e. the paintings], painting instead the visitor's painting design [possibly two red parallel lines across the cheeks]. Others will see this and will also be happy; with great satisfaction due to the good understanding between them, they will say: 'this youngster has been painted by his/her godmother!'. It is frequent that this woman visits her godchild in his/her hut. To communicate him/her and everybody that surrounds them her own joy, she gets closer to him/her and paints the red vertical lines on the cheek, as she did many times during the *chiéjaus* ceremony. This behaviour never lacks a favourable effect on the neighbours." (ibid: 417).

This quotation emphasises the role paid by the action of face painting production in marking, constructing then (in the ceremonial context) and re-affirming later (in the everyday life context) the godparent/godchild roles and relationship. It is not just by words, but also by actions involving visual images and visual information, that these particular roles and relationships are developed. The fact that these godparent / initiand relationships could be recalled later, outside the ceremonial context, points to the idea that the initial ceremonial context of their occurrence, when they were firstly established, was not secret, and that these relationships did not cease with the end of the ceremony, nor were they required to be kept secret. Rather, they could be continued later, in everyday life, again, via the action of body painting (and its visual results).

There is much less information about other everyday life paintings production, which involved "isolated individuals who decorated their face with paint for pure coquetry" (Gusinde 1986: 416-417, 884), mothers who ornamented their children with paint (ibid: 417), and also passing a piece of colorant hand to hand while singing, each one taking a bit and rubbing his/her face with it, which expressed "their participation in the singing." (ibid: 1450). Yet these cases show that such processes were in charge of both men and women, that they could be public, and were clearly not secret.

4.2.1.3. Special occasions paintings.

The special occasions in which paintings were worn by the Yámana include the girl's first menstruation weddings, mourning, and paintings worn by the '*yekamushes*' or shamans (see details in chapter 3).

4.2.1.3.a. *Painted to become a woman: first menstruation paintings.*

The first special occasion in which body painting was worn by an individual was the *first menstruation* of the girls. The girl was given very little to eat or drink, and was severely warned against transgressing this rule with a mythical story which predicted

very bad consequences if she did. Yet these customs seem to have been milder than in earlier times. There was also a mythical interpretation of the first menstruation, but this was only told later to the women, during the *chiéjaus* initiation. She was strongly advised by other women to be diligent, hardworking and kind, in her future roles as a wife and mother, as well as in the lapse of time before getting married (Gusinde 1986: 725). The girl had the obligation of painting her face in a special mode (see design in chapter 5). For this, red pigment was mixed with fish oil and applied with thin rods (ibid). She finally invited everybody to a banquet for which she provided food that she herself had gathered, although the invited people also contributed with food too.

The painting was done by the girl herself, but there is no information about the context in which this happened, or about the relevance that this visual marking had for this specific situation. More importance seems to have been attached to the banquet, which entailed a public way of informing the others of her new role as a woman.

4.2.1.3.b. *Painted to be married: wedding paintings.*

The production of *nuptial paintings*, was only documented by Gusinde (1986: 632). A special face painting design was worn. To make it, “they stir the *imi* mixing it with seal oil applying it with a rod to achieve lines of a regular width, and whose execution they value specially.” (ibid). Such dexterity in the design’s making seems to have been of particular importance, possibly because of the visual appeal that such a careful practice would have achieved.

The bride’s painting was carried out by her mother “so that she pleases her young husband and he loves her more” (ibid: 634)⁶. Gender, age and previous relationships (in this case, mother / daughter) were involved in marking the transition of one individual (the daughter) to a new role (wife) and in celebrating the start of a new kind of relationship (marriage). There is no information about who made the groom’s face paintings.

Much later in time, Rosa, Stambuk’s informant, remembered that by the time she got married

“The custom of getting painted for the wedding had already been abandoned. I had seen it when I was little. The mother painted the face of the daughter with

⁶ Gusinde states that most of this information was provided by Alfredo, one of his ‘informants’. As in many other sections of his work, it is not entirely clear to what extent he had observed the circumstances he is narrating, and to what extent he is only quoting Alfredo. A comment made by Mary, another ‘informant’ seems to point out that this tradition had been lost by the time Gusinde was making his observations in Tierra del Fuego (see below).

long lines to give her, and the man who asked her took wood to the house door. But my mother did not have mud for the paints, and what would she do!, she gave me anyway.” (Stambuk 1986: 71).

Such lack of pigments suggests that, at least in the XX century they were not readily available in any location and that they should be collected in specific places. These might have been difficult to access a) due to changes in the mobility patterns and b) due to new territorial limitations established by Western occupants of the islands. Although Rosa mentions the lack of availability of materials as a hindrance to her wedding painting, it also seems that the whole tradition was fading.

4.2.1.3.c. *The visual construction of grief: mourning paintings.*

Mourning body painting was a requisite for the relatives, friends and acquaintances of a dying or dead person, all the people present got a piece of charcoal and rubbed it all over their bodies, or painted certain designs (Gusinde 1986: 1088, see chapter 5). At this first stage of the mourning process, the act of getting painted seems to have been more significant than the kind of design that was worn, since it showed the involvement of the producer/wearer in the mourning situation:

“every person who finds out about the death [of a person], should apply some kind of allusive painting. It is entirely free to his/her own criteria to choose some special model of design or not, it is only requested that he/she presents himself/herself painted. With this [he/she] expresses the participation in the event and the sympathy to those who are more affected. This is precisely what the community particularly values.” (ibid).

The mourning paintings were renewed every day, and had to be maintained during the day (ibid), which indicates that their production was not just a formality to comply with, but that they were to be worn and viewed along the day. They were a means of expression of pain for the loss and of sympathy for the relatives, and a way of communicating the news to other persons (ibid: 1088, see analysis of the expressive and informative functions of mourning painting in chapter 5).

After about three weeks, some of the mourners started making their facial paintings with more care and attention. One of the preferred designs involved using the ‘negative painting’ technique, that is, covering the face with paint (in this case not dry but diluted with fish oil) and afterwards scratching lines with the fingernails out of this background. The resulting design represented the traces of the shed tears (ibid: 1089)⁷. This is interesting insofar as a technique, not just the form or colour of a design, might

⁷ It is interesting to note that this technique was also used by the Selk’nam (see section on techniques) and no such an interpretation was suggested for it.

have constructed and conveyed a certain meaning. But such meaning seems to have depended on the purpose and context for which these paintings were developed, since this same technique was used on other occasions (e.g. by the *yekamushes*/shamans), in which it had no such meaning.

There were gender differences in terms of the portions of the body painted, since women were “content” with painting their heads and upper trunks, while men sometimes painted their trunks up to the navel (ibid). Such differences are consistent with others observed in the *chiéjaus* and *kina* ceremonies.

The mourning face and body painting seem to have been self-applied, although Rosa recalls having been painted for mourning by her birth godmother⁸ (Stambuk 1986: 34-35). There is no mention about where this process was carried out, although it could be inferred that they were applied both in the place where the dying person was lying, as well as in the family huts where the mourners lived, since the mourning body painting seems to have been part of their daily routine for a while.

A different way of mourning was by the public ceremony called ‘*yamalashemoina*’, which was commemorated to show grief for recent deaths (Gusinde 1986: 1101). According to Gusinde, body painting was an important feature of the ceremony. For developing the designs, “people took as a basis the designs known from the *talawaia*, elaborate them more and transform them in more complex and complete combinations.” (ibid). There is no information about the techniques and production processes involved.

But the *yamalashemoina* also required the use of a very specific element, a pole considered as an “adornment or ornamental weapon [sic]” (ibid: 1103). This was described as a carefully carved pole

“160 to 190 cm long, showing a polygonal or rounded surface and softly widening from one end to another (fig. n 89). It is generally painted white, and occasionally red if a murder is being remembered⁹. In reality also the women should equip themselves with a pole, but they often lack one and then replace it with a normal paddle, to which they apply the corresponding paint.” (ibid).

This pole was involved in ritual fights in which the Yámana engaged, blaming each other for the death of the persons they were mourning. It was only used in this ceremony, and a simple pole such as those used for hunting seals would have been

⁸ Such role does not seem to have been original from the Yámana culture, and seems to have been acquired with the influence of Western religion. This is particularly interesting, since if this was the case, then a person playing a western role would still be in charge, through/due to this role, of painting a godchild.

⁹ Such meaningful colour code is analysed in chapter 5.

inadequate for such use (ibid). This suggests that a specially produced and decorated object was only suitable for such ritual situation, although we lack information about the potential symbolic contents that such object may have entailed.

Nevertheless, during Gusinde and Koppers' observations, to avoid making a special pole, the women could replace the pole by a paddle usually used to row in the canoes. This shows a gender difference: while the women could use a paddle, the men would be required to use a pole. Such gender difference is clearly associated with the roles played by men and women in mobility and in many subsistence tasks. Women were involved in rowing the canoes, while men used harpoons (when in the water) or poles (when in land) to hunt seals. Yet men could not use a seal-hunting pole, but one only made for the ceremonial purpose. This could be related to showing their ability to make such a pole (against the women's potential lack of it), to the 'contamination' of the hunting poles were being used in such task and hence their unsuitability for the mourning ritual, or to a broader freedom given to women in relation to preparing for this ceremony. All these possibilities clearly remain at a speculative level, since there is not enough evidence to support any of them.

The lack of interest in producing a ceremonial pole might also be marking the loss of this tradition, which would be coincidental with the lack of intensity and rigour with which the Yámana treated the body painting in various other ceremonial situations, such as in the *kina*, in the visiting paintings, and in some circumstances, in the *chiéjaus* (e.g. when the adults would not paint until dusk, see below).

Finally, the mourning body painting techniques observed in photographed Yámana individuals, excluding repetitions and low visibility cases are mostly 3//4, and only one case of 1//2 & 3//4. A X^2 test of the data (comparing them to the other highly frequent situations, *chiéjaus*, *kina* and 'posing for the camera') indicates that such frequency of technique 3//4 is higher than expected ($X^2= 45.9$, $df=3$, 99% level of confidence), marking a statistically significant trend in the selection of such technique.

Table 4.1. Most frequent techniques and most frequent situations of body painting use.

technique	posing	mourning	<i>chiéjaus</i>	<i>kina</i>	total
1/2 & 3/4	5	1	31	13	50
3//4	25	18	16	0	59
Total	31	20	47	13	111

Such trend may have been related to the fact that the mourning paintings were

mostly facial, which then facilitates the use of fingers or rods in the painting process; if bigger areas should be covered, such technique might have been less convenient, although there are cases in which they were still applied (e.g. the *kina* spirits).

4.2.1.3.d. Special paintings for special roles: the *yekamushes* body paintings.

Finally, another special occasion for body painting production was that of the *yekamushes*/shamans painting. The *yekamushes* painted themselves in different occasions, such as for example when curing sick people or influencing the weather (see chapter 5), or in the *chiéjaus* and *kina* ceremonies (Gusinde 1986: 1338). But what results of most importance is the painting process developed within the *loimayekamush*, the ‘school’ of *yekamush* initiation, which was also carried out in a big hut called *loima*. Both the *yekamus* and the *yekamush*-candidates (*uswaalexamus*) were required to wear adequate body painting. Gusinde gave quite a thorough explanation about how this process was carried out (ibid: 1382, 1383):

“All are completely naked while in the big hut, and, to get painted, each one scrapes with his fingers a fine dust from a piece of lime or clay, mixes it with saliva through chewing it, and spits this mixture on his hand palm and rubs it over the entire body. Before the application is dried, another man helps him, and, with the finger nails lumped close to each other, scrapes the paint in vertical lines which go from the forehead to the ankles, from top to bottom and all over the body; these stripes give afterwards the impression of being dark stripes that have been painted. Some men are content with only applying some lines scraping with one finger. Sometimes the director also uses *imi* dust, this is an exhortation to all the participants to paint in red as well and apply vertical lines over this base. The hair is rubbed only with white or red powder, according to the case; most of them smear their heads with an abundant quantity of a pasty mixture of *tumarapu*. Around the temples each one wears the feather ornament, reserved only for the *yekamus*, that is, the *apawejma*. This should not be confused with the down head band, the *hapaxel* (3, D, c, 3, a). Everybody renews the paint daily, generally during the afternoon hours and in company of the others. Every person that is in the big hut in concept of assistant or of spectator, and all the women-*yekamus*, have to paint their faces and bodies with white, and wear in the face, on each side, a red line of the width of a finger, from the corner of the lips to the ear lobe. No person can access the hut of *loima* without wearing paint.”

A number of implications can be derived from this paragraph. In the first place, this written information disagrees with the visual information since the photograph of a *yekamush*-candidate (Y44) shows him wearing paintings over his face and whole body, but not entirely naked but wearing a loin cloth. It is not clear if such piece of clothing was only worn for the picture and in fact the candidate was naked during the initiation,

but yet this shows at least an intention of the Yámana aborigines not to get pictured entirely naked (even if painted). Although this might be firstly attributed to the photographer's intentions to avoid picturing naked aborigines, this is not the case since the photographer (Gusinde) took photos of entirely naked Selk'nam men. Moreover, this attitude coincides with other situations in which the Yámana did also not get naked, such as when representing the *kina* spirits.

Also, although the text mentions the existence of women-*yekamush* (a fact also mentioned by Chapman (1997)), there are no visual records that specify if the women depicted had such role. But the fact that they could reach such status and participate in the *loimayekamush* entails that they were involved with special body painting procedures. Yet the designs that they wore according to the description are different from and simpler than the male designs, and also are similar to some motifs worn in everyday life paintings, mourning and *chiéjaus* (especially the red line across the cheeks – motif F).

The description of the techniques used to paint the candidate and the *yekamush* involve smearing the body with paint and then scraping 'negative' lines out of it, generating a visual contrast between skin and paint, both of which formed part of the resulting design. Such technique (#6 in the database) was only worn on the body for such occasion, marking the *yekamush*-candidate and *yekamush* roles during the *loimayekamush* (there are no records of such technique being used by them outside this situation). Hence the technique itself (not just the colours, forms or other design features) was visually marking the role and the situation. It had social implications beyond being a material means to support a design¹⁰.

As noted above, the other situation in which such technique was worn was during mourning, but exclusively over the face, to represent the traces of tears. Such differential uses show that the potential meanings of one technique may greatly vary according to the wearer, the position of the designs on the body, and the circumstances in which the design was made and worn.

Another use of body painting within the *loimayekamush* was to rub a mixture of white colorant and bits of wood over the body of the candidate, to exfoliate it and get new skin. This was a sign that the individual was ready to become a *yekamush* (Gusinde

¹⁰ Despard (1859: 179) recorded the use of blood to paint the body by a *yekamush*, but the paragraph is unclear and does not pinpoint whether this was done for ornamenting the *yekamush*'s body or to cure a 'patient'.

in Koppers 1991: 152). The purpose of such technique was not to generate a visual design, but to create a visual and tactile effect, related the peeling of old skin and growth of new one, which stood as a physical symbol of the new acquired role. Finally, the *yekamushes* were the only Yámana individuals to receive a mortuary painting (Gusinde 1986: 1412), but there is no information related to the production process or techniques involved in such body treatment.

4.2.1.4. First initiation ceremony: the *chiéjaus*.

The *chiéjaus* was an initiation ceremony for both young men and women. At the beginning of the ceremony, a man wearing body and facial paintings, impersonating a spirit (Yetaita) fought with the male initiands. After such encounter the initiands were told that this was only a painted man but that the real spirit would threaten them in the woods if they misbehaved. There is no information about the production of this spirit's painting. During whole the celebration of this ceremony, which could last for several days, body painting was worn both by the initiands and the adults.

4.2.1.4. a. The initiands' painting.

The initiands, called *uswaala*, permanently wore face paintings through which, according to Gusinde, they were identified as such (see analysis in chapter 6). These face paintings were retouched at least twice a day, since they inevitably faded. The person in charge of doing this painting was the initiand's godfather¹¹ (Gusinde 1986: 827), godmother (ibid: 417 and 983) or the godfather and/or godmother (ibid: 72, 88). The process of the godparent painting the initiand was important as part of the construction of the godparent/initiand relationship, and of their respective roles. Although it is not clear whether or not the painting process was intentionally and explicitly taught by the godparent to the initiand, the fact that the former painted the latter was a way of establishing this new relationship, which did not exist before, through a visual way of marking the body. Although the painting in itself was ephemeral, this action, and the relationship partly established by it, even had subsequent

¹¹ I translate the Spanish term 'padrino' as 'godparent', godfather or godmother if the gender of the person is indicated, with no religious implication but only using this word as the closest term in English. Rosa stated that she was in charge of the painting of participants in the *chiéjaus* hut when 'the two Germans' (i.e. Gusinde and Koppers) were making their observations (Stambuk 1986: 83), even though she does not mention that she was a godparent. Yet in 1922 Rosa was an adult, and she had already been initiated to the *chiéjaus* in 1910, hence even if she was not a godparent, she still had the age and the initiated status to be in charge of painting. Gusinde and Koppers do not mention Rosa among the *chiéjaus*

extensions that reached other contexts in which body painting was used. Such is the case of the visits of the former initiand to his/her godparent, in which the latter repainted the former, visually marking again their relationship (see section 4.2.1.2 above).

The painting of the initiands was carried out in the usual way, that is, mixing the red or black colorant with fish oil, water or saliva, in the left hand or in a mussel shell, and painting stripes or dots on the face using a painting rod (ibid: 827). This points to the lack of a different painting technique specific of this ceremony. Even if the designs were special for it, neither the particular technical ways of making them, nor the general use of the body painting technique seem to have been specially meaningful within this context.

4.2.1.4. b. *The adults painting.*

Gusinde stated that ceremonial rules prescribed that nobody could sit in the big hut without wearing face painting. Nevertheless, he admitted that at the time he did his observations, rules had been loosened: most of the adults got painted only at dusk, a little before the dances started (Gusinde 1986: 883).

The painting task had different degrees of complexity, according to the elaboration of the design that the person chose to make. Designs apparently varied according to the time of the day¹²: while in the morning a single transversal line across the face was enough, at dusk people were required to paint in a more detailed fashion; yet if the person wanted to, he/she could also do an elaborated face painting during the day (ibid). For the adults, making and wearing paintings at dusk seems then to have been a stronger requirement than during the day, although the reason for this is unknown.

The adults painted themselves. A photograph taken by Gusinde shows an elderly man being painted by an adult man (Y24). This case is very particular, since the person being painted was blind, so it might have constituted an exception of the general production process of *chiéjaus* adult self-painting. Nevertheless, this record also shows that the painting was done on the open field, and that such process, at least in this case, was carried out in public.

participants.

¹² Gusinde stated that they also varied according to the activity being carried out, but he gave no explanations about such differences.

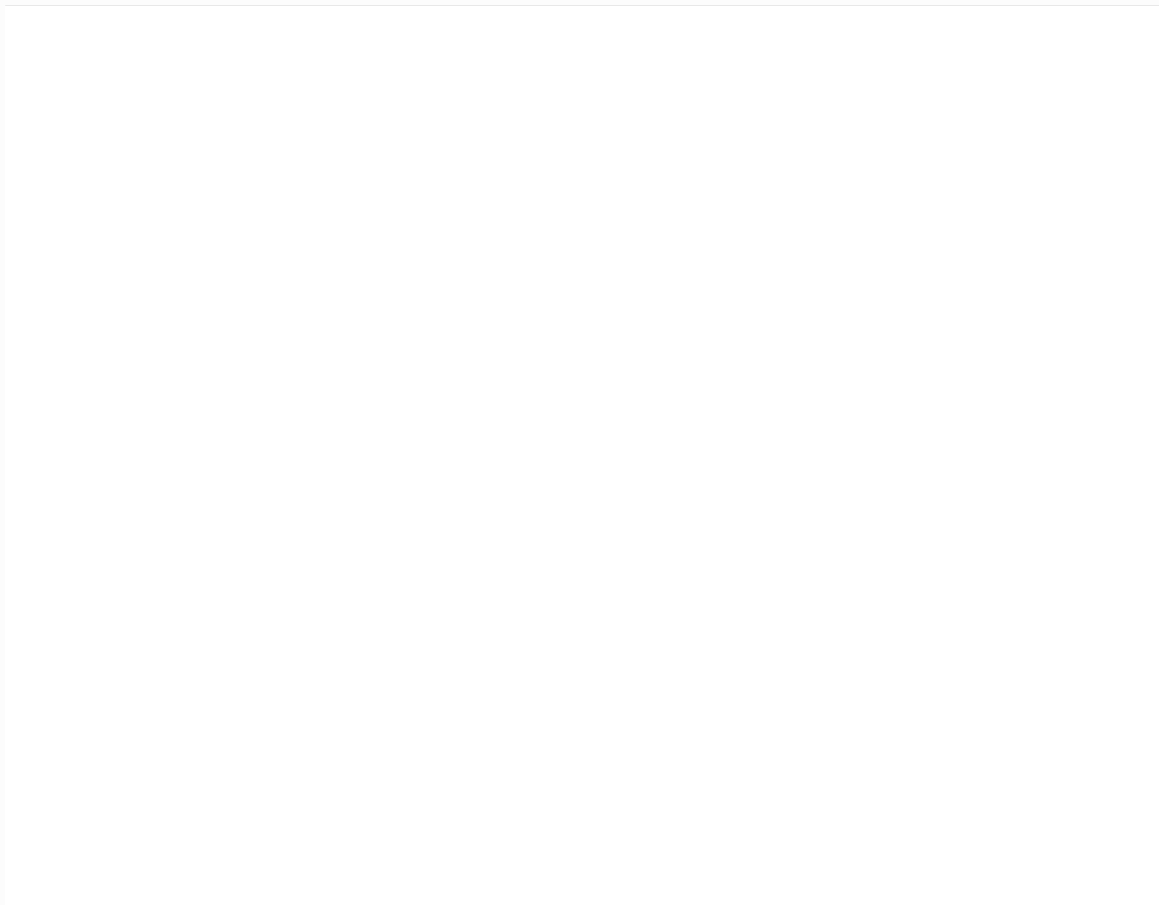


Plate 4.2. A Yámana blind old man being painted by another man (already painted), for the *chiéjaus* ceremony (Y24).

4.2.1.4. c. The paintings materials and techniques.

The techniques used in the *chiéjaus* paintings were not different from those used in other situations. The only distinctive trait found in their production is that the initiands paintings required *maintenance*, by retouching them at least twice a day, because they faded (Gusinde 1986: 827).

The participants' paintings were renewed daily. This meant that considerable quantities of colouring substances were required. Gusinde mentioned the procurement of red (*imi*) and white (*tumarapu*): "each one procures an adequate quantity of these sufficiently well in advance" (Gusinde 1986: 884). This suggests that black need not be acquired beforehand due to the availability of charcoal from the hearths. Also, the procurement task seems not to have been carried out by a special group of persons, but rather to have been a generally shared activity.

Although the *chiéjaus* ceremony was carried out in a separate hut from the domestic huts, there is no information indicating that the the process of making the painted designs of godparents and initiands was to be concealed or carried out in secret, reserving the knowledge of the existence of these processes only to makers and wearers. Yet at the time Gusinde and Koppers made their observations, there seems to have been little distinction between those participating in the ceremony (the godparents and initiands) and those who were not (children, uninitiated youngsters and non-participant adults). This is clear, for example, in photo Y28, which shows a very young child wearing the same ornaments as initiands and godparents: facial paintings, the down head band and holding a decorated dancing wand. The fact that such child was painted makes it clear that the painting procedures were not hidden from him (and from children in general), as they were in the *kina* ceremony (see section 4.2.1.5). But this loose context of body painting production may also be the outcome of the loss of tradition, and may have been much stricter in the past.

In turn, the production of the Yetaita spirit's painting production must have been secret, in order to generate the visual effect on the initiands once it appeared in front of them, and fought with the male initiands. But there is no information in relation to such painting process.

The fact that male and female initiands got painted by *both* their male and female godparents (or by other persons in charge of such task, but not necessarily of the same gender than the initiand) indicates that both genders were involved in such

production process. This is consistent with the mixed-gender nature of the ceremony, although it does not automatically entail that both genders were treated equally. The fact that only the young men fought the spirit, that the person representing the spirit was a (painted) man, and that some of the advice given to the initiands differed according to their gender, marks such inequality. The use of body painting to represent the spirit contributed to such differences, but the rest of the body painting production for the *chiéjaus*, which involved both genders, did not generate a gender division.

Finally, the *chiéjaus* body painting techniques observed in photographed Yámana individuals, excluding repetitions and low visibility cases are mostly a combination between 1//2 & 3//4, and fewer cases of 1//2. A X^2 test of the data (comparing them to the other highly frequent situations, *kina*, mourning and ‘posing for the camera’) indicates that such frequency of technique 1//2&3//4 is higher than expected ($X^2= 45.9$, $df=3$, 99% level of confidence), marking a statistically significant trend in the selection of such technique.

Table 4.1. Most frequent techniques and most frequent situations of body painting use.

technique	posing	mourning	<i>chiéjaus</i>	<i>kina</i>	total
1/2 & 3/4	5	1	31	13	50
3/4	25	18	16	0	59
Total	31	20	47	13	111

This technique selection might be related to the fact that the *chiéjaus* paintings involved not only lines and rows of dots (made with fingers/rods) but also grounds, which covered the face and mostly the lower arms and calves.

4.2.1.4.d. Paraphernalia worn by the initiands and the godparents: head ornaments and decorated objects.

The *hapaxél*, a headband or wreath made of down, was used both by the godparents and by the initiated. The godparent made it for the initiand, and watched that he/she wore it. Care needed to be taken with the *hapaxél* so that it was not abandoned on the floor; so they were hung in the wooden hut structure. The initiands were only supposed to take the *hapaxél* off when they were allowed to go to sleep (Gusinde 1986: 829). Dancing wands, which decorated with paintings, were also handed to the initiands by the godparents. The *hapaxél* and wands formed part, together with the *chiéjaus* hut,

of a symbolic complex related to the sea (see chapter 6).

The pillars of the *chiéjaus* hut structure were also painted (Y2, Y98, Y1?), and wooden painted tablets were hung inside it (Y3, Y1?, they are also held by the participants in photo Y73 although it is not clear if this was only for the photograph, since their use outside the hut is not explained in any text; Gusinde 1986: 801-802, 1299-1300 and 1378; Gusinde 1951: 274).

The fact that the godparents prepared the *hapaxél* and dancing wands¹³ clearly marks an age difference in the organisation and possible transmission of such production. It is not clear whether the production of these objects was shown and/or taught to the initiands, and whether these artefacts were kept for future ceremonies. But the initiands involvement in the ceremony seems to have been the main (or only) way by which they could have learnt about their production and use.

Besides sharing the basic decorative elements such as lines, dots and grounds of colour, the designs created for body painting and painted objects do not show many similarities (see details in chapter 6). This implies that even if the objects were preserved after the ceremony, they seem not to have constituted an inscribed material (sensu Connerton 1989) which could have acted as a mnemonic source from which to copy the body painting designs. Hence the designs should be remembered from having previously viewed persons wearing *chiéjaus* paintings, which entails a) the possibility of unintentional modifications of the designs by future painting makers and b) the apparent lack of interest of the Yámana in preserving their designs inscribed/stored in an object from which they could later be retrieved.

4.2.1.4.e. *Ancient 'tattooing' production. Implications of this technique.*

Although Gusinde could not observe it himself, he recorded an old practice that was carried out by the Yámana, according to some persons that he interviewed (namely Pedro, Whaits, Nelly Lawrence and 'various men'). After a first ritual bath on the sea, carried out by the men and the women (these latter surrounding the former, forming a kind of ring around them), both groups were taken back to the big hut, where a tattooing process was carried out. The basic procedure, which took several hours, was to rub a thick layer of red colouring substance ('*imi*') forming a wide band on the upper part of the initiand's chest, arms and back; several very thin lines were cut in the skin, within the coloured area, with a sharp shell, and the colouring substance was rubbed into them.

After a few days, the wounds had healed and the colorant could be seen through the skin like a thin light blue line (Gusinde 1986: 830). A few days later, the process was repeated about two more times.

This ‘tattooing’ was carried out in the big hut, by “expert men and women” (ibid). So both initiands and godparents, regardless of their gender, were involved in it: the initiands were the subject of this ornament, and at least some of the adults were practising it on them. The results, but not the process, were afterwards observed by all the adults from the camp, who were invited specifically for that purpose. So the production process seems to have been ‘private’ in terms of the persons involved in the process – initiands and initiated – but open in relation to the gender. Its outcome was ‘public’ and so seems to have been the knowledge about the body marking process that had taken place in the big hut.

Gusinde stated that Whaits, who was the oldest of the surviving Yámana, told him that “When I was ‘examined’ [initiated], my co-nationals had recently abandoned the this tradition of applying this sign, since they did not want to present themselves with it to the missionaries!” (Gusinde 1986: 829, footnote 281). This shows the existence of direct influence of the Europeans on the Yámana body decoration habits, which has already been discussed in chapter 3.

Gusinde also added that he supposes that the Yámana did not want to reveal the existence of the initiation to puberty ceremony in which these designs were applied, and for this reason they stopped making them. If this was the case, this concealment would have involved the whole Yámana group, who would be trying to prevent their ceremonies to be known by the European/westerners, and would not only involve the men keeping it secret from the women, as in the Selk’nam *hain* (see section 4.2.2.3).

But in spite of abandoning such technique, the body portion in which the tattoo would have been placed was marked with paint:

“This ancient practice has not been entirely forgotten, on the contrary; the indigenous have created a kind of substitute for the tattoo. It consists of a painting that is only applied by the adult participants. They paint all their torsos in red and draw a white line, of three fingers width, that starts from both sides of the spine, crosses the upper sides of the arms and goes along the whole chest. They have firmly asserted that this paint is applied in the place of the old tattooing. Once in a while, some man paints himself in this way for one or more days.” (Gusinde 1986: 831).

If this information is correct, this statement implies that the body decorating

¹³ There is no information about the painted tablets and hut frames producers.

technique was less relevant and meaningful than actually making and wearing some kind of ornamental mark (even if non-lasting). Moreover, while the tattooing is permanent and would then have been more difficult to hide for concealing the ceremonies (unless covered with clothing), the possibility of erasing the paint (an inherent feature of body painting) was then in this case an advantage.

4.2.1.5. Second initiation ceremony: the *Kina*.

The *kina* was an initiation ceremony for men who had already passed the *chiejaus* twice, and to which very few women were admitted. As seen in chapter 2, the *kina* involved the representation of a long series of spirits, all of which wore body painting, with the aim of scaring the women and making them submissive. It was similar in structure, content and purpose, to the Selk'nam *hain*, although very much simpler (see section 4.2.2.3). Yet its development, at least when observed by Gusinde and Koppers (1922), was clearly not as rigorous, serious and intense as the *chiéjaus*, nor as the Selk'nam *hain*. This possibly happened because it had not been celebrated for the last thirty years (Gusinde 1986), which in turn suggests a loss of such 'tradition'.

4.2.1.5.a. The 'secret' making of the spirits' body paintings.

The spirits' body paintings were made inside the big hut, where only initiated men, and male initiands could enter. Occasionally a few women were also initiated, and those who had already been initiated could also participate (see plate 4.3). The initiation mainly consisted in revealing the 'secret' knowledge that the spirits who appeared out of the hut to scare the uninitiated women, youngsters and children, were painted men, wearing masks. As in the *chiéjaus*, the initiation was structured along an age division which entailed power of the initiated-adult over the uninitiated-youngster.

But the *kina* was also structured along a gender division. It was mainly a male initiation ceremony, in which the key roles of the spirits could exclusively be interpreted by men (Gusinde 1986: 1335). Men were performers, women were mostly witnesses, and only partially actors of the 'hoax' (see below). In spite of such gender difference, the women's access to the 'secret' actions that happened inside the big hut implies a semi-egalitarian construction of the situation, particularly when compared to the Selk'nam *hain*, from which women were completely excluded and could only be members of the 'public' (see section 4.2.2.3).

The initiands (both male and female) were warned that revealing such secret to the uninitiated would be punished with their deaths. Yet, at least in 1922, the Yámana were in fact quite relaxed about guarding such ‘secret’ knowledge. This is consistent with the fact that the Yámana developed the *kina* with much less rigour and passion than the *chiéjaus* ceremony, and than the comparable Selk’nam *hain*¹⁴. Also, the women were not very affected by spirits apparitions, since these were not very aggressive and did not attack them (as the Selk’nam did to their women).

Although the production process of the spirits body painting was carried out within the private space of the *kina* hut, several details show that keeping such process secret was not regarded as crucial for the development of the ceremony, or for its subsequent impact in Yámana social life:

- 1) the fact that some women knew about a ‘hoax’ that was used to scare most members of their gender and make them submissive, implies that the ‘secret’ information could be transmitted to other, non-initiated, women, due to some sort of gender-solidarity. Such spreading of the secret was in fact reported by Gusinde (1986: 1356) and Koppers (1991: 101-118)¹⁵
- 2) a story told among the Yámana and known by the women, referred to the women’s knowledge about what happened within the big hut (see section 4.2.1.5.e)
- 3) a photograph taken by Gusinde (plate 4.4, Y17) shows two men painting a mask inside the big hut, next to its entrance, and, towards the left, a man putting a mask on¹⁶. The fact that Gusinde had the chance of taking a photograph of these two actions (painting and putting a mask on) suggests that these processes were not

¹⁴ According to Gusinde, “the performance of the men during the secret does absolutely not indicate any urgent resistance against some type of threat from the women’s part towards a position of pre-eminence by them. The men themselves, and even in much less way the women, do not dedicate to this game remotely with the seriousness and the enthusiasm with which both sexes put in scene, for example, of the *chiéjaus*.” (1986: 1358). Moreover, he also considered that this ceremony is an extraneous body within the Yámana social order, and that “the *kina* has been brought to the current country of the Yámana proceeding from the northern part of the territory of the Selk’nam. The current form of the economic activities, with its work distribution, within each family, between man and woman, results to right, reasonable and natural, that a change could put in danger the existence of this people. None of the men seriously thinks that this efficient order was in danger.” (ibid: 1358). Chapman (1997: 86) also considered the *kina* a “watered down” version of the Selk’nam *hain*.

¹⁵ This does not mean that they did not believe in the existence of the spirits: “women know, with more or less degree of certainty, about the deceitful business of the men, but, at the same time, they cling with firm belief to the existence and the activity of spirits that act or are mentioned in the *kina*.” (Gusinde 1986: 1356).

¹⁶ The photo must have been taken with low speed, since the actual movement of the action has been partially recorded.

regarded by the Yámana as crucially secret. This is particularly noticeable when compared with the violent reaction of the Selk'nam in a similar situation (see section 4.2.2.3.d).

This information suggests that although the presentation of the spirits played a core part on the ceremony, their apparitions and subsequent scaring functions would not be hindered by potentially opening their production process to public view and knowledge. For this reason, the secrecy of the body and mask painting production process was not crucial.

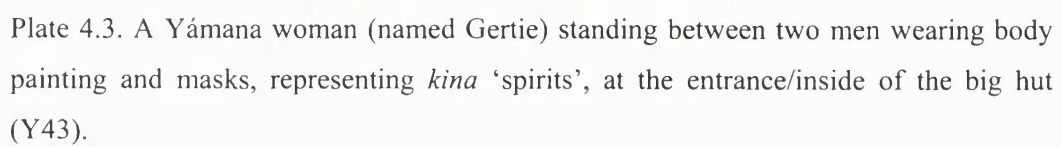


Plate 4.3. A Yámana woman (named Gertie) standing between two men wearing body painting and masks, representing *kina* 'spirits', at the entrance/inside of the big hut (Y43).



Plate 4.4. Yámana men painting a mask for the *kina* ceremony (Y17).

The spirits movements required practice, which was carried out before the men got out of the big hut to make the performances (ibid: 1335). Nevertheless, the movements of the Yámana spirits were of only one type: they consisted of a lateral walk with big steps, while wearing a bark mask over the head, held with both hands with the palms at the height of the ears, hence the arms were folded and raised up to the shoulders height (ibid: 1336, e.g. Y43, Y77, Y78).

The body paintings were not made by the man representing the spirit, but by other men. The ‘chief’ organiser of the ceremony decides which design should be applied (Gusinde 1986: 1336 and 1389). This remarks the age and gender division mentioned above: the direction of the process of transmission of the visual tradition was stipulated by adult men.

The *kina* did not involve any special painting techniques, except for the use of blood (see below). Gusinde noted that “An absolutely exact execution of the designs is not necessary, since the public is quite far away.” (Gusinde 1986: 1336). This was also true for the masks, which were “painted with the same lack of care” (ibid). This points to a lack of need of very developed technical skills and of particularly detailed technical knowledge to do the painting job. Yet visual knowledge must have been required to paint the appropriate design that identified each of the more than forty different spirits (see chapter 6). The ceremonial context was the only situation in which such knowledge could be transmitted to the following generations of male producers and wearers of spirits designs.

A common procedure in this ceremony was to make the participants’ noses bleed by introducing a stick into them, and then to use the blood to smear the faces and fake the injuries resulting from the attack of Tanuwa, an evil spirit. This technique was used by the men to make the candidates and the women fear this spirit. But nevertheless some women knew about it, and manipulated it with the same purpose. This is the case of two elderly women who were admitted into the *kina* hut in the 1922 ceremony. They made their noses bleed, painted their faces with their blood, and then ran out of the big hut as in terrible fear, to show the results of Tanuwa’s attack (Gusinde 1986: 1306). This situation reinforces the idea that some Yámana women did not only know the secret, but used such technical knowledge in the same way than the men. The creation of fake injuries generated a visual manipulation of the candidates and female public, which empowered these few women over them, and aligned these with the men. This in

turn shows the more open gender structure of the Yámana society, in which, although there existed a male-based, gender difference, there also existed a –restricted– access of the women to certain knowledge and practices that entailed the access to more power.

The paint was applied only in the front part of the body of the men representing spirits, since this was only that side that would be seen by the women and children (Gusinde 1986: 1336). This hints to the qualification of the spirits presentation more as a performance than as an embodiment of these beings and their power. Such treatment of body painting production and display shows the lack of intensity and rigor with which the Yámana developed the *kina*. This in turn might have been related to a typical cultural trend and/or to a loss of tradition. The fact that they developed the *chiéjaus* with more intensity seems to point towards their less interest in the *kina*, but the undeniable deep deterioration of the Yámana society as whole must have also deepened the losses of such ceremonial customs.

When each spirit performance/exhibition had ended, the paint was carefully washed out (Gusinde 1986: 1336, 1338). Such intentional erasing of the paint is unique to the *kina* ceremony. Its potential purpose is unknown. Given their mild engagement with the painting process, it seems strange that the Yámana would do such a thing. One possible reason is that right after the spirits presentations, the men may have joined the persons from the camp and did not want to let them see that they had been wearing body paintings. This would have the aim of keeping the body painting as a secret, a hypothetical situation that is not very consistent with the rest of the available information.

4.2.1.5.b. Trends in the use of techniques.

The observations in photographed Yámana individuals, excluding repetitions and low visibility cases, show that all the *kina* paintings were made by a combination of techniques 1//2 and 3//4. A X^2 test of the data (comparing them to the other highly frequent situations, *chiéjaus*, mourning and ‘posing for the camera’) indicates that such frequency of technique 1/2 & 3/4 is higher than expected ($X^2= 45.9$, $df=3$, 99% level of confidence). This marks a statistically significant trend in the selection of such combination of techniques.

Table 4.1. Most frequent techniques and most frequent situations of body painting use.

technique	posing	mourning	<i>chiéjaus</i>	<i>kina</i>	total
1/2 & 3/4	5	1	31	13	50
3//4	25	18	16	0	59
Total	31	20	47	13	111

This is particularly interesting, since the *kina* designs involve almost the whole body. The fact that it was not just covered by grounds of paint (1//2) but also was painted, on top of these grounds, with designs of contrasting colours made by finger-tracing or rod-painting (3//4) made it more laborious. But the differences between spirits were mostly grounded on these details (see chapter 6), hence such investment of labour in these designs indicates the importance given to these by the Yámana.

4.2.1.5.c. Management of the colouring substances: ritual female exploitation.

During the *kina*, when the men ran out of red pigment (*imi*), Wongoleaka, one of the spirits, went to the camp to search for *imi*. The women deposited this pigment in a bag, in front of their huts. Wongoleaka collected the bags and gave them to his human companions, whom were painted like him (but presumably were not wearing masks). They all returned with the pigment gifts to the big hut (Gusinde 1986:1346; Koppers 1991: 111), where they employed them in producing the spirits paintings.

The available information does not suggest that pigment gathering was a mainly female task, and indeed, if the men were interested in keeping the women unaware of their 'deceptive' uses of body painting, they could have gathered the pigments themselves. But the men partly constructed the images to suppress the women using these materials. Therefore, it can be suggested that such retrieval was a component of the male suppression of the women. It constituted a ritual exploitation of the women's labour, in so far as their oppression was developed partly by means of using a product generated by their own work. A similar process, with its own specific dynamics, has been identified in the Selk'nam case (see section 4.2.2.3.h).

4.2.1.5.d. The masks decoration and disposal.

According to the photograph mentioned above, the masks were decorated in the big hut (their production is likely to have been carried out there too, or in another secluded space). After being used, the masks were burnt by the chief (Gusinde 1986:

1355) thus eliminating the traces of the 'disguise' used to represent the spirits. This marks an important contrast to the way the Selk'nam masks were treated after the *hain* ceremony, who would never destroy them (see section 4.2.2.3.e).

4.2.1.5.e. *Deceiving the deceivers: body painting in the myth of origin and in a Yámana story.*

The celebration of the *kina* was based on a myth of origin which stated that the men discovered that the women had been performing *kina* ceremonies to deceive and control them, painted as spirits. Hence, after finding out about the women's hoax, the men started carrying out the same secret ceremony to keep them under their 'rule'. Although bearing various differences, the similarity with the Selk'nam myth of origin is remarkable (see section 4.2.2.3.c).

The myth of origin clearly reverses the practice of the *kina* body painting: while in the former such technique was worn by women to suppress the men, in practice it was worn (mostly) by the men to suppress the women. In this sense, the myth acted as an ideological justification of the dominantly male *kina* practice. It created a need, a reason, that explained the actions of the men towards the women.

Besides the myth of origin, within the female population, a story is told in which a woman discovers and discloses the *kina* secret, uncovering the real identities of the men. This story states that in the past, a *kina* ceremony had been held to give the chance to a Yámana man to scare his wife, who had been talking about him in an offensive way.

"But the woman was very clever and she soon realised that this time the men had centred their aims at her. She did not hesitate in defending herself. Taking advantage of the darkness of the night, she painted her body in the same way she supposed the men did inside the big hut and got closer unnoticeably. The men were sitting in a close circle around the fire, deeply reflecting with their head facing down. Keeping absolute silence, she introduced herself without being seen by one side of the hut, and slid rapidly behind all the men, painting a line on the back of each one of them, and, afterwards, disappeared by the other end of the hut. In the camp, she told all the women that she had painted the same line on the back to all the men; this would allow each woman to recognise that they were only their husbands those who were in the big hut, and not the spirits. In effect, when little later the men went out, each one had that line painted on the back; since then all the women know the state of the things that happen in the *kina* hut." (Gusinde 1986: 1356, 1357)¹⁷.

¹⁷ This myth might be related to the actual presentation of the spirits during the ceremony, which painted only their fronts and did not give their backs to the viewers. But no direct relation between the two situations can be argued with certainty.

In a way, this story reverses the myth of origin: in the myth, the men discovered the women's deception as painted spirits and used painting to deceive them as spirits in turn; in the story, the women discovered such deception and uncovered it by marking the men's bodies with paint. The story involves women's knowledge of the manipulation of such procedures by the men. But it also refers to possible uses of the painting techniques by the women, not to return to the representation of spirits and play it against the men, but to subtly physically mark them and thus disclose their secret. The painting technique was secretly used by the women to uncover the men's secret use of the painting technique. This story then entails a conceptual circle in which men and women handle the body painting technique in a way that involves a negotiation of power over the opposite gender, to overcome their control, either by deceiving it or by uncovering its actions.

4.2.2. Selk'nam case.

4.2.2.1. The Selk'nam body painting techniques.

The stages in which the Selk'nam technical production sequence of body painting unfolded are:

- the *procurement* of raw materials;
- *storage* (possible)
- *preparation* of paint
- *storage* (possible)
- *preparation* of tools (possible)
- *application* of paint
- *maintenance* of painted designs (possible)
- *erasing* the painted designs (possible)

As noted in chapter 3, the colours used in Selk'nam body painting were mainly three: black, white and red; yellow was also documented by some authors. As in the Yámana case, the *procurement* of the pigments varied according to the colour. Red was obtained from:

- earth (Segers 1891: 60, Borgatello 1929: 181, Lothrop 1928: 58-59)
- clay (L. Bridges 1951: 366-367)
- ochre (Dabbene 1911: 224, Borgatello 1929: 181)

- blood (Gusinde 1982: 956-957, used only in certain moments during the *hain*).

White was obtained from:

- earth (Segers 1891: 69, Borgatello 1929: 181)
- ashes (Borgatello 1929: 181, L. Bridges 1951)
- clay (Gusinde 1982: 206-211, Lothrop 1928: 58-59)
- fine gypsum (Gusinde 1982: 206-211)
- lime (Gusinde 1982: 206-211)
- calcareous earth (Gusinde 1982: 206-211)
- chalk (L. Bridges 1951: 366-367)
- guanaco bones (Gusinde 1982: 1101-1102, used only in 'engagement' paintings, see section 4.2.2.2.b).

Black was obtained from charcoal (Segers 1891: 69, Borgatello 1929: 181, De Agostini 1924: 276, Gusinde 1982: 206-211, Lothrop 1928: 58-59, L. Bridges 1951: 367). An unusual source of black was flint¹⁸ (Gusinde 1982: 310, 1101-1102) which was only used for wedding paintings (see section 4.2.2.2.b).

The binding media used to mix the pigments were:

- saliva (Payró 1898: 195, Gusinde 1982: 206-211, Lothrop 1928: 58-59)
- water (Gusinde 1982: 206-211)
- grease (Dabbene 1911: 224, Borgatello 1929: 181, De Agostini 1924: 276, 1941: 68, Gusinde 1982: 206-211, Lothrop 1928: 58-59, L. Bridge 1951: 366)
- oil (Gusinde 1982: 206-211)

The procurement of the pigments to make the red paint, and its initial preparation, was in charge of the women: "It is the woman who is in charge of getting and burning the 'mud' [sic] adequate for [making] the red paint" (Gusinde 1982: 331). This division of labour had deep social implications within the ceremonial uses of the pigments (see section 4.2.2.3.h). There is no information about the procurement of white pigments. Charcoal and ashes from the hearths were normally used to produce black, so the procurement need not be carried out in advance.

The availability of red and white pigments seems to have been uneven throughout the island, leading to its trade. But the information about their exchange is contradictory. While De Agostini mentioned that "The Onas [Selk'nam] from the South

¹⁸ Although flint ['pedernal'] does not absorb water, which may lead to infer that its identification might not have been correct, the procedure of preparation of this material was described with comparatively certain detail by Gusinde, due to its exclusive use in wedding paintings (see below). 202

gave to those of the North bows and arrows in exchange for guanaco hides, painting earth, shell necklaces.” (1924: 289), Gusinde noted that “the groups of the north of Isla Grande de Tierra del Fuego went towards the south in search of colouring earths, offering for them a good type of flint” (1924: 29). But De Agostini also mentioned that the clay earth was found “in the mountains of the interior [of Isla Grande]” (1924: 275, 1941: 68) which suggests that the availability of such materials was in fact higher in the south (where the mountains are) rather than in the north. Also, the fact that Gusinde made a much more thorough ethnographic description of body painting production in the area (out of his own observations, his informants descriptions and also quoting L. Bridges) makes his account more reliable. Besides the contradictions about the direction of the exchange (which is related to the regional availability), what both quotations mark is the existence of a specific interest of the Selk’nam groups in having access to colouring substances. Such substances (especially red pigments, and also white pigments) were a valued resource, which was not only exchanged, but also stored in bags. Since very early times, bags and lumps of paint were found by voyagers inside the Selk’nam huts (Sarmiento de Gamboa 1585 [1950], Lista 1887, Segers 1891), and seem also to have been offered as ‘presents’ to these foreign visitors (Popper 1891).

The *preparation of the pigments* involved scraping (when obtaining them from a bigger lump of sediment), grinding/pulverising and burning. Clay, lime, and guanaco bones were burnt and pulverised, while flint, was moistened and pulverised (Gusinde 1982: 1101-1102). It is interesting to note that red could be obtained by burning grey clay (ibid), hence the colour of the pigment was not readily available, and was rather a result of a technical process.

In the *storage* stage, the pigments were kept as dry powder. They were usually put in hide bags made of guanaco or seal skin or bladders (Spegazzini 1882: 174, Lista 1887: 81, Segers 1891: 69, Dabbene 1911: 248, Gusinde 1982: 207, L. Bridges 1951: 366). Bags of rectangular shape were rolled to maintain the pigments inside, smaller bags were closed with tendons or leather strings.

The white and red colouring substances were stored by the women in the huts (ibid). As with the procurement, the storage of the colouring substances seems to have depended on the availability of the raw material:

“The black colorant, that is to say the pulverised charcoal, is easy to obtain in any place, and its use is not frequent, since it is reduced to the Kloketen ceremony and to mourning. For this reason it is not necessary to bother to store

it. Instead, everybody carries always with them a lump of gypsum or clay of the size of a fist, which fits in the big leather bag.” (ibid: 207).

When *preparing the paint*, the pigments were diluted and mixed with water, grease or saliva, which acted as binding mediums. This could be done by mixing them in the left hand palm, and applying them to the body of the actor with the right hand¹⁹ (Gusinde 1982: 889), or by diluting them in a tin (ibid: 889, footnote #103, note the use of a Western artefact, adapted to suit this aboriginal custom). The paint preparation could also be done by chewing the colouring substance (thus mixing it with saliva), in which case it would then be immediately applied by spitting it onto the skin (ibid: 889 – 890; De Agostini’s film shows an adult male individual (a *xon*/shaman) preparing and self-applying paint with this procedure).

The paint was not always immediately applied, and could be conserved and used afterwards. This *paint storage* stage involved keeping paint as a “liquid mass” (ibid: 1101 – 1102), preserving its humidity in a well fastened hide bag

The pigments could be *applied* in dry, directly to the skin, but most generally they would be mixed with other substances, generating the paste mentioned above. Various techniques were used for paint application. The first five generated positive designs while the sixth technique listed here is the only one which generated negative designs:

- rubbing or smearing paint by hand over the skin (#1 in the database)
- spitting the paint after chewing the pigments and then rubbing it (#2)
- laying it using the fingers (#3)
- applying it using a rod (flat or rounded)²⁰, or a porpoise jaw, which served as a stamp or seal with which dots, lines, and rows of dots were made (#4)
- putting some paint in the hand’s palm and scraping out narrow lines of the mixture with the four nails, and pressing the palm against the skin, thus marking the ‘positive’ remaining stripes (ibid: 994; also 208; #5, this technique is absent in the Yámana case)
- smearing the skin with paint and afterwards scraping out some thin lines, so that a

¹⁹ The reference about using the right hand for applying the paint / making the design is frequently made by Gusinde. I’m not sure whether this is related to a special interest of him to show that the Fuegians were right handed (which might have been a positive quality in Gusinde’s time) or if it is related to an actual trait of their technical painting process.

²⁰ Although it gives some indication of its appearance, the description of this instrument is not detailed enough in order to generate a specific archaeological expectation that might help in identifying these tools in an archaeological context.

‘negative’ impression is left on the skin (ibid: 208; #6)

- although not strictly a body *painting* technique, for some specific *hain* roles (K’termen and Tanu), the Selk’nam also used to stick down buds over painted portions of the body (#7)²¹.

The *maintenance* stage did not happen often. Only designs worn in very specific situations were maintained, e.g. by men performing spirits roles for a long time, such as during the presentation of Kotaix spirit in the *hain*.

There is little information about *erasing* the paint purposely: one of the clearest examples recorded involves the erasing of the *kewanix* paintings when such dance (which was going to be presented for a second time) had to be cancelled due to bad weather (Gusinde 1982: 965). Paint also faded with wear, which sometimes lead to the maintenance of the design, as noted above.

²¹ Chapman (1982: 87-88) noted that after being painted with a ground of colour, some *hain* spirits were sprayed with paint, which was spat over the skin. It is possible that the spirits in photo S41 show such technique, but due to its low visibility this has not been recorded in the database.



Plate 4.5. Selk'nam artefacts, object number 11 is a pigment bag (S129).

4.2.2.2. Everyday life paintings.

As noted in chapter 3, the uses of body painting for everyday life purposes by the Selk'nam include the ornament for beautifying and coquetry purposes, making trips, paying visits, hunting, war and combat situations, and mood expressions. The information about the production process of the everyday life paintings is extremely scarce. This is quite paradoxical, since, being a frequent custom, such productions could have been much better documented. This did not happen possibly for two (non-exclusive) reasons: a) because everyday life painting was declining as a habit in the early XX century, when the observers who were focused on ethnographic recording visited the Selk'nam, b) because their quotidian nature may have made them less interesting to record than the procedures involved in the paintings for special occasions, and especially, for the *hain* initiation ceremony.

4.2.2.2.a. Producers, wearers and contexts.

For beautifying purposes both men and women self-decorated themselves by applying red paint to their entire body (men) and to the chest and arms (women) (Gusinde 1982: 208)²². Both genders also practised self-painting when visiting, receiving visits, hunting (ibid: 209), and for expressing states of mood (individually, (Bridges 1951: 367), or collectively (Gusinde 1982: 208)). According to Gusinde “For fun, or to express her happiness as a mother, it is frequent that a woman adorns the face of her child with rows of white dots” (ibid: 209), hence involving the painting of a child by an adult relative.

Although the information is little, the contrast with the production process of the *hain* spirits painting is very clear: everyday life painting seems to have been an open, ‘public’ process that did not need to be carried out in a private context, or to be hidden from others, to contribute to any of its expressive visual effects. Technical information and practice about how to create body paintings was openly displayed, and hence, at least potentially, accessible and shared.

4.2.2.2.b. The techniques for ‘hunting paintings’.

According to the observation of the photographs, the paintings worn during hunting situations were mostly made with technique 3//4 ($X^2= 55.84$, $df=2$, 99% level of

²² Such gender division of the portions of the body to be decorated was pervasive along the many situations of body painting display (see chapters 3, 5, 6 and appendix J).

confidence). This tendency can be at least partially accounted for the fact that the hunting paintings were facial, and composed by lines and dots, and hence required to be made with the fingers or with rods (see chapter 5 and appendix M).

Table 4.2. Most frequent Selk'nam techniques in frequent situations.

	<i>hain</i>	hunting	posing	total
1//2	33	2		35
3//4	16	14	50	80
Total	49	16	50	115

4.2.2.2. Special occasions paintings.

As noted in chapter 3, the Selk'nam produced body paintings for special occasions including the girl's first menstruation, the women's acceptance of the men's marriage proposal (or 'engagement' paintings), the bride and groom's paintings for the wedding, and mourning situations.

4.2.2.2.a. From woman to woman: first menstruation paintings.

Although the young women were not initiated to adulthood as the young men were (in the *hain*), there existed a celebration of the first menstruation of the Selk'nam girls. This has only been documented by Gusinde, who obtained the data from an informant (his male gender, and the individual nature of this celebration were clear hindrances to a potential direct observation).

The girl was confined for some days in the maternal hut, needed to remain silent and had little to eat and drink. She was not meant to stay alone, adult women visited her and gave her strict advice and warning about her duties as a woman, particularly in relation to her future role as a wife. The importance of her being hardworking and disciplined were stressed. These strong indications also included a piece of advice about painting her body every morning: "In the morning you have to wash yourself and put your hair in order; then you will paint yourself" (Gusinde 1982: 390; supposedly directly quoting the women's advice, although more likely retelling the core idea and expressing it with his own words). In relation to this, Gusinde added that "Rubbing the whole body with red mineral colorant[,] in ancient time of general use, had the aim of

enhancing the female charms.” (ibid: 390, footnote 94). Nevertheless, the first menstruation painting was not red but white (see chapter 6).

While in this seclusion, which lasted about five or six days, the girl received a specific face painting design, which was renewed each morning. This painting was made by an (adult) woman, either her mother or a neighbour. Hence the body painting producer was of the same (female) gender, but different (older) age: the painting of the girl’s face to construct her new status was made by a woman who had already reached such status and had gone through the same experience. With such ritual, the information about the social expectancies about the adult female role were reproduced in time, transmitted to a new generation. The body painting production process was private or semi-private – although we do not know for sure if circumscribed to women, the text does convey this idea.

4.2.2.2.b. Visually engaged: ‘engagement’ and wedding paintings.

The man’s proposal of marriage involved his visiting the future bride and giving her a miniature bow (replicating those used to hunt with arrows). If she accepted, she would keep the bow and wear a special facial painting, constituted by a specific design (motif I in my typology, see chapter 5), which, according to Gusinde, immediately communicated her message of acceptance. This design was only worn by the bride, and it was self-applied (Gusinde 1982: 307). This in turn suggests that the bride already knew the design and how to make it, probably from having previously seen other brides wearing it, since the wearing was public (ibid: 309; there is no information related to the context of production).

After the bride’s acceptance by wearing the painting, the groom would receive her visit and her gift (a bracelet plaited by her). From this occasion onwards, the groom would wear daily an everyday life design (*koskari* or *oxtalampfen* (ibid: 308), see chapter 5 and appendix M). The mother of the bride and other close relatives also painted themselves with one of the everyday life face painting designs (ibid).

This whole process was regarded by Gusinde as an ‘engagement’ (ibid). It is not clear why the bride had a special design to wear to show her acceptance, while the groom would only wear an everyday life design. This suggests the existence of a gender difference which nevertheless remains unexplained.

While the information about the production context is lacking, the data about the

selection of raw material to produce the bridal's 'engagement' painting is particularly significant. The female 'engagement' painting was white, but it was no ordinary white:

"To achieve a white brilliant as snow, the normal calcareous earth, which is used for quotidian uses, is not used, but guanaco bones are incinerated and afterwards triturated, which results in a very fine grained powder, which is mixed with a little grease to be afterwards applied. Such a bone ash shimmers with a very clear whiteness." (Gusinde 1982: 307).

This clearly indicates a selection of a specific raw material with which to make the painting, which would, in turn, have a different final appearance due to its special visual qualities (in this case, its brightness). It is particularly interesting that the raw material preferred for this occasion was obtained from the guanaco, which, as seen in chapter 2, was one of the most commonly hunted species by the Selk'nam. But in spite of such observation, it is not known whether this rare source of pigment had a particular meaning in itself, or if it was only used for the visual properties obtained. Also, there is no information about why this visual quality was desired for this design. Nevertheless, the special selection and preparation of a raw material to produce the female paintings for the 'engagement' shows how materials and techniques were not neutral, but significantly employed during production, according to the desired visual effects (and potentially, to the meanings) they would have in the subsequent situations of display.

Facial paintings were also produced for the wedding celebration. A special design (*xáukesa*) was painted on the bride and groom faces (ibid: 209; see chapter 5). These paintings seem to have been done in the context of the wedding celebration and banquet, and hence are likely to have been made in public. They were not painted by the bride and groom themselves: an adult/elderly woman who generally was the mother of the bride, painted this design on the bride's face, while the groom was painted by a fellow of his same age (ibid: 311). The paintings were worn for about 5 to 10 days, but it is not mentioned who was taking care of renewing them.

While the design was the same for the bride and groom, the painting producer was not. The person making the wedding paintings was of the same gender of the wearer, which marks a gender identification between producer and wearer, and consequently, a gender difference when considering the couple and not just the two individuals. But the painting producers were not playing the same roles in relation to the wearers. In the bride's case, it was a person who already had a previously existent kinship relationship with her (her mother), or a woman who, as her mother, was older

than her, and hence had authority, and power over her. In the groom's case, it was a person who possibly had a previous relationship with him, but not necessarily of kinship (such as a friend), and who due to his similar age, did most likely not have any power over him. Such age difference between the two producers (adult/old in the bride's case, and same age in the groom's case), reinforces the gender division already observed, because it involves an asymmetric relation in the bride's case, and a more symmetric relation in the groom's case, possibly putting female individuals under more strict control of their wedding painting than the male individuals²³. This, in turn, coincides with the dynamics observed in the 'engagement' paintings analysed above, and also with the overall Selk'nam social structure, which was mostly male-dominant.

As in the 'engagement' paintings, the raw materials involved in the face painting for the wedding were specifically selected. The wedding paintings were black, but to make them,

“the use of wooden charcoal powder, which is used in other occasions, is not permitted, instead, in the first place, a small flint [*pedernal*] piece is moistened, then it is smashed and reduced to fine powder, and, finally, it is mixed with grease and with the end of a rounded rod, which serves as a stamp, the dots are applied to the face.” (Gusinde 1982: 310).

In this case, the reason/s for using this raw material (i.e. visual purposes, such as in the case above, meanings of the material itself, etc.) were not explicit. Yet this case also indicates an intentional selection of the raw materials, which suggests that they were not neutral or interchangeable 'ingredients' of the paint, and that their employment was not indifferent to the subsequent uses the designs would have when displayed.

The two special sources of raw material to make white 'engagement' and black wedding paints come from solid sources (guanaco bones and flint, respectively), while the other usual raw materials (charcoal, lime, clay and gypsum) are softer substances. The guanaco bones seem to have been the only animal source of colouring substance, while the flint seems to have been the only lithic source used for such a purpose by the Selk'nam. There is no explicit information about the access to these sources. Nevertheless, this might be inferred from the information about who dealt with the guanacos and the flint. Since the available information indicates that men were in

²³ This may have generated differences in the way the wedding painting 'tradition' was constructed and transmitted, since if the female paintings were made by an adult, they were likely to have been more consistently repeated according to a traditional pattern, in comparison to the male paintings which were made by a same-age fellow of the groom. Yet if such production was carried out for the two together, the transmission of the tradition might have been based on and ensured by the knowledge of the adult woman. Unfortunately, this inference remains at a speculative level, given the lack of contextual information on which to ground the analysis.

charge of hunting and of lithic tool making, they may have been directly involved with both the guanaco bones and flints procurement. Women, instead, may have had access to guanaco bones while cooking, while there is no clear information about their handling of lithic pieces. However, the texts indicate that the bride, the bride's mother, the groom and a fellow of the groom all applied these paintings, so is likely that they all had access to the raw materials, though not necessarily to their procurement.

4.2.2.2.c. Painted to mourn.

Within mourning, four situations can be distinguished in which body painting was involved: very serious illness of a person, death of a person, communication of the death of a person to others, and expression of grief. In all these cases, the body painting was self-applied by the relatives, friends or possibly acquaintances of the dying/dead person. The wearing of this painting included both adults and children, although it is not clear whether these latter painted themselves or not (Gusinde 1982: 535). There is no information about materials, techniques and production contexts.

4.2.2.3. The *hain* initiation ceremony.

The Selk'nam initiation ceremony or *hain* (see chapter 3, section 3.1) served the two-fold purpose of initiating the young men to adulthood as well as of carrying out the suppression of the women by the adult men by scaring them as spirits, disguised with masks and body paintings. The men gathered in the big hut, where they got painted as spirits with very specific designs (see chapter 6 for the visual and contextual analysis of these); they performed their apparitions in front of the hut, as well as sometimes, in the camp. Women would watch from the camp, or from nearer, standing on the plain.

Body painting was continuously used throughout the ceremony by the adult men (already initiated), the initiands/candidates (young men to be initiated), called *kloketens* in Selk'nam, and also by the women, who mainly acted as 'viewers' of this male initiation, but who also painted their bodies at some specific moments during the ceremony. This ceremony involved the most varied and profuse body painting creation within the Selk'nam society, and some of the conditions and features of the production process are of extreme interest to understanding both its internal dynamics and its implications for the use stage.

The order of the 'scenes' that constituted the ceremony was not entirely fixed

(Chapman 1982). I will focus here on specific points of the ceremony in which body painting was produced and which can open perspectives showing how crucial these actions were for its display and subsequent functions.

4.2.2.3.a. *The public painting of the initiands.*

One of the first moments in which body painting was involved in this ceremony was the preparation of the initiands. The klóketens were prepared in one of their family's hut (or in various, if they were many). Their preparation was public, since their families (both men and women), as well as their guides, and the rest of the men celebrating the *hain*, were present (Gusinde 1982: 823-825).

The women sang a song which referred to the importance of cleaning the initiands, so that the spirits would not discharge their rage on them. After this, the initiands were undressed. They stood naked facing the wall of the hut, with their arms up, holding one of the logs of the hut structure, to be cleaned and painted (see plate 4.6, S77).



Plate 4.6. Two initiands being prepared for the *hain*, inside a hut. (Note the position of the initiands, as well as the presence of a woman and two men, S77).



Plate 4.7. Drawing of position of the initiands when painted, made after photo S77 (S27).

According to the written text, the guides were in charge of painting the initiands (yet in plate 4.6, a woman also seems involved in the procedure, at least in cleaning them). The explicit purpose of painting the initiands was to make them beautiful so that the spirits would not make them suffer too much (Gusinde 1982: 827).

The guides moistened the initiands' bodies with water. Before it dried, they mixed red colouring earth with water and guanaco grease, and smeared the bodies of the young men, generally putting their hands with the colorant on one portion of the body, and drawing them downwards. The red colour was applied in a thick layer, so that the initiands would be beautified (this is another example of the Selk'nam preference for red). The guide was helped by another man in this task, to speed things up. All the women and children wanted to observe the procedures. While the initiands were being painted, the people kept singing. Meanwhile, some young women and many girls had gathered in another hut. They smeared their torsos with dry red colouring earth, and waited to the appropriate time to go out together.

The initiands' mothers painted their faces, and sang in a different way than the other women. According to Gusinde this meant that they wanted to express that their sons were going to face very tough tests, and that they would be separated from them for a long time. As soon as the paintings dried on the kloketen's bodies, the song was suddenly interrupted, and another song was then sung, with a happier tune, which meant that the body was dry and the dirt was gone. Then the initiands were allowed to put their arms down. The first spirits' appearance happened at this point: two So'ortes came to the camp, indicating that it was time for the initiands to be taken to the big hut. The guides asked the initiands to turn around (since they were still facing the wall), covered them with guanaco cloaks and led them out of the hut. The initiands were taken into the big hut, where all the activities, especially body painting production, remained secret and inaccessible (at least in a direct way) for the women.

Once in the big hut, the initiands encountered some of the So'ortes spirits, and had to fight with them. After the fight, the initiand's guide asked him to take off the So'orte's mask. Then, the secret was unveiled: the initiands 'discovered' that the spirits were only men in a disguise (Gusinde 1982: 831, 832).

These first moments of the ceremony contain some of the crucial implications of the manipulation of body painting production. In the first place, the preparation of the initiands was public: they were prepared in one of their family's huts, and persons of

both genders and various ages were present (age and gender being crucial categories of social division in the Selk'nam society). This can be related to the fact that the production process of the initiands' first body painting had implications within the process itself, which required it to be witnessed by others. The painting of the initiands contributed to the creation of two main roles: the initiands and the guides. The physical position of the initiands when being painted, naked, with their arms up, and facing the hut's wall (that is, giving the back to the rest of the people and not being able to see what was happening around them), conveys the idea that they were – or were intended to be – quite vulnerable, and strongly suggests that they were, publicly, under the adults' power.

This public body painting production process also had an effect on other previously existent roles, mainly on the mothers of the initiands, who painted their faces themselves. The previously existent mother/son relationship was re-shaped by the mother's actions of painting themselves but not their sons, who instead were painted by their guides, because they were initiands, not children anymore. The young women's and girls' involvement in getting painted does show a certain practical and visual interaction with the ongoing process, but I cannot infer any specific construction or re-characterisation of roles or relationships here.

The actions of painting/getting painted were a way of establishing new roles and re-characterising others, in praxis, in a visual way. At this stage, both the visual and material dimensions of the initiands painting seem to have been important. The initiands were beautified by the painting's visual qualities (particularly colour), which would please the spirits they were about to encounter inside the big hut. But the material act of painting itself made them 'clean' and 'dry', which would inspire the spirits benevolence. The initiands' body painting did not just have meaningful visual purposes, it also had material outcomes with symbolic implications.

4.2.2.3.b. *The 'secret' preparation of the spirits: body painting and masking.*

Another point of great importance, which pervades the whole ceremony, is that related to transferring 'the secret' to the initiands while keeping it from the women and children. Now, this might be initially regarded as mainly related to the mythical and symbolic contents of the ceremony, but it is my contention that body painting production had a crucial presence in this 'secret'.

When the initiands uncovered the adult men by taking off their masks, they ‘discovered’ the ‘secret’ that these were not spirits, but painted men wearing painted masks. The secret mainly consisted of the knowledge of this fact. Young men were thus initiated. Initiated to what? To the knowledge, and to the practice, of producing and using body painting and masks to visually transform adult men into spirits, and to the importance of keeping this as a secret within the initiated adult male group in order to ensure its effective functioning when viewed by women and children .

The men both painted themselves and were helped by other men, and especially by the initiands, in carrying out this task (Gusinde 1982: 890). Elder men explained to the initiands some of the meanings of the designs, when these were not “self evident, as it happens with the *kewanix*” (ibid, see *kewanix* paintings in chapter 6). This suggests that there were designs whose meanings or implications were already known or easily interpretable by the initiands, while others required specific explanations, which, if only provided in this ceremonial context, clearly exclude the non-initiated out of the circle of persons who handled such knowledge.

There is not much information about how the initiands learned to actually *do* body paintings, so it is not clear if they were explicitly and formally taught, or if they rather learnt by imitation. Since the body painting techniques were mainly available to everybody, because they were used in various everyday life situations, the initiands might have been acquainted with these and not necessarily need to learn them in the ceremonial context. In spite of this potential previous knowledge, it is very possible that they would have gained much more practice within this context, due to the higher rate of use of these techniques during the ceremony.

Nevertheless, while the techniques might have already been known from before the initiation ceremony, the designs worn by the spirits (which were not extremely complex but very specific) most likely were not, since they would only have been seen by the initiands as public when being little children. It is likely that it was during the production process when the visual tradition was simultaneously transmitted (from the adult generation to the young generation), and reproduced (by the adult generation from what it had learnt from the previous generation, and what it remembered). The body painting production process stage of this ceremony was the only moment in which these designs were applied, and hence the only chance for the young men to learn about them.

In such continuation and construction of the visual tradition, habit memory and

incorporating practices (sensu Connerton 1989) must have played a crucial role in remembering the designs. These presumably may have anyway undergone some diachronic changes, given that there seem to have been no other external references or ‘inscribed artefacts’, that may have served as an indication as to how the designs should look like.

The importance of keeping the body painting as a secret is clearly shown by the sanctions that the initiands or adult men might have been subject to if they would reveal it to the women, which involved risking their lives and the life of the women who would be told about it²⁴ (Gusinde 1982: 790, 833). Body painting production was essential to the way in which the ceremony was carried out, and central to its subsequent effects. Body painting, together with mask wearing, played the core part of transforming the individuals’ identities and disguising them with the purpose of ‘deceiving’ the women. This transformation process was carried out in the private context of the big ceremonial hut, to which no non-initiated men and no women could enter. Thus, the fact that such mask and body painting production processes were carried out in this context is consistent with the uses it would have later, when being worn by the men, and viewed by the women and children. This private, closed and secluded production context was a requirement for keeping the secret and for generating the expected effects. This also shows that the production process, as well as the body painting technique, were meaningful in themselves, since if they had only been neutral means to a further end, it would not have been so crucial to keep them ‘secret’, because awareness about these technical visual procedures would not have affected their subsequent ends.

Because of the secrecy surrounding production, the male adult-initiand productive relationships were not to be recalled in public. This marks a difference with the Yámana *chiéjaus* adult-initiand relationships, which were later recalled and re-marked via body painting production in everyday life non-ceremonial contexts.

The conditions in which the spirits body painting production process was carried out – male, private and ceremonial – are then central to understanding how the initiation

²⁴ Gusinde supposedly quotes an adult man warning an initiand: “Keep this secret or on the contrary you will be a dead man!” (Gusinde 1982: 833). I use the term ‘supposedly’ because I find that at least some of the ‘direct quotations’ made by Gusinde seem too literary to have been sentences of spoken language, which gives the idea that they were reconstructed by him when writing up the text, although he does write them between quotation marks. Although it is not clear whether the women were also told this, what is clear is that they were straightforwardly prevented from becoming even close to the big hut, and although I have not found which reasons they were given for this, there are a number of quotations that make reference to the fact that the women made big detours in order not to pass near the hut.

ceremony works in terms of its visual power. Beyond the fact that the women did not necessarily believe that these entities they saw were the actual spirits (Chapman 1982: 100), the effectiveness of the ceremony in terms of the suppression of the women by the men was constructed on the basis of the use of body painting and masks. The men needed to wear these visual attributes a) when exhibiting themselves as spirits in front of the big hut, and b) when entering in contact with the women in the camp, scaring them by shaking their huts and throwing implements out of the huts to show their anger and force and their possible revenge if they did not behave as it was expected – that is, submissively²⁵. The visual power of these painted designs would not have been possible had the production process been open and not secret. Body painting worked as a ‘technology of enchantment’ (Gell 1992) in the sense that only by showing the visual results and ignoring – in this case hiding – the techniques and the production process, could the body painting achieve its desired effects. This technology of enchantment allowed a male embodiment of power which otherwise would have been impossible to achieve.

4.2.2.3.c. *Secret body painting in the myth of origin.*

The meaningfulness of the body painting technique, its ‘deceitful’ use, and its relevance as a key to unveiling the secret, are also present in the myth of origin that is told to the initiands. This myth clearly contributed as a self-justification of the male actions during the ceremony, but beyond its ideological and political implications, it contained information which reveals the crucial importance of the manipulation of body painting production. The myth of origin retells how the *hain* ceremony was created by the men after finding out that the women had been carrying out a female *hain*, in which they disguised as spirits in order to suppress the men. The myth states that after a violent retaliation, the men generated a reversed version of the ceremony in order to keep the women submissive. I quote here excerpts of the most relevant parts of the myth in relation to the uses of body painting by the women, told to Gusinde by two men.

Myth told by Tenenesk. During the mythical matriarchy, the women’s ceremony included the “painting of all their body with special drawings, today in this

²⁵ In relation to the visual aspects of the spirits and the body paintings worn in these occasions, I will only mention here that they had a very ambivalent capacity, since they both frightened and pleased the women, and such double potential of the plastic qualities of the body designs contributed to the male suppression which happened with no resistance from the women (see chapter 6).

fashion, tomorrow in another one. They put some masks of painted bark over their heads, and their face would then be completely covered. Nobody could recognise them.” (Gusinde 1982: 839, 840).

Kran (the man-sun) discovers two young women bathing in the lake. They were painted as the Keternen [mythical baby born from the initiands and the spirits intercourse] which were sometimes shown in the Big Hut. They were exercising the body movements of the Keternen as the woman-moon had taught them so that they would show themselves to the men as such creatures. They laughed about the fact that the men believed in the existence of the Keternens (ibid: 841).

Another time, Tenenesk said that Kran (also) saw a woman practising lateral jumps and wearing the mask and the painting of a Matan. Thus “the men got to know the real state of the matter: there were only women in the Big Hut, who painted all their body and wore a *tolon* [conical mask] on their heads.” (ibid: 842).

In another occasion, Tenenesk told the story saying that the woman-moon’s burning scars and the black stains of her face are still recognisable. The men did not dare to kill her, so she rapidly stood up and escaped to the sky. (ibid: 847).

Myth told by Halemink. The man-sun saw “two adult young women, who were bathing. They were washing away the body paintings; they were painted as Keternen. ... They were making fun of the men because of their intense fear when the women went out of the Big Hut. With their body totally painted and a mask on their heads, nobody could recognise them.” (Gusinde 1982: 842).

When the women prepared to face the men, “they had themselves painted with special care...” “Another woman prepared herself. She painted all her body and wore a *tolon* over her head.” “One of the men screamed in a loud voice: ‘One of our women has possibly painted herself and we believe(d) that she is a So’orte!’...” (ibid: 845).

The men killed the women with thick sticks (ibid: 846). Only the very young girls remained alive, to perpetuate the selk’nam people. When, after years, the girls became women, the men themselves celebrated their Kloketen party for the first time. These women were spectators. But they did not know how these games had fallen in the hands of the men. There was then a great revolution, a great transformation. In their majority, the women [were] converted into animals. In their body painting (sic) it is still visible which were the drawings that they were wearing in that occasion [footnote # 55], when the men were so deeply cheated by all the women” (ibid: 848).

Footnote # 55. “This points out the multicolour features of the bird feathers or of the skin of the numerous animals of Tierra del Fuego.” The man-sun attacked his wife the woman-moon with a burning log from the hearth. The woman escaped to the sky. Even nowadays the sun-man (Kran) has not been able to catch the moon-woman (Kra).

The mythical ‘great revolution’ and the change of the mythical female to the male ruling would not have happened had the women not been discovered rehearsing

the body movements of the spirits and *washing out* their body paintings. The erasable quality of paint played a crucial point in discovering the female secret, and in keeping the male hoax.

The men's actions were not only justified by this myth, but they were also to an extent regulated by it, since it served as a warning of the disastrous outcome that unveiling 'the secret' could have over the current social regime, particularly in terms of the gender relations. Body painting production was then at the same time a crucial practice in generating social control, and a key point in maintaining it.

4.2.2.3.d. The danger of visual techniques: photography versus body painting.

In his first reports, Gusinde noted that he could never get a photograph of the Selk'nam men in the process of getting painted for the *hain* ceremony (Gusinde 1924: 36-37):

"I almost had to pay with my life the tentative of taking a shot of one of these 'spirits' who was precisely painting himself; only with the use of all my cunning could I calm down the irritated souls of these men, but I could never picture any of them in the moment of painting."

Yet in his later and much more detailed work, he wrote a thorough account of how such problem took place. Far from a curious anecdote, it bears fundamental implications about the Selk'nam conception of their secret paintings:

"My intention of photographing one night the interior of the Big Hut was evidently totally contrary to their efforts, which these men accomplished in pursuit of the maximum precaution. As soon as the celebrations started, I was allowed to take quietly my "photographic apparatus" to the Big Hut, and use it here with special permission in each case. The general conditions were always that I should use a little lapse of time and that the women should not see anything from the camp. That night a more important performance of the spirits was being prepared; various men were painting themselves. I succumbed to the enormous temptation of taking a photo of this activity of all the occupants of the Big Hut. I slowly and with all tranquillity mounted / assembled my apparatus outside of the limits of the wide entry. It was a dark night and hence I should not fear the women's observation. About 30 minutes must have passed from the assemblage of the tripod. Since the operation of painting the spirits seemed to be almost finished, I took the backward lid (oreja) of the film package of the fitted chassis; I had already prepared the magnesium powder for the ignition. The indigenous knew from previous observations the usual manipulations of this apparatus; they knew that the extraction of the lid was followed by the plate exposition. In the very second that I took the lid off, Tenenesk jumped instantaneously over me; his heavy hands strongly surrounded my neck!!! Without openly directing his sight towards me, he had observed my

arrangements. Now, in the decisive moment, he was strangling me mercilessly. I only heard him say: "What are you trying to do? *Do you want to take a picture of what is happening here inside in these moments? And what if later one of these photos falls into the hands of our women? Are they not going to see that only men are reunited here in the Big Hut?! That we only paint our bodies? Are they not going to say later: All these figures are only our husbands?! ...* How can you dare to do this?! *The men are painted, but they have not put the mask in the head. With such a picture we would all be betrayed before the women!!!! ...* Take your things out from the way!" ... Finally the furious Tenenesk loosed a bit his tongs / pincers. The faces of the other men were also denoting a deep disgust for my project, their excitement grew rapidly and appeared dangerous to me ... Given that I immediately understood the danger I was under, I knew that my salvation was in an unconditional obedience: with an energetic blow I threw the apparatus which remained covered with snow. The tranquillity returned immediately to them men, their excitement had disappeared in an instant!!! ... Being among the sons of nature, easily excitable, there is need to avoid the abundance of empty words and long explanations; a decided gesture, which acts over them as an unforeseen hand stroke, instantaneously deflates their over-excitement. This also happened here: breathless, speechless, mute by the surprise, this is how the men were standing there for some instants. The relaxation had been achieved. Visibly relieved, Tenenesk backed a few steps. Then he started to pant a little, as if he had suffered a great fright; the other men slowly recovered and continued little by little with their work.

The environment necessary for the spirits performance was re-established only more than half an hour after. I sat against the interior wall of the Big Hut and motionless looked at the fire. Only then did I feel that my whole body was covered by the cold sweat caused by the fear. Well, this serious danger had been overcome! ... Some hours later, when those men had already taken their paintings off, and were reunited and in very good mood, while other had gone with Tenenesk to the camp, I considered that the time had arrived of taking my apparatus from the snow and storing it in the Big Hut. Observing the episode impartially, I have to admit the correctness of the old Tenenesk's argument, since his fears were not totally groundless and his obligation was to take precaution measures to avoid the fearful consequences that the discovery of the secret would have brought with it." (1982: 867-869, my emphasis)

The meaningfulness of mask wearing and body painting techniques is clearly evidenced in this episode. If these techniques had been neutral, keeping their secrecy would not have been so crucial as to generate such an extreme reaction.

The secret technique of ceremonial body painting was put in danger by another visual technique: photography. The Selk'nam were already used to seeing western people taking photographs and to being photographed by them, and had seen what photographs looked like (see appendix B). The Selk'nam men's reluctance to such an intrusion in the ceremonial painting context is then an understandable reaction to a

visual technique which was potentially disruptive of their ‘secret’.

This is a clear example that illustrated why photographs should not be taken for granted as a neutral recording technique (see discussion in chapter 1). ‘Ethnographic’ photography was not just constructed by the photographer (with his/her background, biases and aims) but also by the persons who were photographed, who many not have been necessarily passive to this activity, and to its potential outcomes. The recording method could have never been more involved in affecting the recorded content than in this case. Body painting as a secret ceremonial technique might have been given away by the technical process of taking photos. The non-neutrality of both techniques – aboriginal painting and Western photography – is evident in this case.

4.2.2.3.e. *Sacred masks.*

Although not strictly included within body painting, I want to refer to the masks production process, since they were an essential counterpart in the representation of the spirits in the *hain* ceremony. There were two types of mask: the “*tolon*” (a triangular, bonnet-like mask, made of bark or guanaco leather), and the “*as*” (a kind of tight hood, made of leather). Certain spirits wore each type of mask, and these were not interchangeable (see chapter 6). Masks were made by the (adult) men, inside the big hut, and were usually painted according to the spirit’s design (Gusinde 1982: 890-892). They were mainly intended to represent the head of the spirit, simultaneously concealing the identity of the wearer. The masks were re-used for representing different spirits, so they were repainted according to the spirit pattern, as needed in each occasion. Such re-use suggests that each these objects did not bear a univocal relation with one spirit, and that their visual and symbolic function as head of a spirit stemmed from their painting with the appropriate design and from their wearing by a man impersonating such being.

Yet, even when not being worn, the masks were treated and kept with much care. They were “kept between two very close trunks in the hut structure, since they have to be treated with much respect”, as “venerable objects” (Gusinde 1982: 891-894). According to Gusinde’s observations, the toppling over of a mask was very feared, because the men strongly believed that such an event would have a disastrous consequences, such as suffering injuries due to stumbling during the next performance, or later. For this reason, the initiands were often repeatedly told that they should

constantly take good care of the masks, provide them a good maintenance and treat them with precaution (ibid: 894). Furthermore, Chapman has interpreted that the respect shown for the masks was related to their being regarded by the men as ‘vehicles’ of actual contact with the spirits, shedding light on another dimension of the meanings of these objects, which is complementary with that related to maintaining male dominance (Chapman 1982: 86, 96)

As with body painting, mask production was also kept hidden from the women and children, since revealing their existence would immediately disclose (or admit) ‘the secret’. According to Gusinde, women believed that the masks were the actual head of the spirits (ibid: 893).

The respect and secrecy with which the Selk’nam treated the masks is also evidenced by the fact that Gusinde was not allowed to take any masks as part of his ethnographic collection. He had instead to ask an aborigine (Toin) to make two masks for him, which he did, in secret and outside the big hut.

After the ceremonies were finished, masks were not destroyed but hidden in the woods, in a hollow log (ibid: 804). They would be retrieved for the following ceremony if they had not decayed (which required extensive knowledge about the woods ‘geography’ and memory about the hiding location). If they were already damaged, they would be left to decompose (ibid: 893). This marks a difference with the way the Yámana treated their *kina* masks, since, as seen above, they burnt them. The reasons for this difference are not clear, but it marks a deep contrast in the relation of the men to the spirits via the manipulation of these objects.

4.2.2.3.f. Female and male body paintings during the hain ceremony. Production contexts and implications.

Although the core scenes of the *hain* ceremony were carried out by painted men wearing masks and representing spirits, men and women were also involved in using paint at some other points of the ceremony. The table below shows the different moments of the ceremony in which body painting was involved and the kinds of contexts in which the production process took place. The division of contexts between public and private refers to the place in which painting was carried out, and to the (mostly explicit) sharing of the information about such process by persons who were *not* involved in it (which defines whether painting was secret or not).

Table 4.3. Body painting production contexts during the *hain*.

Situation, gender and age of wearer/prod.	Context of production
Initiands' preparation painting	public
Initiands mothers painting while preparation	public
Young women and girls' painting while preparation	separated, but public
Spirits' painting (adult men representing all spirits; initiands, performing only one role: K'termen)	private
Initiands' painting during ceremony (not representing any spirit but marking their role as candidates)	private
Men and women's painting for dances/games	separated, but public
Sporadic women's painting at certain moments of the ceremony	public

The available information shows that, unlike men, women were not involved in any private and hence secret painting during the *hain*. Even when they painted themselves in separate huts during the intiands preparation, or, in the camp, as part of their response for the presentation of a spirit, such paintings were never secret. Contrarily, as seen above, 'spirit' male painting was private and secret. The political use of such paintings to enforce power by coercion (using physical and visual threats) and consensus (generating aesthetic pleasure) was based on such secret.

But there were other situations in which both men and women were painted: the dances/games (Gusinde 1986: 958, see details in chapter 6). In these cases, the men were neither disguised nor representing spirits, and the fact that both genders were wearing paintings was clear and open, not secret. Both men and women painted themselves, the former in the *hain* big hut, and the latter in the camp. Such division of the spatial context of painting production poses an interesting question in particular for one of the dances, the *kewanix*, which involved intricate and specific designs which were displayed according to the kinship of the wearer (see chapter 6). Gusinde (ibid:

962) stated that the women wore imitations of the men's designs. But this entails a contradiction, since if the body painting was done by these two groups in different places, it is unlikely that the women, who were in the camp, could have seen what the men were doing inside the big hut. This, in turn, entails that within the preparation of body painting for the *kewanix* dance, the designs corresponding to each kinship may have been transmitted and learnt/incorporated separately, by the women in the camp and the men in the big hut. Hence different specific visual tradition transmissions may have been embedded in these gender-divided production process contexts. Yet although production was spatially differentiated, display developed in a shared space (the field between the *hain* hut and the camp), where both genders interacted. And it is there where the transmission and reproduction of the *kewanix* tradition must have been completed.

A different situation was generated through the preparation of the Hainxohewan procession (see chapter 6). In this case, the men not only painted their bodies, but also used their own blood (which they obtained by picking their noses with a sharp rod) to bedaub their faces and visually imply that they had been attacked by spirits in the big hut (Gusinde 1982: 956-957, he does not clarify if Hainxohewan herself was the attacker, Anonymous Salesian [1914] in Belza 1974: x). This preparation was carried out in secret, in the private space of the big hut. During the procession (outside the hut), the women could see the men bleeding and wiped their blood, which generated sympathy for them. Such manipulation of this specific technique shows, again, a clear gender division and a male stratagem both to dominate women and to generate an affective bond with them.

While the spirits body painting production entails a clear social division based on gender inequality, the making of body painting for the dances shows a gender differentiation, but not always inequality. Depending on the context and the agents, the manipulation of visual techniques could be a source of gender and age suppression and inequality, or of gender differentiation and playful, enjoyable interaction. Different social situations were thus constructed by manipulating body painting production, and were based on the widely different affordances of its visual techniques.

4.2.2.3.g. *Technical choices for the hain.*

The most frequent body painting techniques observed in photographed Selk'nam

individuals wearing *hain* paintings (excluding repetitions and low visibility cases, and comparing them to the other highly frequent situations, hunting and ‘posing for the camera’) are 1/2 and 3/4. A χ^2 test of these data indicates that technique 1/2 was more frequently employed than expected ($\chi^2 = 55.84$, $df=2$, 99% level of confidence). This shows a statistically significant trend in the selection of such technique. This trend is mostly due to the spirits designs, which were painted with broad grounds of colour along the whole body, and with white bands, lines and big dots, all of which mostly required the application of paint by spitting and then smearing by hand or directly applying the paint with the hand (1/2). Instead, the *kewanix* designs also required the use of fingers or rods (3/4), but the frequency of these cases is lower.

Table 4.4. Most frequent Selk’nam techniques in frequent situations.

	<i>hain</i>	hunting	posing	total
1/2	33	2		35
3/4	16	14	50	80
Total	49	16	50	115

4.2.2.3.h. *Management of colouring substances: the roots of exploitation.*

The raw materials used in the *hain* were the same than those used for any other painting purpose. (Gusinde 1982: 889). Yet the procurement of the pigments shows some specific and meaningful social dynamics, particularly in terms of gender relations. As noted in section 4.2.2.3.h, the procurement of red pigments was in charge of the women²⁶. But the men needed and wanted to use these substances for their secret paintings. And they obtained them at least in three ways (Gusinde 1982: 890):

- 1) in advance, the men ‘stole’ little quantities from the women’s colouring substances storage bags
- 2) during the ceremony, and according to the needs, a spirit was sent as an emissary from the big hut to the camp to collect white and red pigments, with the excuse that Xalpen (the most important and malignant spirit) needed them. The women handed in good quantities of their reserves (Gusinde 1982: 904).
- 3) also during the ceremony, the men can announce the forthcoming celebration of

²⁶ This may have also been true for the supply of white pigments, although this is not clearly documented. Instead, both men and women had access to black colorants, since these were mostly obtained from

dances/games such as *kewanix*, in which it was no secret that they needed to paint their bodies. Hence they got great quantities of colouring earth from the women, of which they only consumed a small part for the dance, using the rest for the representation of the spirits.

So while the procurement and storage of the red pigments was carried out and controlled by the women, the men clearly needed to make use of these raw materials to perform the spirits roles. Men themselves could have collected the pigments so as to keep this process secret and not to raise any suspicions. But the fact that they did not is far from fortuitous: such dynamic was part of the suppression of the women. In the first place, although this may have contributed to raise suspicions within the women, it also stimulated their awareness about the requirements 'imposed by the spirits' to the men, thus generating a sense of solidarity between both genders. This inter-gender solidarity smoothened the tense and oppressive climate of the suppression of the men over the women. And at the same time, such situation was reproduced by making it necessary, i.e. by explicitly laying the responsibility of these actions on the spirits' will.

In the second place, such dynamic goes beyond female suppression via male manipulation of visual techniques: it entails an element of exploitation, since the men based such manipulation on resources partly provided by the women. Consequently, both via solidarity and exploitation, the women were contributing to the secret body painting of the men, which, in turn, was used to oppress them.

4.2.2.3.i. *Ceremonial materials and property rights.*

In contrast to everyday life, in which cloaks, weapons, tools, hunting and gathering products were considered individual property (though many were shared, Gusinde 1924: 29; 1982: 803–804), the materials used in the big hut during the *hain* were of communal property: "nobody can reserve for his exclusive and particular use a mask due to the sole fact of having made it." (ibid). This communal ceremonial property may have helped in eliminating a potential source of differential power within the male group, which might have obstructed the male solidarity necessary to operate in the ceremonial context.

4.2.3. Same techniques, different trends: a final comparative analysis between the Selk'nam and Yámana visual productions.

The written information indicates that while the Selk'nam handled 6 body painting techniques, the Yámana used 5 of them (they did not employ technique #5). This marks a clear qualitative similarity in the techniques used. But a quantitative analysis of these, based on the visual information about such techniques collected from the photographs in the database, shows the existence of differences.

Table 4.5. Most frequent body painting techniques observed in photographed Selk'nam and Yámana individuals (high visibility, excluding repetitions).

techniques	Selk'nam	Yámana	
1/2	35	9	44
1/2 & 3/4	9	51	60
3/4	81	63	144
Total	125	123	248

A X^2 test of the data in table 4.5 shows that the techniques are statistically significantly related to the societies who produced them ($X^2= 47$, $df=2$, 99% degree of confidence). The Selk'nam used technique 1//2 more than expected if the distribution of frequencies had happened randomly, the Yámana used a combination between 1//2 & 3//4 more than expected, and the Selk'nam used technique 3//4 more than expected. This suggests that the Selk'nam preferred not to mix techniques 1//2 and 3//4, while, contrarily, the Yámana preferred to use a combination of such techniques.

One of the factors that may have influenced these trends is that many Selk'nam spirit designs (which constitute an important portion of the sample) only involved technique 1//2, while, as opposed to this, many of the *chiéjaus* Yámana paintings (also quite frequent in the sample) involved technique a combination of 1//2 & 3//4. The reasons of such choices are difficult to ascertain. Yet these different trends mark a quantitative distinction that shows the existence of differential ways of handling the same techniques by the two societies.

4.3. Concluding remarks.

The analysis developed in this chapter suggests that some of the roles and relationships established within the Yámana and the Selk'nam societies were not only

marked, but also partially *constructed* by body painting production. The adult woman/young woman relationship in first menstruation paintings, and the mother/initiand relationship in the *hain* are examples of previously existent relations which were re-structured through ceremonial processes, partly through body painting. Other entirely new relationships were also partially constructed by the process of painting/getting painted, especially the Selk'nam guide-initiand relationship in the *hain*, and Yámana godparent-initiand relationship in the *chiéjaus*.

These processes greatly differed according to the production contexts, which in turn were defined by the ulterior functions they were performing. The Selk'nam spirits body painting production context was secret, male and private, because the results of such production would lose their desired effects if opened to the women and children 'public'. Contrarily, the Yámana *chiéjaus* ceremonial production context was much more open and public, given its mixed gender character. For this reason, the relationships then established could afterwards be acknowledged, recollected and even re-marked via the practice of making new body paintings when the already initiated person visited his/her godparent. The Yámana *kina* seems to stand somewhat in between the Selk'nam *hain* and the Yámana *chiéjaus* situations, since it was mainly a male ceremony, but still the body painting and mask decoration was not developed in an entirely male and secret context. In each of these contexts, body painting was not just a means to express a previous content, but also a material praxis through which a social reality was constructed.

The *techniques* of paint application were similar in the Selk'nam and the Yámana societies (the latter only lacking techniques 5 and 7). And in both societies, they did not vary significantly from every day life, special occasions and ceremonial situations. This suggests that they were not selected according to distinctive characteristics which might have had practical or symbolic implications. A similar situation happens with the *raw materials*. With the exception of the Selk'nam 'engagement' and wedding paintings, made of specially selected unusual raw materials (whose potential purposes and/or meanings remain unknown), the materials used to make the paintings were often not selected according to the subsequent context of display of the designs. This clearly does not mean that techniques and materials were entirely neutral: as it has been shown in this chapter, some of the purposes of body painting creation and display occurred *through* and *during* its production process. The

openness of some paintings' creation and the secrecy of others shows a clear contrast in the treatment of such situations according to the subsequent purposes of the paintings display. Painting techniques and materials were conveniently shown or withdrawn from sight according to the agents' purposes. The joy of being visited by a godchild was openly expressed by painting him/her. Conversely, in the spirits paintings, the 'magic' of technique occurred when the painting process was hidden, and only its results were displayed.

Body painting production was also the core of the processes of transmission of these visual 'traditions'. There is no recorded evidence related to the existence of an explicit way of teaching/learning body painting production. Yet in almost every situation in which such productions occurred, members of more than one generation were present. Thus, adults could gather and remember, reproduce and recreate the way in which the paintings were done. And while making them, they transmitted to the following generations the habit of painting the body. In most of the cases, these processes took place in formal contexts, such as initiation ceremonies, mourning, wedding, and first menstruation ceremonies, where there existed an explicit teaching of myths, rules and even visual interpretation of the representational designs. But, according to the available information, the teaching of body painting techniques was done in an implicit way, non-verbally, by practice and imitation.

But such processes of transmission did not imply the unchanged diachronic continuation of these visual productions. The lack of 'inscribed' artefacts (*sensu* Connerton 1989) bearing designs that could act as mnemonic referents of those worn on the body, indicates that such practice was necessarily incorporated (*ibid*), possibly using habit memory (especially consistently repeated technical gestures) and visual memory. This makes it likely that the body painting designs may have changed, even unintentionally, with time.

Also, tradition was getting weaker in the Yámana case, in which the elderly showed a lack of observance of the body painting habits. Situations such as the neglect of body painting practices during the *chiéjaus*, and the lack of use of face painting by the old men when making visits, show that the elderly were, to an extent, disengaged from these activities. Now, it is unusual and unexpected for elderly people to abandon traditional practices, which seems more likely in younger people. The reasons for this situation may be related to many factors:

- a) the old age of some of the Yámana, which could account to an extent for their lack of energy to take care of these tasks,
- b) a reaction to the presence of a foreign observer such as Gusinde, who pressured them to carry out the ceremonies,
- c) the intentional influence of the Western missionaries to change this Yámana habit.

Besides of this specific situation with the elderly group, the Yámana body painting tradition had not entirely collapsed in the early XX century, since the adults controlled that the youngsters would get painted during the *chiéjaus*, showing their interest at least in their continuation with the custom.

The ways in which the visual ‘traditions’ were transmitted acted in some instances as a vehicle of *social inequality*. The Selk’nam ceremonial painting was a source of age and gender inequality, generated by the transmission of core parts of ritual knowledge (including the secret use of body painting) exclusively to the men through the *hain* male initiation. The men held and manipulated an ‘information capital’ that the women did not have access to. Such capital included the knowledge of the fact that body painting was being secretly produced by the men (with pigments provided by the women) to represent spirits. The political use of such paintings to enforce male power by coercion (using physical and visual threats) and consensus (generating aesthetic pleasure) was based on such secret knowledge and private practice. The spirits representations generated on the women fear and submission (of/to the spirits), but also solidarity with the men. Such solidarity made them contribute materially to the mechanism of their own suppression by giving them pigments. Social inequality was then constructed by ceremonial body painting practice, in the management of both materials and mythical knowledge.

On the contrary, this is largely not the case in the Yámana society, in which most of the ritual knowledge about body painting was shared between genders. This is clear in their common initiation ceremony (the *chiéjaus*), but is also the case of the *kina*. Although this was mostly a male ceremony, it involved the intervention of some women, who not only got access to the knowledge about the manipulation of painting techniques to represent the spirits, but also contributed in simulating the effects of their attacks.

In conclusion, body painting production processes had a double dimension. The body painting productive contexts were to an extent constrained by the paintings’

subsequent uses (everyday life situations, special occasions, initiation ceremonies). But the visual effects and meanings of the paintings did not always start at the specific moment of their display; rather, they grew from the production process. The generation and transmission of visual 'traditions', the marking and construction of social roles and relationships, and the production and reproduction of social division, occurred *through* the making of body painting. Social construction and visual expression were not only results of body painting display, they also happened within its production.

Chapter 5.

A world of images: body painting for everyday life and special occasions.

5.1. The many uses of body painting.

This chapter focuses on the *uses* of body painting in everyday life and special occasions. Body painting was worn and viewed in a number of Selk'nam and Yámana activities, and in some cases its display constituted a crucial part of these situations. The analysis will focus on how body painting was displayed as a means of constructing social roles, many of which were related to the gender of the wearer. It will also show how, in some situations, these paintings communicated contents via a visual code which involved the denotative and connotative representation of contents, while in other cases communication was mostly centred in marking a role or building relationships and situations, without necessarily conveying a message.

It should be noted that the depth of formal visual analysis highly depends on the frequency of visual records and of individuals depicted in them, and that when only one is available, no trends or patterns of design composition and use can be found. However, there are cases in which a photo/drawing of only one individual shows a totally different design than those worn in the rest of the situations, in which case a visual trend can be suggested by qualitative analysis. Similarly, a lack of enough written information hinders the search for possible patterns and the contextual study of customs involved in the display of the paintings.

5.2. Body paintings for everyday life situations.

Although the fact that a body painting was worn in an everyday situation may suggest that the quantity and detail of observations of such paintings should be quite high, this is clearly not the case for either of the societies under study. As noted in chapter 3, the uses of body painting that can be gathered under the 'everyday life' category are poorly documented, and in some cases the claim about such uses of body painting seem to have been based more on assumptions or generalisations rather than on empirical information. Due to such poor recording, it is not possible to establish many visual patterns of the body painting designs worn for each everyday life situation. Therefore the information about the situations is only summarily presented in the

following two sections in order to provide a qualitative panorama about the display of such paintings. The data available about each situation are presented in appendix M; when quantitatively and/or qualitatively enough, their analysis and interpretation are also included.

5.2.1. Yámana everyday life paintings.

In spite of the fact that their documentation is poor, it is clear that a number of everyday life situations of the Yámana involved wearing body paintings. The available information is not enough to establish whether the designs of such paintings responded to a visual code that communicated contents and/or suited each situation in particular (see appendix M). But body painting, especially facial paintings, were displayed to express feelings (Fitz-Roy 1939: 177, Martial 1888: 188, Hyades and Deniker 1891: 349-350, Despard 1867: 179, Bridges 1872: 125, Gusinde 1986: 1090), for beautyfying or coquetry purposes (Fitz-Roy 1939: 177, Martial 1888: 188, Lothrop 1928: 126, Hyades 1884: 562, Gusinde 1986: 1441), paying and receiving visits (Bridges 1897: 68-70, Gusinde 1986: 416). Paint mixtures seem to have been applied to the body for skin protection (Fitz-Roy 1839: 177), although such use was not frequently observed, possibly due to the adoption of western clothing by the Yámana in the late XIX century. Strangely, although the Yámana were highly mobile and spent much time in the sea, travelling on their canoes, only one observer (Spencer 1951: 87) recorded, in the XX century, their use of facial paintings to cross sounds and channels.

A very particular use of body painting, not recorded in any other Fuegian society, is its display for blood revenge situations (Despard 1861: 179, Bridges 1872: 125, 1875: 13-14, Gusinde 1986: 1090). Such revenge of the (supposed or actual) murder of a relative involved the painting of the avengers' faces, of their weapons, and of the supposed murderer/s and their relatives (see appendix M). This use of body painting has been included within the 'everyday situations' because it could happen more than once in the life of an individual, but this does not imply that such revenges were as frequent as the rest of the situations mentioned above. As it will be shown in section 5.3.1.4, in the XX century blood revenge may have been substituted by the *yamalashemoina*, the collective mourning ceremony, in which a very similar display of body and weapons painting was involved.

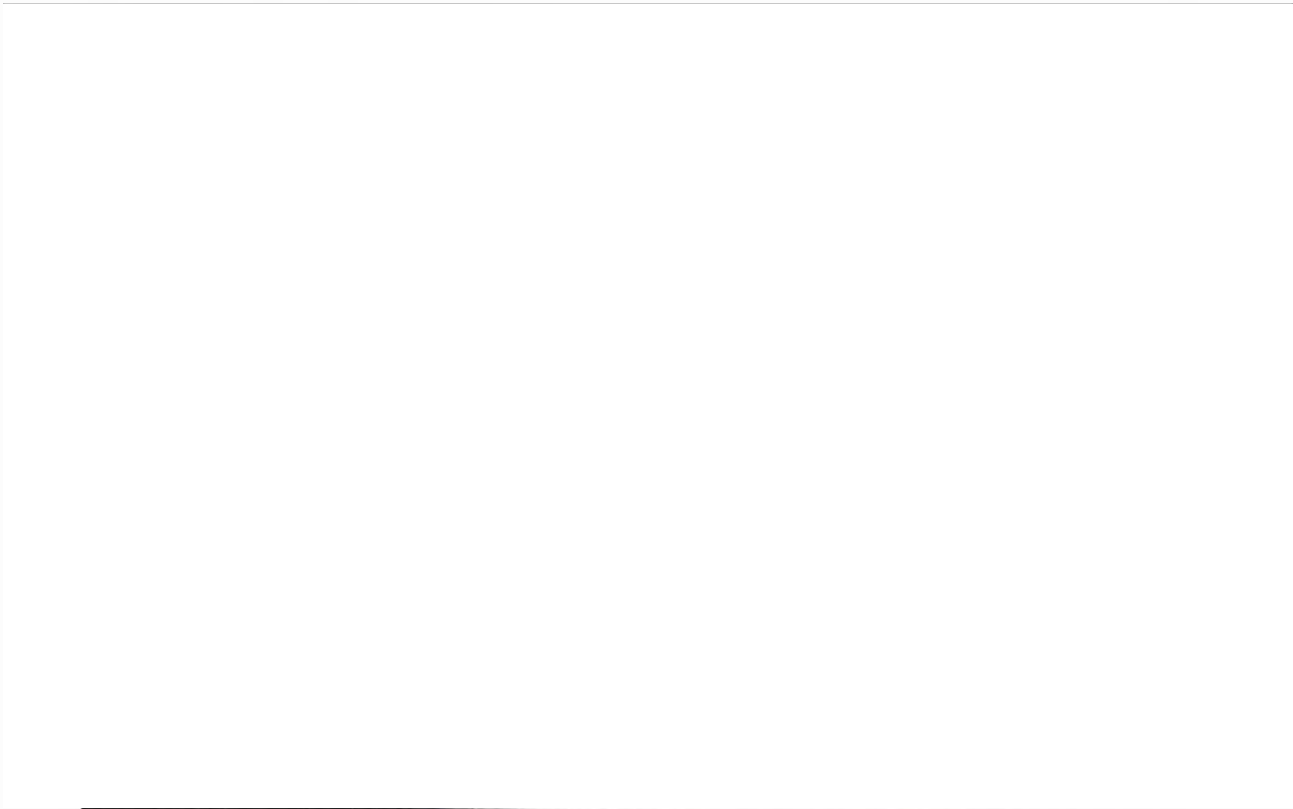


Plate 5.1. Paintings worn by the Yámana, unknown situation, posing for the camera (Y33).




Plate 5.2. Yámana “decorative paintings” (according to Brüggeman’s caption, Y15).

5.2.2. Selk'nam everyday life paintings.

As with the Yámana case, the Selk'nam paintings were worn in a number of everyday life situations, such as mood expressions (e.g. Borgatello 1929: 182; Gusinde 1982: 207), beautifying and coquetry purposes (Gallardo 1910: 149, Borgatello 1929: 182, De Agostini 1945: 68, Gusinde 1982: 208), paying visits (Beauvoir 1915: 1915: 206, Gusinde 1982: 208), and skin protection and cleansing (Dabbene 1911: 224; Barclay 1924: 14; Bridges 1951: 373; Gusinde 1982: 206; Lothrop 1928: 58-59).

But other uses of body painting were only specific to the Selk'nam society, and mark a difference with their Yámana neighbours. Facial paintings were worn when hunting (Segers 1891: 69, Gusinde 1982: 208). The visual analysis of the photographic records shows that motifs E, Ex and F were worn when hunting and when posing for the camera handling weapons – possibly during hunting trips, although this cannot be confirmed (see appendix M). Also, motifs E and Ex show a very strong gender trend, since they were almost always worn by men, which coincides with their use in the hunting task, which in the Selk'nam society was in charge of men. Body painting was also worn for hunting with a very different visual and practical purpose: it was used as a way of camouflaging the body of the hunter in the landscape, according to the seasonal changes of the environment: yellowish to blend with dry grass and white to blend with the snow (L. Bridges 1951: 367).

Various authors recorded the use of body paintings for war and combat situations (Lista (1887: 101, Segers (1891: 61), Payró (1898: 210), Gallardo (1910: 151), Beauvoir (1915: 206), Dabbene (1904: 33), Borgatello (1929: 182), De Agostini (1945: 68). Yet only one potential pattern emerges from the description of Gusinde (1982: 208-209) and the analysis of the visual records, which involves the use of motifs G and Gx by combat-men/warriors (see appendix M). In contrast to the uses of body painting for war, only one observer recorded their use for a 'peace ritual' (L. Bridges 1951: 402-403), and for wrestling (ibid: 318).




Plate 5.3. Selk'nam everyday life? paintings worn in unknown situations, posing for the camera (S11).



Plate 5.4. Selk'nam everyday life? paintings worn in unknown situations, posing for the camera (S99).

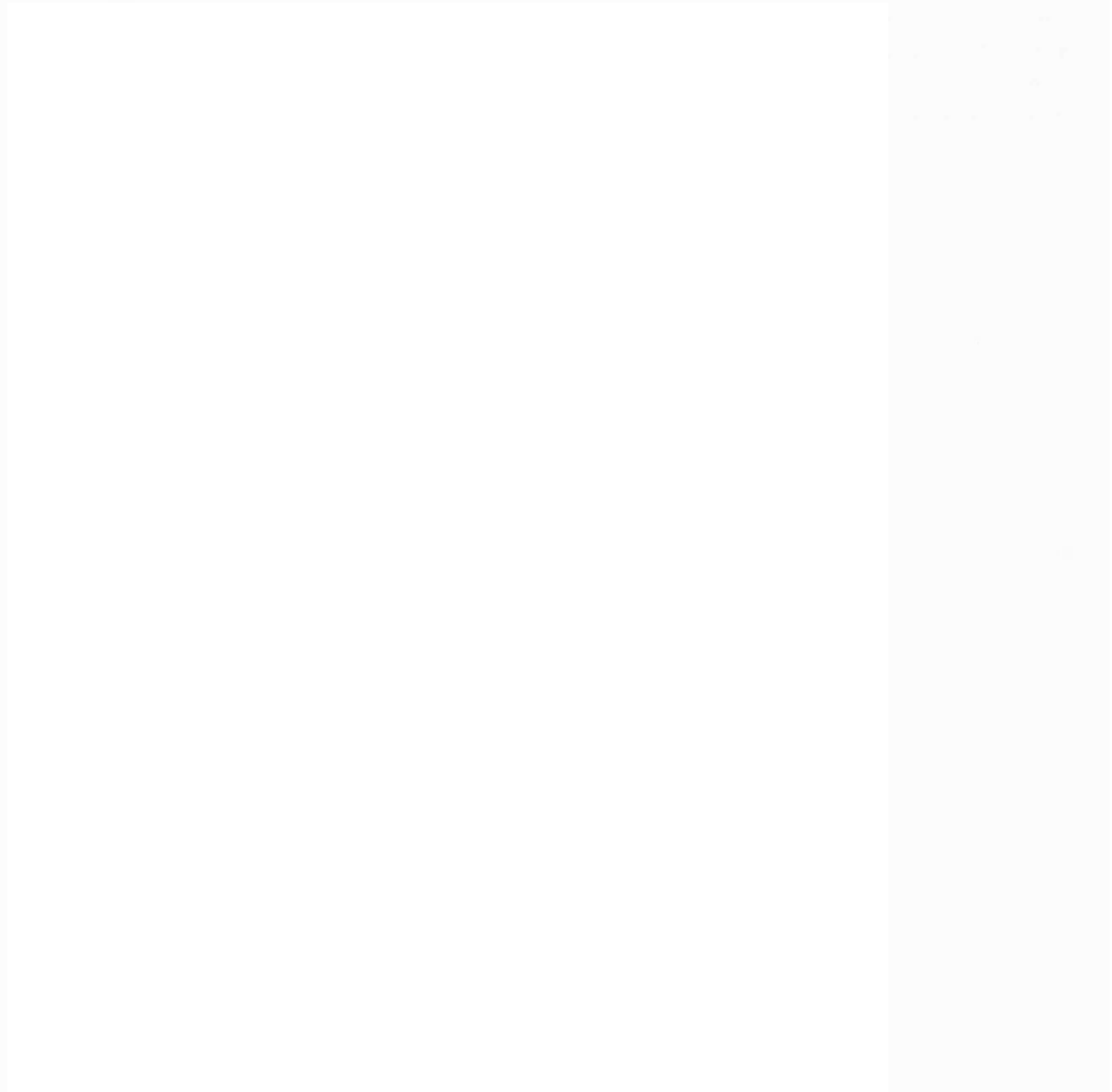


Plate 5.5. Selk'nam everyday life? paintings worn in unknown situations, posing for the camera (S128).

Plate 5.6. Selk'nam everyday life? paintings worn in unknown situations, posing for the camera (S65).



Plate 5.7. Selk'nam everyday life? paintings worn in unknown situations, posing for the camera (S25).



Plate 5.8. Selk'nam men wrestling, wearing facial and body paintings (S71).



Plate 5.9. Selk'nam men wrestling, wearing body paintings (? – low visibility, S127).

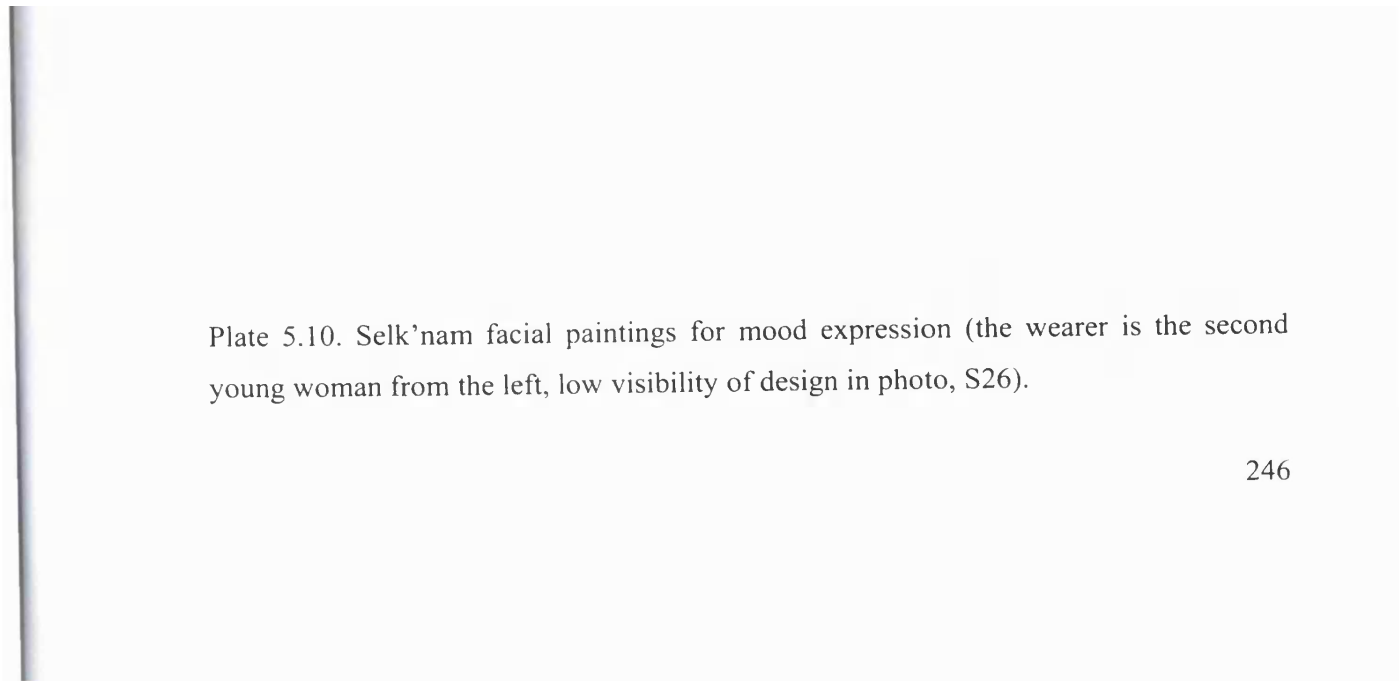


Plate 5.10. Selk'nam facial paintings for mood expression (the wearer is the second young woman from the left, low visibility of design in photo, S26).



Plate 5.11. Selk'nam men hunting, wearing facial paintings (S9).



Plate 5.12. Selk'nam boys playing/hunting with slings, wearing facial and body paintings (S10).

5.3. Body paintings for special occasions.

5.3.1. Yámana special occasions.

5.3.1.1. Yámana first menstruation painting.

Little information is available in relation to this painting. There is only a schematic drawing of this design (Y006), which in turn suggests that maybe Gusinde himself did not witness such a celebration but was rather told about it. The painting consisted only of a facial design of motif B, made of red straight lines radially displayed along the cheeks (Gusinde 1986: 725). This motif was worn in many other situations, both by men and women, so it is not situation-specific or gender-specific. Hence its display seems not to have been a visual indicator of the situation undergone by the wearer, and other contextual circumstances should have been involved in marking the situation. Examples of these circumstances are: 1) the fact that the girl hosted a banquet for many guests, 2) her involvement in working in many subsistence tasks, 3) her being under strict surveillance, 4) and being counselled by the women about how to behave (Stambuk 1986: 50).

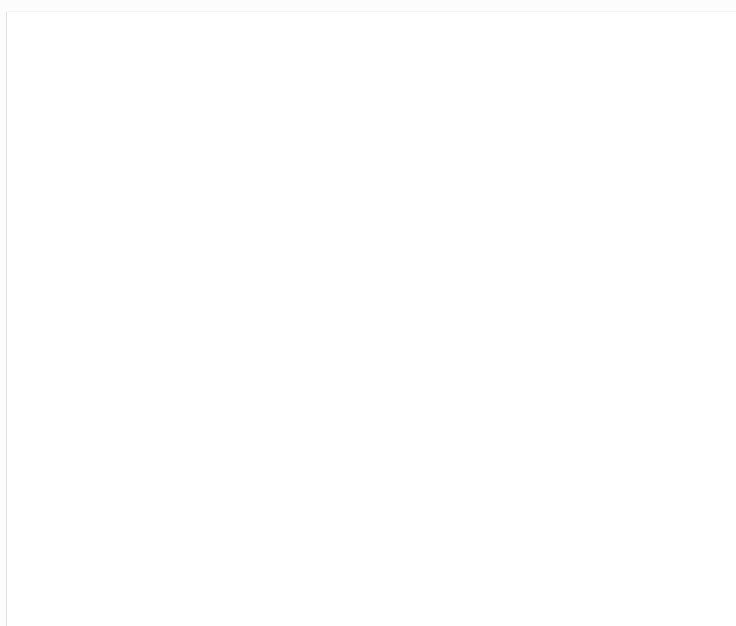


Plate 5.13. Yámana facial painting for first menstruation (Y6).

5.3.1.2. Yámana wedding paintings.

Only two sources mention the use of paintings for this occasion. Spegazzini stated that the groom got painted, but did not describe the design worn and most likely only quoted information from T. Bridges (Spegazzini 1882: 166). It is likely that Gusinde also did not observe a wedding, but that he was told about it by his informants: he does not mention a concrete ceremony, and the only visual document he offers is a schematic drawing, not a photograph.

Facial paintings were worn both by bride and groom. The newly married wore these during approximately a week, and renewed them every morning. The design consisted of three red parallel and horizontal lines painted across the face, from the nostrils through the cheeks up to near the ear lobes, and Gusinde stated that the design was exclusively worn for such occasion (Gusinde 1986: 632). The motif worn falls into type A (parallel lines) of the typology, which is a quite common motif worn by the Yámana in many other occasions. Yet the drawing shows that these lines were placed one quite near to the other, in a manner which is different from the layout of lines observed in all the rest of horizontal A motifs in the sample, which are painted with more space between them. Hence this may suggest that there existed a visual code which indicated the status/roles of the bride and groom. Also other persons wore face paintings for the wedding (*ibid*), but there is no information about these.

Mary (an informant) was unhappy with the loss of this tradition. She stated that “A woman is not a thing, a log or something like that, which one can appropriate without any ceremony. A young woman that gives herself to a man without the usual formalities among us is not a real woman. It was beautiful, when in ancient times the bride was given all painted to the groom, who was also [painted]. They were all extremely happy!” (*idem*: 635). A similar appreciation of this loss of tradition was told with regret by Rosa to Stambuk (1986: 71; see chapter 4).



Plate 5.14. Yámana facial painting worn by the bride (Y5).

5.3.1.3. Yámana breast feeding paintings.

There is only one mention of such a use of body painting, recorded by Hyades and Deniker. Five days after a woman had given birth

“two young women that lived in the same hut had over their faces, under their eyes, black stripes painted with charcoal; they said they had painted themselves like this due to the fact that milk had appeared in abundance in the young mother, but they did not elaborate clearly on the issue.” (Hyades and Deniker 1891: 194).

No other information appears in their book, or in any of Hyades papers, and there are no visual records of this painting. The design described does not appear to have had any particular visual features that could distinguish it from other paintings, but this is difficult to determine due to the vague description provided.

5.3.1.4. Yámana mourning paintings: *talawaia* and *yamalashemoina*.

The use of body painting to mark the process of mourning and/or communicate the death of a person among the Yámana was recorded by voyagers from an early date, and about twenty different first hand observers mention it in their texts. Some of these records need nevertheless to be taken with caution, since it is likely that in some cases the observers were inferring the mourning situation rather than confirming it by a) witnessing the actual death or burial/‘disposal’ of a person or b) being told about it as unambiguously as possible. Non-confirmed inferences made by the recorders about mourning paintings seem to have been mainly based on the colours of the designs, interpreted according to their own cultural background. For this reason, some paintings which for the observer did not have a straightforward purpose or connection to any event, were considered mourning paintings if they were *black*. An example of these inferences can be found in an account by Parker Snow, who noted that a woman “*seemed as if* in mourning with her face so blackened” (Parker Snow 1857: 338 and 1861: 263; my emphasis). Yet there are various cases in which these sources of information (direct observation or informants) are clearly mentioned (e.g. Despard 1859: 129; Martial 1888: 888).

Mourning painting was an established tradition among the Yámana, which was practised for at least a century, since the first information about it was collected in the 1830s (FitzRoy 1839), and the last in 1924 (Lothrop 1928). Gusinde’s account of mourning is the most detailed, which obviously does not mean that at the time the

tradition was blooming, but rather shows the importance of the amount of time spent with the aborigines.

The Yámana mourning paintings seem to have been primarily facial paintings. The most frequently observed colour in paintings for this purpose was black, but white and red were also used.

Table 5.1. Colours worn for Yámana mourning paintings.

author	black	white	red
FitzRoy	x		
Parker Snow	x		
Despard	x		
Stirling	x		
Bridges	x		x
Bove	x		
Lovisato	x	x	
Spegazzini	x	x	x
Martial	x	x?	
Hyades	x		
Hyades and Deniker	x		
Aspinall	x	x	x
Spears	No colours mentioned		
Dabbene	X		
Cojazzi	X		
Furlong	X	x	
Borgatello	x		
Gusinde	x	x	x
Koppers		X (in photos)	
Lothrop	x		
L. Bridges			
Stambuk	x	x	

In spite of their lower frequency, the use of white in mourning paintings was photographically recorded by Furlong, Gusinde and Koppers, while red is referred to in the texts by Bridges, Aspinall, Gusinde and Stambuk (and possibly some of Gusinde's photos also record it). Gusinde also noted that, at least in some cases, these colours formed part of the meanings of the mourning designs (see below).

The information about the mourning motifs is much scarcer than that related to colour. The most commonly described mourning decorative element is the line (Despard 1859: 273, Hyades 1885: 405, Aspinall 1885: 405, Lovisato 1884: 146-147, Spegazzini 1882: 170-171, Gusinde 1986: 1088-1091 and Stambuk 1986: 34-35. Lines also appear in the photographs taken by Gusinde, by Koppers and by Furlong.

However, some observers recorded the mourning designs in much more detail. This is the case of T. Bridges, who wrote the following paragraph (dated Dec. 20th., 1875, in Ushuaia)

“a company of Easterns arrived, they brought sad news; a canoe had been lost, with a large number of persons on board, among whom was the uncle and brother of this young fellow. He was very much troubled, yet mourned and grieved quietly. All those who came, and were in any way related to any of the lost party, had their faces painted *in imitation of the waves of the sea*, and all here, similarly circumstanced, did the same. This is their way of mourning and noting events.” (Bridges 1876: 80, my emphasis).

This is the first description of a specific mourning motif, probably made of sinuous lines, which indicated that the cause of the death of the person/s mourned was drowning¹. The description entails that at least some of the mourning motifs were representational, and that they were meant not only to express the grief of the wearer upon the loss of a relative or friend, but also to communicate the cause of the death to the viewers of the paintings. Such visual code conveyed information

“with such a certainty as verbal information would do. For example, only with seeing the painting it would be possible to know without a possibility of doubt if the person who is wearing it is mourning the death of a friend or of a relative, and in which conditions the person died” (Hyades and Deniker 1891: 349-350, quoting Bridges).

This is also the first evidence of the existence of a more complex visual code for the display of the mourning paintings rather than one exclusively based on colour.

¹ Lovisato also described the use of “wavy lines of black colour alternated with others of white colour, represent the waves of the sea, indicating mourning of a person who died in the sea” (1884: 146-147), but his is no independent information since he was quite likely quoting Bridges. Spears (1895: 71) seems also to have quoted Bridges.

Spegazzini seems also to have quoted Bridges, although he included information that has not been published elsewhere:

“a series of red vertical lines under the eyelids indicate tears and are a sign of the pain as the departure or sickness of a relative, the death of a dog, etc.; if these lines are black they indicate mourning, and another sign indicating the kind of death that the dead has suffered is added, such as natural death, with a row of red dots that crosses horizontally the entire face from one ear to the next one; a death by drowning or a fall, a black sinuous line in the same position; if he/she has died violently, a simple black straight line, which has on top, in the men, two white threatening dots (Spegazzini 1882: 170-171).

An independent observer of the Yámana mourning paintings, who also pointed to the existence of such visual code is Aspinall. When retelling his visit to the Woollaston islands he noted that

“When we arrived they were all painted, and, on asking the cause, we found that on the morning of our arrival a canoe had upset and *two children* were drowned [highlighted in the original]. The nearest relatives had their faces quite black, the chief friends had streaks of red radiating from the eyes over the cheeks, while one woman, *to tell the cause of death*, had two lines of white drawn from ear to ear across the bridge of the nose, with white spots between of graduated sizes from the nose to the ears (Aspinall 1888: 192, my emphasis).

Gusinde (1986: 1088-1091) described a series of designs which he explained were related to “minor manifestations of mourning”, or *talawaia*, as opposed to a “public and general funerary ceremony” the *yamalashemoina* (ibid: 1101-1103). The former mourning paintings were required as a gesture of expression of sorrow for the diseased and for his/her relatives. At the same time, they communicated the news of the death to other persons who did not know about it.

This information communication took place even without the need of words:

“When a canoe approaches the shore and its occupants are wearing the mourning paintings, the people on the shore do not even wait for it to reach nor to hear the news that its occupants bring, rather they paint themselves in haste and thus prepared they run to receive the news of the newly arrived.” (Gusinde 1986: 1088).

Rosa (Stambuk’s informant), referred to a similar situation that she had experienced when she was young:

“The last time I got painted for mourning was in Mejillones. ... While we were sailing in the “*chalana*”, my birth godmother, Shumonaia le kipa, painted my face with mourning lines. She was the only old woman. ... People [on the shore] got closer to receive us. They were also painted. They were men, women and youngsters. My painting was very pretty: I looked like a princess” (Stambuk 1986: 34–35).

Although it is not clear whether the people on shore already knew about the death of the person via another means, both paragraphs suggest independently that

there existed a visual code which was twofold (expressed grief and conveyed the news) and also reciprocal: the viewer did not only observe the paint, but also got painted as part of the response to seeing and interpreting the mourning paint.

According to Gusinde, the “minor manifestations of mourning” started with the application of dry charcoal powder over the face and body or upper trunk by all the persons who were next to a dying person or knew about a recent death (Gusinde 1986: 1088-1089). Over such ground, the men could also wear a bowed wide white line, from one shoulder to the other (ibid; Y22). Others also painted another similar line going vertically, from the throat to the navel. These designs were worn by the closest relatives, whom seem to have had stricter rules about what to wear, while other persons had more freedom to wear other paintings.

Another design, worn by friends and neighbours, included black vertical lines painted close to each other, over and among which white rows of dots were painted. Gusinde was told that this design was very ancient, and it was no longer applied to the whole body, but only to the face (Gusinde 1986: 1091). This coincides with the facial paintings in photos Y21, Y56, Y81, Y84 (mourning paintings), and Y87 (of unknown context).

After about three weeks of the death, some relatives painted themselves with more elaborated designs. Gusinde stated that the preferred layout was an asymmetric design, half face red and half face black, over which vertical parallel lines were scratched (forming negative lines) from the lower eyelid towards the mandible. The missing paint indicated the traces of tears having washed out the paint (Gusinde 1986: 1089). This particular detail coincides with Spegazzini’s description (1882: 170-171). The different visual features of some special designs indicated the cause of the death of the dead person/s.

Table 5.2. Mourning paintings as recorded by Gusinde (1986: 1088-1091).

cause of death	design	possible motifs	possible photo and drawing examples
natural	black ground with white or red dots, rows of dots or lines		
violent; fall from a rock or tree	black charcoal ground with three white vertical lines down the face, going over the nose and over the mouth towards the chin, and from the corner of the eyes towards the mandible; white transversal band over the eyes and nose	Motif A Motif Z/Q, if with the transversal band	Y9, ind d Y12 Y48
violent; fall from a rock or tree	black ground over the face; half of the face covered with white vertical lines; the other half of the face remains black or is painted with three white transversal lines which run from the corner of the eyes, the nostrils and the lips. The white lines symbolise the rock or the tree	Motif AX	Y21 Y23, ind 281 Y23, ind 282
conveying the message of a death	the lines, vertical in half of the face and transversal in the other half, are painted with a mixture of white clay and black charcoal	Motif AX	Y21 Y23, ind 281 Y23, ind 282
drowning	mixture of black and white colorants applied over the lower half of the face up to the mouth, indicating that the water has penetrated the mouth of the drowned person. This greyish mixture resembles the sediment of the bottom of the sea, which fills the mouth of a drowned person. The upper part of the face may be painted in black, with white horizontal lines or rows of dots, which symbolise that the person submerged into the water. The people also wear the white down head band, symbolising the foam of the waves	Motif P	Y40 But this is not a mourning scene; it is a scene from the <i>kina</i> ceremony (see chapter 6)
murder	vertical red lines, radiating from the eyes, like rays; worn by the mourners in search of the murderer, for revenge. The red lines remind of the traces left by the blood that came from the wound.	Motif B	

blood revenge	relatives and friends of the dead paint their bodies in black, while the adversaries do it in red; the weapons and sticks are also painted like this. (See section 5.2.1 and <i>yamalashemoina</i> below)		
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It is clear at this point that, though geometric, various of the mourning designs were representational, since the motifs had specific referents (rocks, trees, tears, blood, water) and meanings that they visually encoded and expressed (falling, drowning, bleeding and murder, etc.).

A series of features which formed part of a visual code can be inferred from the description of these paintings. In the first place, some of the colours had, at least in some occasions, certain meanings: white representing rocks or trees from which people fell, red representing blood, and greyish (mixture of black and white) representing the sea sediment that filled the mouth of a drowned person. There is no information in relation to black. Although the cases quoted do not show contradictions in the use of colours, the limited range of colours used makes it very unlikely that they had univocal meanings.

The complete 'visual message' seems to have been constructed by combining colour with other visual features of the designs. Form, position and orientation were also essential: vertical negative lines symbolising traces of tears, vertical lines as traces of blood, a patch covering the lower half the face up to the mouth showing the sediment level and horizontal lines showing the water level that reached the face of a drowned person.

This information then points towards the idea that there was no fixed set of rules which gave the colours, forms, positions or orientations a specific meaning (e.g. red equals blood, lines equal wounds). Rather, the visual code underneath the *talawaia* mourning paintings seems to have worked through combining various visual features to convey each specific meaning (e.g. lines could be traces of tears or traces of blood, according to their colour, position and orientation).

In relation to orientation, one of the motifs mentioned by Gusinde, which consisted of vertical lines covering one half of the face and horizontal lines covering the other half (motif AX), is an interesting and conspicuous case, since the orientation of the decorative elements generates an axial division (dividing the face in two halves) and

an asymmetric design, being half longitudinal and half transversal. This design is unique in terms of its orientation and asymmetry, which generate a disruptive visual effect that makes it highly distinguishable from the rest of the Yámana repertoire. Gusinde described this motif in two different designs (with different lines and background colours), which were used to mark a violent death and also generally to convey the message of a death. The visual distinctiveness of this motif makes it especially adequate to comply with the second function, since it could not be mistaken with any other motif, due to its peculiar orientation, and could be visualised from afar (i.e. when approaching the shore with a canoe), which according to the written sources did often happen.

The photographs show individuals wearing this motif in mourning situations, in the *chiéjaus* ceremony, and in unknown situations where the persons are posing for the camera. This means that either a) the motif was not exclusively worn for mourning and did not have the function described and discussed above, b) the motif had lost its meaning and was worn indistinctly as any other motif, or c) the individuals wearing this motif were mourning a relative or friend during the *chiéjaus*, and the photos in which they are posing in unknown situations are in fact showing mourning situations. Unfortunately there is no evidence that can directly support or reject any of these possibilities. The fact that most of the wearers are of old or adult age makes it possible that these persons could remember and would stick to the meaning of the motif better than younger persons, which in turn would slightly favour possibility c). Yet, given that all of them are female, this would indicate a gender-related use of the motif, which has never been mentioned in the texts².

Table 5.3. Situations, gender and age of wearers of motif AX.

photo/drawing	individual	situation	gender	age
Y023	281	CE CH	F	o
Y023	282	CE CH	F	y
Y035	322	SO MO	F	a
Y041	344	SO MO	F	a
Y087	431	POC	F	o
Y087	441	POC	F	a

² There is one more individual in a mourning situation, also female, and of adult age, in photo Y021, who is actually wearing a complex motif AX, formed by motifs CK, placed longitudinally in half her face, and A, placed transversally in the other half. Since these two motifs have been recorded in the database, she does not appear within the table of persons wearing AX motifs above.

Besides the *talawaia* individual mourning paintings, both Gusinde and Koppers also witnessed the mourning ceremony called *yamalashemoina*, in which all the relatives and friends of persons who had died recently met to lament and show grief together. This ceremony was observed in Puerto Mejillones (Navarino island) in march 1922 (Koppers 1924: 141)³. Koppers described it as follows:

“Men and also women participate in it. They all paint themselves and then the women take their paddles and the men the clubs made specially for this end, of about 2 metres long which serve to kill seals and as ceremonial rods for this mourning ceremony. Armed in this way, they all run outside or to an open field, crying and screaming, since the dead are remembered. They form two groups, mixing men and women. Both groups start a fake fight. They raise and shake the club and the paddles, pretending to hit each other. In the mean time they keep crying and moaning. They say ‘you are to blame!’ but the other answer and scream: ‘no, you are to blame!’. But in essence, the words are directed to Watauinewa [a spirit], in front of whom they complain and also quarrel, because it was him the one that has let their loved one die. If in this way they have agitated for a certain time and are tired, this strange mourning ceremony has finished, the oppressed and painful hearts have found relief.” (ibid)⁴

This ceremony also involved body painting. Gusinde described the paintings as richer and more detailed than the *talawaia* designs (Gusinde 1986: 1101), ranging from very simple to very complex (ibid).

Table 5.4. *Yamalashemoina* mourning designs as described by Gusinde

Design	drawing	photo
Three black vertical lines	Y10, ind a	Y82
Red ground and black vertical lines	Y10, ind b	
Red ground and black lines	Y10, inc c	
Red ground, wide black lines with white rows of dashes	Y10, ind d	Y81
Red ground, five vertical lines, one (horizontal) line across the nose and another one along the corner of the eyes	Y10, ind e	Y83
Five red lines radiating from the lower eyelid, lower half of face in black	Y10, ind f	

The designs he described are shown on a drawing (Y10) in which three male and three female individuals are wearing different motifs. It is interesting to note that this

³ The *yamalashemoina* may have dated from much earlier times, since Martial noted that “mourning in certain anniversaries is also practised” (1888: 188).

⁴ Note Koppers intention of pointing out to the idea that the Yámana had a monotheist belief in a supreme being (Watauinewa), as a result of his religious and theoretical frameworks.

gender division does not correspond to that observed in the photographs, since for example the motif worn by the man marked with the 'e' letter in the drawing (motif H1) is worn by a woman in photo Y83. Other motifs, such as the one worn by the man marked 'a' and the one worn by a woman marked 'f' in the drawing, correspond to the description of *talawaia* motifs (A and P, respectively). Hence based on this visual and written information, it cannot be claimed that there were designs worn only in *talawaia* or in *yamalashemoina* mourning. Rather, these seem to have been non-specific and inter-changeable.

Both Gusinde and Koppers observed that during the *yamalashemoina*, painted clubs and paddles were carried by men and women, respectively (Gusinde 1986: 1103; Koppers 1924: 141; their production has been discussed in chapter 4). These clubs and paddles, which were used to threaten symbolically the persons who were to blame for the death/s of the mourned individuals, were also painted. These were usually painted white, while they were painted red when reminding the death of a murdered person (ibid: 1103). This in turn suggests that, in coincidence with the mourning facial paintings for which there is written data, red was associated with murder (and possibly with blood, although this is not stated in relation to the painted clubs).

The use of these objects and the nature of the *yamalashemoina*, in which people expressed their grief but also blamed somebody for somebody's death, is reminiscent of the structure of the blood revenge, discussed in section 5.2.1, in which the death of a person was avenged by wounding or killing the murderer and his/her relatives, and where painting was used both on the body and on the weapons.

It is my contention that, given a) the opposition that blood revenge had from the missionaries because of its clash with western and Christian values, and b) the deeply weakening situation in which the Yámana society was at the beginning of the XX century, which made killing individuals of the own society put at risk the society's existence as a whole, the blood revenge was either ritualised and transformed into the *yamalashemoina*, or, if the *yamalashemoina* already existed, the blood revenge was substituted for it.

The visual analysis of the information provided by the visual records is presented without regarding whether the designs may have been used in the *talawaia* or *yamalashemoina* mourning, since not all of them have clear captions indicating to which mourning process they correspond.

Mourning paintings have been recorded in 17 photos (Y12, Y20, Y21, Y22, Y35, Y38, Y41, Y48, Y54, Y55, Y56, Y63, Y64, Y81, Y82, Y83, Y84) and 2 drawings (Y9, Y10). The total of individuals in mourning situations which appear in photos with high visibility is 20, which are divided into 15 women, which range from old to children, and 5 adult men.

Table 5.5. Age and gender of mourning painting wearers.

age	F	M	Total
Adults	10	5	15
Children	2		2
Old	3		3
Total	15	5	20

The general position of the paintings on the individuals shows a very strong tendency towards facial paintings (19 cases), while only one case has facial plus body paintings (Y22) – a man with his arms and torso painted. This coincides with the written information, which mostly reports facial paintings.

Out of the 34 motifs that formed part of the Yámana repertoire, 12 were worn in mourning designs. This makes mourning one of the situations that involved most motif variation; the fact that there is a high frequency of individuals photographed in this situation may of course have influenced the observed variety (a X^2 test could have shown whether the motifs and situations were in fact related, but it could not be calculated due to the low frequency of expected cases for many of the motifs, even when lumping them).

The decorative elements that were used to construct the motifs are 7 (out of the total of 12 used by the Yámana). A X^2 test, carried out only for the *chiéjaus*, *kina*, mourning and “posing for the camera” situations, and assessing the uses of the most frequently used decorative elements (ground, lines and rows of dots), shows that there existed a relationship between these and the situations in which the paintings were worn ($X^2=26.95$, $df=6$, 99% level of confidence). The test provides evidence to indicate that the mourning paintings involved more lines and less grounds than expected.

Table 5.6. Mourning decorative elements.

types dec elem	Total
DCL	1
DCL/RD	1
GR	2
LI	19
LI/RD	1
PT	4
RD	2
Total	30

Table 5.7. Most frequent decorative elements and situations.

	<i>chiéjaus</i>	<i>kina</i>	posing	mourning	Total
GR	30	15	6	2	53
LI	58	19	20	19	116
RD	13	0	13	2	28
Total	101	34	39	23	197

In relation to colour, the mourning paintings were mostly made in white. A X^2 test ($X^2=22$, $df=4$, 99%) shows that colours and situations were in fact related, and that the mourning designs were painted in white more frequently than expected.

Table 5.8. Mourning decorative elements and colours.

types dec elem	dark	white	white & dark	Total
DCL			1	1
DCL/RD			1	1
GR	1	1		2
LI	3	14	2	19
LI/RD		1		1
PT	1	3		4
RD		2		2
Total	5	21	4	30

Table 5.9. Colours used per situation.

	<i>chiéjaus</i>	<i>kina</i>	posing	mourning	shaman's school
dark	60	12	11	5	2
white	49	37	27	21	2
white & dark	4		8	4	
Total	113	49	46	30	4

The orientation of the mourning decorative elements is mostly longitudinal or transversal plus longitudinal, while the transversal cases, and the decorative elements that involve no orientation (the grounds) are fewer. This also marks a difference with other situations ($X^2=30.49$, $df=9$, 99% level of confidence).

Table 5.10. Orientation of decorative elements per frequent situations.

	<i>chiéjaus</i>	<i>kina</i>	posing	mourning	Total
LG	9	10	3	9	31
nc	33	18	6	4	61
TR	46	15	20	7	88
TR + LG	23	7	18	10	58
Total	111	50	47	30	238

The transversal plus longitudinal orientation of a decorative element requires two visual principles to construct the design: translation and rotation. This is the case, for example, with motifs AX, Z, and Z/Q, all of which are mourning motifs. For this reason, mourning has a higher frequency of translation and rotation than other situations; and these visual principles can be claimed to be related to the situations in which they were applied ($X^2=8.57$, $df=3$, 95% level of confidence).

Table 5.11. Visual principles per most frequent situations⁵.

	<i>chiéjaus</i>	<i>kina</i>	posing	mourning	Total
TR	34	8	21	7	72
TR + RT	13	7	9	12	44
Total	51	16	31	20	123

Finally, in comparison with the other situations, the mourning paintings are the ones that have a highest proportion (25%) of asymmetric face designs (with an axial division). Although the relationship between symmetry and situations could not be statistically assessed, this high proportion indicates that a-symmetric designs were preferable or admissible within the mourning situation.

Table 5.12. Symmetry of face paintings⁶.

	<i>chiéjaus</i>	<i>kina</i>	posing	mourning	Total
no - ax div	4		2	5	11
yes ax	47	16	28	15	111
Total	50	16	30	20	123

Another way of manifesting the mourning grief was by cutting the hair of the top of the head. This tonsure was observed by T. Bridges, and also reported by L. Bridges (1947: 366). In the beginning of the XX century, the head band had replaced the tonsure of the hair in the Yámana case, although it was still practised by the Selk'nam (see section 5.3.2.5). The reason for this was that the Yámana tried not to call the European's attention with this noticeable haircut, and instead wore the white down headband around the head (Gusinde 1986: 1091). This suggests an interesting translation of a mark made on the hair, to marking the place where the mark would have been done, by wearing an ornament. This ornament, in turn, had a symbolic meaning, since it represented the sea waves foam, which, in the case of a drowned person seemed to have contributed in indicating the nature of the death. This same head ornament, with the same meaning in relation to the waves, was worn during the *chiéjaus* ceremony of initiation, but without any reference to a death circumstance (see chapter 6, section 6.2).

Finally, few authors who had little contact with the Yámana claim that they made cuts on their skin as signs of mourning (Bove 1883: 134, Coiazzi: 1914: 116). But scarification was not practised among them (Bridges 1951: 364). Because scarification was common within the Selk'nam, those references are bound to be a confusion with this latter case.

⁵ A category recording the very few cases in which no visual principles were used (in the designs only made by an even ground of paint) is not included in this table.

⁶ Only one case of an a-symmetric design which also shows no axial division was recorded in the POC situation. Because of this low frequency that category is not included in the table.



Plate 5.15. Yámana mourning facial paintings.

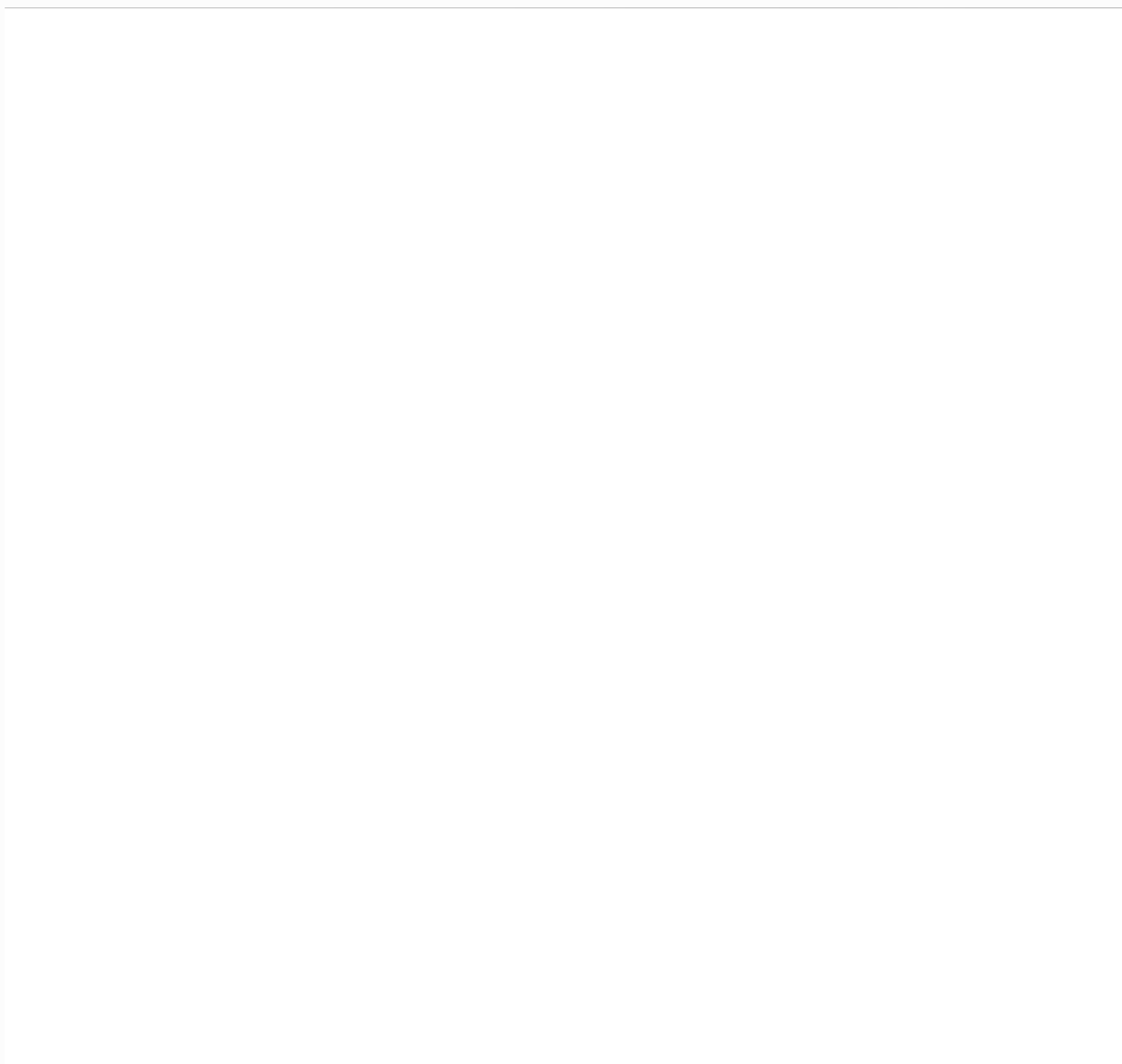


Plate 5.16. Yámana mourning facial paintings.



Plate 5.17. Yámana mourning facial paintings (Y54).



Plate 5.18. Yámana mourning facial paintings (Y9).

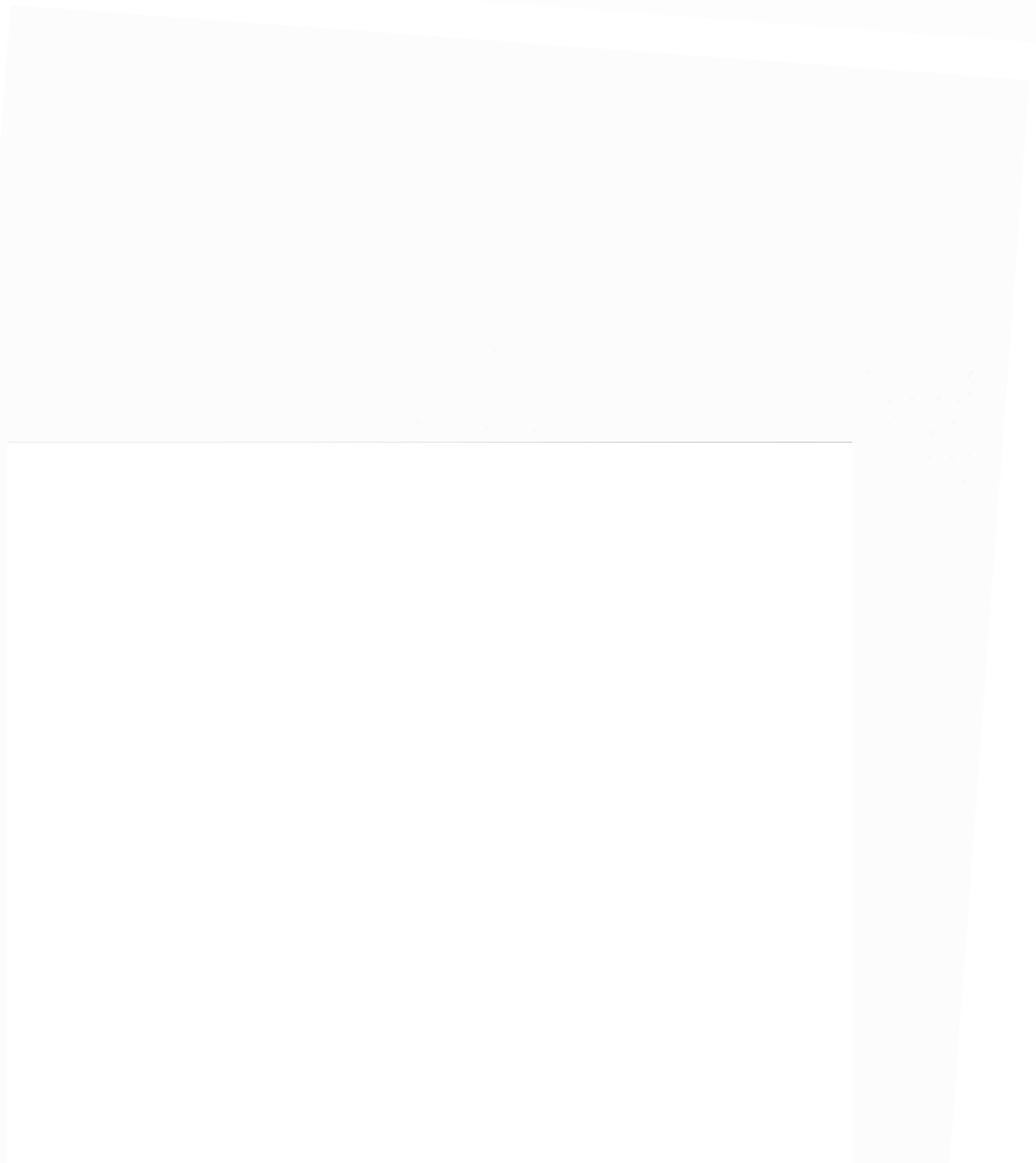


Plate 5.19. Yámana mourning facial paintings (Y10).



Plate 5.20. Yámana mourning body painting (Y22).



Plate 5.21. Yámana *yamalashemoina* mourning facial and object paintings (Y41).



Plate 5.22. *Yamalashemoina* scene (note the use of poles, Koppers 1924).

5.3.1.5. Yámana shamans (*yekamushes*) paintings.

The use of body painting by the *yekamushes* has been documented by a number of observers. Yet the descriptions they offer about the painting designs are neither detailed nor consistent.

The *yekamushes* wore paintings in different occasions, some of which were shared with the rest of the Yámana people, while others were specific to their role. Among the former cases, they wore paintings in ceremonial situations such as the *chiéjaus* and *kina* (Gusinde 1986: 1338).

The specific situations include the *yekamushes* ‘practices’, their initiation to their role, and their death⁷. The *yekamushes* procedures to cure ill patients and influence the weather seems to have involved painting their bodies. The *yekamushes* paintings involved:

- a) the use of paint without describing the designs (Bridges 1887: 70-71, Burleigh 1889: 267)
- b) painted faces with lines (Despard 1863: 717) or “streaks of red, and eyes banded white” (Despard 1859: 136)
- c) body painted with “white mud” (Stambuk 1986: 65; Gusinde 1986: 1383).
- d) white paint powder to cover their heads (Bridges 1887: 70-71; Bove 1883a: 131 and 1883b: 134; Gusinde 1986: 1382, also mentioning red powder).

There is only one mention of a *yekamush* applying red paint to a patient to cure her (Stambuk 1986: 65).

The participation in the *loimayekamush*, the *yekamushes* ‘school’, involved a specific design: the whole body was covered with a white ground, out of which dark lines were formed by removing paint and generating a contrast with the skin colour (Gusinde 1986: 1383; Gusinde in Koppers 1924: 151; also Gusinde 1951: 346; Guinde in Koppers 1924: 151; Stambuk 1986: 63-65). This design (see photo Y44) is entirely different from any other of the designs worn by the Yámana in other situations, hence it can be stated that it could visually mark the role of the ‘*uswaalexamus*’ (*yekamush* candidate). Yet it is not clear who the viewers would be, apart from other candidates and the already established *yekamushes*, since the *loimayekamush* was celebrated in a special conical hut, the *loima*.

⁷ One photograph shows a *yekamush* whose chest is painted with a white ground, posing for the camera in an unknown situation (photo Y11), yet not attributable to any of these situations.

The hut interior was decorated with a white band of a hand's width painted horizontally around the hut (Gusinde in Koppers 1924: 150). This evidences the Yámana habit of decorating their ceremonial huts with painted designs (see *chiéjaus* and *kina* sections).

The *yekamushes* were the only individuals who received mortuary paintings, which suggests that the role played by these individuals was especially regarded in the Yámana society, and visually marked until their death. The body was painted with the “design proper of the wizard” or entirely painted in red (Gusinde 1986: 1412). This practice was only recorded by Gusinde, who is unlikely to have witnessed the death of a *yekamush* himself and possibly quoted his informants.

Besides the body paintings, the *yekamushes* were also visually distinguished by a special feather ornament they wore, the *apawejma*, which was made of long bird feathers (Despard 1863: 717, Bove 1883a: 131 and 1883b: 134, Bridges 1887: 70-71, Gusinde 1986: 1382-1383). Although women could be *yekamushes* too (L. Bridges 1951: 263, Stambuk 1986: 63), there is no visual record in which the caption indicates that a woman was a *yekamush*. Yet there is one photograph (Y15) in which a woman is wearing a feather headband which resembles the long-feathered *apawejma* much more than the more common white down *hapaxel*, and this might indicate that she was a *yekamush*. The facial painting she is wearing, formed by a combination of motif Ap(yf) and H1, is also very uncommon and might be marking a special/different status, but there is no other information to corroborate these inferences.



Plate 5.23. Yámana yekamush wearing body painting (Y11).



Plate 5.24. Yekamush candidate wearing facial and body paintings for the *loimayekamush* (Y44).

5.3.2. Selk'nam special occasions.

5.3.2.1. Selk'nam body painting at birth and newly born babies painting.

Paint (or mineral pigments) seems to have been applied to babies with two main purposes. In the first place, after birth the baby was rubbed with an ointment made of white clay and saliva, possibly with the purpose of cleaning and/or protecting its skin (Payró 1898: 195; Beauvoir 1915: 208; Gusinde 1982: 349).

In the second place, babies seem also to have been painted with ornamental purposes. This is the case of Lista's observation, who, when entering a hut, saw "a woman of 25 or 30 years old ... holding in her arms a baby, apparently born a few days before, and with the face already painted in red as the adults" (1887: 92-93). L. Bridges also stated that when a baby was born "it was painted a very dark red colour" (1951: 362).

5.3.2.2. Selk'nam first menstruation painting.

The information about this situation was gathered by Gusinde, who had to ask repeatedly Semitārenh, a Selk'nam woman, to tell him what happened during her menarche ceremony. The fact that this was an individual, non-group practice implies a much more personal approach to the girl's situation (as opposed to the group situation involved when the young men were initiated).

The celebration of a Selk'nam girl's first menstruation involved her wearing a specific design that consisted of "fine white lines, [laid out] in an approximately radial form, which are applied slightly forming a bow, under the eyes and over the cheeks." (Gusinde 1982: 389). This description matches the appearance of the Yámana first menstruation design, although the colours differ (white for the Selk'nam case and red for the Yámana case). The rite itself was also quite similar, in that the girl had to remain secluded, had to fast, and was strongly advised in relation to her future roles as a woman.

According to Gusinde, "This painting is distinctive of the girl that menstruates for the first time, and, hence, it is only applied on this occasion, and its meaning is immediately understood." (Gusinde 1982: 389). Given that the meaning of the design was 'immediately understood', this suggests that it conveyed a message to some viewers, but it is difficult to ascertain who these viewers were. The available information suggests that only women were in touch with the girl, hence these seem to

have been the sole viewers of the design (some of them were also its producers, as noted in chapter 4). No men seem to have seen the girl during this period of five or six days seclusion, hence the design seems not to have been intended for male viewers, nor for an extra-hut public. It must have been the seclusion of the girl, and her ulterior quiet and obeying behaviour, which conveyed to the men the message that she was to be considered now as a grown up woman.

The design also marked the new situation for the girl herself, in a female, private and closed field of action, of wearing and viewing. And it contributed to the construction of a new relationship with the adult women, since she was becoming one of them. A relationship founded on their painting and admonitions, and also on the women's viewing and men's non-viewing of the girl and her distinctively painted face.

5.3.2.3. Selk'nam 'engagement' paintings.

Although Gallardo (1910: 151) noted that when looking for a bride a man would paint his face with small white dots, the use of paintings as part of an 'engagement' process was also only documented by Gusinde (1982: 307-308). When it was agreed that a man and a woman would get married, the woman got painted with a very particular design that was only to be worn by a bride-to-be's, and indicated that she was engaged. This facial design was only worn in this situation, and there is only one case of it recorded in a photograph (S13). This design is completely different from all the other face painting designs recorded in the rest of the photographs and drawings. It consists of a series of white parallel vertical dashes (of approximately 3 mm width and 18 mm length according to Gusinde 1982: 307), which are placed on top of two white horizontal lines, one painted on each cheek. This design (motif I, in my typology) was called *c'owut*, although Gusinde's description of it states that it was red, not white.

The groom-to-be did not have to wear any special design, but instead wore either the *koskari* (horizontal row of white dots) or the *oxtálampten* (transversal wide red line that contains [sic] white dots)⁸, "to show his happiness and satisfaction" (Gusinde 1982: 308). The customs involved in this process (including the paintings) were a compulsory procedure for single individuals who got married for the first time, were not required for people who were getting married for the second time, and were not carried out at all in

⁸ There are no visual records of such a motif of lines that 'contain' inserted dots.

the cases in which the parents opposed to the wedding (which were very infrequent, according to Gusinde).

The relatives of the bride-to-be also wore the *oxtálampten* to show their happiness for the girl's engagement, and she herself might join them and wear this design (ibid: 307). Nevertheless, it was an obligation of the bride-to-be to wear the design described above. And this painting had to be worn from the 'engagement' time until the wedding took place, that is, for various days or even weeks (ibid).

Hence the 'engagement' was visually announced by the bride-to-be's facial painting, while the groom-to-be wore daily paintings which were not specially devised for this occasion, and which could not convey the message on their own, since they were also worn in various different circumstances. There is a clear gender division in this situation, in which the woman was subject to stricter rules than the man both in the special kind of design worn, and in the raw materials used to paint it (as seen in chapter 4). This may be seen as a special privilege of the female gender, which may have been related to a possible aesthetic appeal that she would gain by wearing this special design. But at the same time the situation suggests that while the woman was already marked as committed to being a future wife, the man expressed his gladness for the engagement, but was still visually unmarked as regards his commitment towards his future wife.



Plate 5.25. Selk'nam 'engagement' facial paintings worn by the bride (S13).

5.3.2.4. Selk'nam wedding paintings.

When the wedding took place⁹, both the bride and groom had to be painted with a specific design, called *xáukesá*. Unlike the engagement and other situations, in which the paintings differ according to the gender of the wearer, in this case both bride and groom wore exactly the same design, which consisted of a series of vertical rows of black dots, radially displayed from the inferior eyelid towards and over the cheeks (Gusinde 1982: 310, this coincides with Gallardo's written description (1910: 151), but not with his illustration of a groom's painting – S91). There is a drawing by Gusinde that shows this design worn by a man (S7), but there is no visual record of a woman wearing it. Besides the motif specificity –there are no other records of this design being worn in another occasion–, the raw material to make the black paint was also different than the usual one, which made it of specific material value in terms of the labour invested to create it, and possibly of symbolic value too, although there is no information concerning this point (see chapter 4).

This nuptial painting had to be worn during at least five days, and up to ten days¹⁰. It was compulsory for every individual who was getting married, regardless of his/her age or previous marital state. This makes a difference with the engagement painting, which was only mandatory for the bride. It also indicates that during this situation both bride and groom are equally visually marked, hence entailing an egalitarian conception of the roles they are playing during the wedding, at least as regards the facial paintings that mark their union.

It is possible that this egalitarian use of the nuptial design helped in conveying the message of the couple's union, but this is only a speculation that cannot be based in any independent information about the way in which this painting was viewed and/or interpreted. What seems clearer is that there existed a visual code that was shared in common by producers, wearers, and public, since the *xáukesá* painting “communicated to the public *without the need of words* that the couple is now husband and wife.” (idem: 311, my emphasis).

Finally, considering the designs worn by a girl/woman from her first menstruation to her ‘engagement’ and wedding, it is interesting to note the presence of a

⁹ This statement already shows a European influence, since according to Bridges (1951: 359), the Selk'nam had no marriage ceremony, so this must have been later acquired, or overemphasised by Gusinde as a European observer.

¹⁰ Gusinde notes that different informants told him about these different periods of nuptial painting wearing.

change of colours, since she has previously worn white in her menarche painting and in her 'engagement' painting (but in this case made of a different raw material), while when getting married she wears a black design. But given the lack of information about the choice of these colours and their potential symbolic meaning, this point cannot be elaborated any further.

The same happens with the motifs themselves: they are constituted by decorative elements –lines in the menarche painting, dashes in the 'engagement', and rows of dots in the wedding paintings–, which are arranged vertically (the only different detail being the horizontal lines that are combined with the vertical series of dashes in the 'engagement' design). This verticality of lines and rows of dots is uncommon in the Selk'nam facial paintings, which tend to be usually horizontal, except for a) one case of mood expression recorded by Bridges, which involves vertical lines (S26), and b) the irregular stripes, which are always vertical (e.g. S30, S40, S80, S95), but are clearly different from the decorative elements worn in the situations commented here. These vertical linear decorative elements (lines, dashes, rows of dots) may be considered as a feature that characterised the designs worn during the first menstruation, 'engagement' and wedding. Given the lack of a sample of various cases of the designs worn in these different situations, this cannot be established as a pattern, but only as a qualitative observation. I have not found any written information that can provide an explanation for these choices.

Plate 5.26. Selk'nam wedding facial paintings worn by the groom (S7).

5.3.2.5. Selk'nam mourning paintings.

There are various authors who report the existence of the use of paintings for mourning by the Selk'nam, together with other manifestations of grief, which was also expressed through specific bodily arrangements, such as hair tonsure and scarification (Lista 1887: 101, Segers 1891: 70, Popper 1891: 138, Gallardo 1910: 150, Borgatello 1924: 65, 1929: 182, L. Bridges 1951: 366, Gusinde 1982: 535, Koppers 1997: 39). These authors show more coincidences in respect to the latter mourning manifestations than in relation to the paintings. For this reason, it is not possible to derive any clear patterns of designs or paintings display (the information about these is presented in appendix N). This may be due to various reasons, such as an actual variation of the designs worn for the mourning due to regional differences, chronological differences, or differences in the kinds of death that the mourners were commemorating (see below). But it may also be the case that, as with the observers of the Yámana groups, some of the paintings reported as mourning decorations may have been wrongly interpreted as such by the observer, which in turn would add more variation to the panorama. This is particularly true a) for situations in which the actual agony, death and mourning process was not witnessed by the observer, who only saw the paintings worn later, and b) for situations in which he did not speak Selk'nam.

Table 5.13 summarises the information provided by each author. There is no agreement in relation to the colours (much less designs, see appendix N) worn as mourning signs, but all the authors (except for Koppers) coincide in that body painting was one the visual ways to express this situation. Tonsure, and particularly scarification, were consistently observed as bodily transformations related to mourning.

Table 5.13. Selk'nam mourning signs.

author	red	black	white	scarification	tonsure
Lista		X		X	
Segers		X		X	
Gallardo	X	X			X
Borgatello	X	X	X	X	X
L. Bridges	X			X	X
Gusinde	X	X		X	X
Koppers				X	

These bodily transformations had different durations, ranging from permanent (scarification) to durable (tonsure) to ephemeral (body painting). Among these, the mourning paintings seem to have worked both as a means of expressing the individual's grief, and as a way of conveying the message (or contributing to communicate it) of somebody's death to other persons who did not know about it. Gusinde stated that the facial mourning paints were renewed when a individual in mourning was visiting other people, and that these paintings were recognised (and understood) from afar and did not require the wearer to explain verbally their meaning (ibid: 535). The viewers of these paintings reacted by taking their colorants and getting painted in response to what they saw, hence participating in the mourning too (ibid). If this is correct, it indicates the existence of a visual code that was shared by neighbouring groups, which did not require the support of spoken language. Yet it is not clear which features constituted the code, since there are no coincidences among the different authors about which were the colours and designs involved in it.

5.3.2.6. Selk'nam shamans (*xons*) paintings.

As seen in chapter 2, the Selk'nam shamans –*xo'ons* or *xons*– were considered to have power to cure and also to inflict illness on people (Bridges 1951: 282-285, Gallardo 1910: 298, Chapman 1982: 45-46). There were both male and female shamans, although the former seem to have had more powers than the latter (ibid). In spite of the fact that the two genders were able to play these roles, texts and photographs only document the use of body painting by male *xons*. This may have happened a) because maybe only the male *xons* wore body painting, b) because the female *xons* may have showed themselves less to the foreign -and male- observers, c) because there may have been less female *xons* and hence there were less chances for the observers to record their activities.

A number of observers recorded the *xon*'s use of body painting. Segers reported the existence of medicine men or wizards (1891: 65) who wore a painted facial design as an emblem. This consisted of three white small stains, one each temples, and one on the middle of the eyebrows (ibid: 70)¹¹. Such description clearly matches the designs

¹¹ Such special design was also described by Dabbene: "The shamans are distinguished by three white spots that are painted at each side of the end of the eyebrows and the other one in the middle." (1911: 260). But as noted in appendix B, in a previous paper Dabbene had written that the Selk'nam "do not use to paint themselves as the Yahgan and the Alacaluf" (1904: 70). Hence it is highly likely he was copying Seger's information.

worn by some *xons*, documented in photographs (see below). Gallardo mentioned twice the use of red facial paintings by the *xons* (1910: 151 and 299). In both cases, the paintings are not related either to the marking of their roles or to the performance of any of their functions (curing or damaging an individual). L. Bridges referred to the *xons* procedures in various portions of his book (1951: 262-263, 282-285, etc.). But he only mentioned once the use of body painting by them (ibid: 282) without describing any designs or purposes of the paintings. De Agostini did not mention the *xon*'s use of body painting in his texts (1924, 1945), but in several of his photographs (S5, S67, S69, S82, S83, S87, S126), and in his film, individuals whom he recorded as *xons* appear wearing facial and body paintings. Gusinde also photographed a number of *xons* wearing facial paintings (S19, S30, S65, S70, S72, S80, S81, S84). All these are analysed below. Finally, both Lothrop (1928: 96) and Chapman (1982: 32) noted that body painting was essentially involved in the shamanistic performances, but published no details about its use.

The written information can be contrasted with the visual information provided by De Agostini and Gusinde. It is interesting to note that, of the five identified *xons*, four of them (Minkiol, Tenenesk, Pa-cieck, and "no name A") appear identified as such at least in one of the photographs captions; Halemink, instead, was firstly hypothetically identified as a *xon* due to his facial painting with motif Gx (which matches Segers description), this information was then confirmed in Gusinde's text (1982: 766). This is an example of how written and visual records can provide information that can later be corroborated with other – independent – sources of data.

Table 5.14. Body painting of identified Selk'nam *xons*.

Photo	Ind	Situation	Dec elems	Motifs	Role	Indiv ident
S5	7	ED (HU)	LI	A + T	HU (SH)	Minkiol.
S19	36	CE (HA)	DT + LI	Ex	indet (SH)	Tenenesk.
S30	56	POC	DT + IS	GX + W	indet (SH)	Halemink
S65	134	POC	DT + LI	EX	indet (SH)	Tenenesk.
S67 [R]	149	POC	LI	A + T	indet (SH)	Minkiol.
S69	151	POC	LI	A + T	SH	Minkiol.
S70	152	POC	DT + LI	EX	FG (SH)	Tenenesk.
S72	154	POC	DT + LI	Ed	SH	Tenenesk.
S80	163	POC	DT + IS	GX + W	indet (SH)	Halemink.
S81 [R]	164	POC	DT + IS	W	indet (SH)	Halemink.
S82	165	POC	LI	F	indet (SH)	Pa-cieck.
S83	166	POC	LI	F	indet (SH)	Pa-cieck.
S84 [R]	167	POC	DT + LI	EX	indet (SH)	Tenenesk.
S87	174	ED (TR)	LI	E	indet (SH)	Pa-cieck.
S104	214	ED (HU)	LI	F	HU (SH)	no name A.
S117	217	POC	DT	GX	Indet (SH)	Tenenesk.
S124	385	POC	LI	F	WA (SH)	Pa-cieck.
S125	386	POC	LI	F	SH	no name A.
S126	387	POC	DT + LI	E	SH	Pa-cieck.

Key:

[R] indicates repetition of an individual wearing the same design and in the same setting than in another photograph. Such repetitions are not counted when carrying out the visual analysis (see methodology in chapter 1).

(SH) indicates that the shaman role has been inferred from the text, it is not stated in the photo's caption.

The information in this table shows that among the whole Selk'nam repertoire, the motifs worn by the men that can be positively identified as *xons* are few: A, T, E, Ed, Ex, F, Gx and W. Of these, the layouts of motifs A and T are very uncommon, since they are formed by a series of three parallel white lines, A placed on the upper arms, and T on the trunk and abdomen (the design was completed with a white ground worn on the feet). It was worn only by Minkiol (S5, S67, S69). The use of these motifs is interesting because of the clear difference of these designs with the rest of the Selk'nam cases. But given that this is the only known case, it is not possible to infer any pattern in relation to its use by a *xon*. Moreover, according to Gusinde (1982: 208) such designs, called *kekósiken*, were worn to express joy and when the weather was good (see section 5.2.2.). Hence data are inconclusive about the display of this design.

The other *xons* wear only facial paintings. Most of the motifs they wear belong to the E/F/G group, and consist of horizontal lines, dots, or combinations of these. In some cases, motif W is also worn, in combination with motif Gx.

Types of motifs of facial paintings worn by identified <i>xons</i> .	Frequency of cases (without repetitions).
F (two lines, one on each cheek)	4
E (two lines, one on each cheek, with one dot on top of each line)	2
Ed (two lines, one on each cheek, with one dot on the nose)	1
Ex (two lines, one on each cheek, with one dot on top of each line, and one dot on the nose)	3
Gx (three dots, one on each cheek, and one on the nose)	3
W (irregular stripes on cheeks and chin)	2

With the exception of Ed, these motifs *are not* exclusive to the *xons*, since many other individuals also wore them (e.g. F and Ex in S10, Gx and E in S33, W in S30, S40, S115, etc.), and although some of these individuals could be non-identified *xons*, their high frequency, and the young age of some of the wearers, implies that not all of them were *xons*.

Motif Ed appears only in one case in the whole Selk'nam photos and drawings catalogue. This motif appears worn by Tenenesk in photo S72 (by Gusinde) with a caption indicating that he was a shaman, but not referring to his painting. The only independent evidence with which this information can be compared is De Agostini's film, in which Pa-cieck paints his face. One of the motifs he makes is precisely Ed, which he combined with another motif (W, see below). This coincidence suggests a possible exclusive use of motif Ed by the *xons*, although the lack of a greater number of cases and of information about the potential purposes or meanings of the motif hinders the development of further analysis.

The fact that most of the motifs are not exclusive of the *xons* indicates that the individuals playing these roles could wear motifs usually worn by other (non-*xon*) individuals. But further examination of these motifs shows that the *xons* wore some of them with alterations in their location on the face, and/or with a certain specific colour pattern. The *xons* wore motif Ex and Gx in a slightly different way in terms of the physical disposition of certain decorative elements –the dots– on the face. Motifs Ex and Gx show an important similarity: motif Ex is constructed by two lines, one on

each cheek, with one dot on top of each line, usually placed also on the cheeks, and one dot on the nose; motif Gx is constituted by three dots, one usually placed on each cheek and one on the nose. Hence it can be stated that every Ex motif includes a Gx motif. But what is of interest here is the location of the three dots of Ex and Gx on the faces of the *xons*.

Motif Ex is recorded in a total of 12 cases (not counting repetitions). Careful observation shows that in three of these cases, the dots on top of the lines (which are always white) are not painted on the cheeks, but are placed higher, on the temples, where the eyebrows end. In these cases, the person who wears this motif in such a way is a *xon* (Tenenesk) ¹².

Table 5.15. Dots of motif Ex and relation to *xon* role of the wearer.

Photo number	Individual number	Dots on cheeks or temples	<i>Xon</i> or no <i>xon</i>
8	10	cheeks	No <i>xon</i>
9	11	cheeks	No <i>xon</i>
9	12	cheeks	No <i>xon</i>
10	16	cheeks	No <i>xon</i>
10	17	cheeks	No <i>xon</i>
19	36	temples	<i>Xon</i>
20	54	cheeks	No <i>xon</i>
65	134	temples	<i>Xon</i>
70	152	temples	<i>Xon</i>
73	155	cheeks	No <i>xon</i>
103	198	cheeks	No <i>xon</i>
112	204	cheeks	No <i>xon</i>

Although motif Ex is basically the same in terms of the decorative elements used to construct it and of their relative position, their placement on a particular portion of the face –the temples– seems to have been related to the role of the *xon*. This tendency is reinforced by the observation of the use of motif Gx. In this case, the total number of individuals wearing this motif is 7, out of which 3 wear the dots on the temples. Again, the only individuals who wear the dots in this position are *xons*: Tenenesk and Halemink.

¹² It would be ideal to have other cases of this motif worn in this way by other *xons* (besides Tenenesk), to make this observation better grounded, but according to the images catalogue the other *xons* never wear this motif. This doesn't happen with motif Gx, which is worn by two *xons*: Tenenesk and Halemink. 291

Table 5.16. Dots of motif Gx in relation to role of the wearer.

Individual	photo	Temples or cheeks	Role of wearer	Name of wearer
56	S30	Temples	<i>Xon</i>	Halemink
67	S33	Cheeks	No <i>xon</i>	
68	S33	Cheeks	No <i>xon</i>	
69	S33	Cheeks	No <i>xon</i>	
163	S80	Temples	<i>Xon</i>	Halemink
217	S117	Temples	<i>Xon</i>	Tenenesk
223	S121	Cheeks	No <i>xon</i>	

These observations show that in motifs Ex and Gx, the dots are placed on the temples when the wearers are *xons*. This, in turn, can be related to Segers (1891: 65) descriptions of the *xon*'s paintings – the three 'stains', two on the temples and one on the nose, between the eyes. This information is previous to and entirely independent from Gusinde's photographs, which in turn seem to confirm it.

Motifs E, F and W, were instead worn by the *xons* in the same way as the non-*xon* wearers, with no alteration on the position of the decorative elements on the face.

Motif W consisted of a series of white irregular stripes. Both Gallardo (1910: 152) and Gusinde (1982: 208) describe it in their texts as an everyday life motif (see section 5.2.2.). Many visual records show several individuals wearing motif W, but the information about its uses differs according to the recorder¹³:

- a) in Gusinde's photos, this motif is uncommon, and appears only worn by a few male wearers: the *xon* Halemink (S30, S80, S81) and the initiands in the *hain* ceremony (S16, S40)
- b) in De Agostini's film, it appears only worn by the *xon* Pa-ciek
- c) in Gallardo's photos, drawings and retouched photos (S91, S92, S95, S98, S99, S100, S102, S108, S110, S113, S115), this motif is quite frequent, and appears worn by men and women on a number of occasions (hunting, groom, and others not defined in the caption or text), but not including the *xon* role.

Hence, when considering Gallardo's visual information, it could be stated that motif W was worn by any Selk'nam individual, and that it was not specially worn by the *xons*; this coincides with Gallardo's and Gusinde's written information. But if based on Gusinde's visual records, a male *xon* and ceremonial restriction for the use of motif W could be suggested. The fact that Gallardo's visual records are in most cases either

¹³ In Bove's drawings (S78 and S79), four painted individuals (of which at least three are male), wear a motif which looks similar to W. Although such motifs are constituted by short lines instead of irregular

retouched photographs or drawings makes them less accurate, turning the latter possibility more likely.

Patterns of the ways in which the *xons* wear their facial paintings can also be searched by observing the colours in which the motifs are painted. In some cases the *xons* wore the motifs painted in the same colours as the rest of the wearers: motif E was always painted in white and dark, and motifs Gx and W were always painted in white, regardless of the role of the wearer.

Motif Ex was worn by 12 individuals. Of these, 7 wore it entirely painted in white, while 5 wore its lines painted dark and its dots white. Three out of these 5 were *xons*. Hence unless these two individuals were also *xons* or *xon* candidates, and we lacked the information about it, the colours in which motif Ex is painted do not seem to be related to the *xon* (or other) role of the wearer.

Table 5.17. Individuals wearing motif Ex, with indication of colour of decorative elements and *xon* - non *xon* role.

Photo	Individual	Dec elem	Colour	Motif	<i>Xon</i> ?
S8	10	LI	white	Ex	
S8	10	DT	white	Ex	
S9	11	LI	dark	Ex	
S9	11	DT	white	Ex	
S9	12	LI	dark	Ex	
S9	12	DT	white	Ex	
S10	16	LI	white	Ex	
S10	16	DT	white	Ex	
S10	17	LI	white	Ex	
S10	17	DT	white	Ex	
S19	36	LI	dark	Ex	<i>Xon</i>
S19	36	DT	white	Ex	<i>Xon</i>
S28	54	LI	white	Ex	
S28	54	DT	white	Ex	
S65	134	DT	white	Ex	<i>Xon</i>
S65	134	LI	dark	Ex	<i>Xon</i>
S70	152	DT	white	Ex	<i>Xon</i>
S70	152	LI	dark	Ex	<i>Xon</i>
S73	155	LI	white	Ex	
S73	155	DT	white	Ex	
S73	155	PT	white	Ex	
S103	198	LI	white	Ex	
S103	198	DT	white	Ex	
S112	204	DT	white	Ex	
S112	204	LI	white	Ex	

stripes, their position and orientation on the face generate the similarity commented above. These might then be the earliest records of motif W.

A similar pattern is found in the colour of motif F. There is a record of 35 individuals wearing this motif, which was painted in dark or in white. Of these, all those who are identified *xons* (4 individuals, not counting repetitions) wear it in dark.

Table 5.18. Individuals wearing motif F.

Photo	Individual	Motif	colour	role
S1	1	F	dark	indet
S10	15	F	dark	indet
S14	25	F	white	indet
S24	42	F	white	kewanix dancer
S24	47	F	white	kewanix dancer
S24	48	F	white	kewanix dancer
S25	52	F	dark	indet
S25	53	F	dark	indet
S29	55	F	white	indet
S31	63	F	white	indet
S32	65	F	dark	indet
S32	66	F	dark	indet
S57	118	F	white	kewanix dancer
S60	125	F	white	kewanix dancer
S61	128	F	white	kewanix dancer
S68	150	F	dark	indet
S82	165	F	dark	indet (SH)
S83	166	F	dark	indet (SH)
S85	171	F	dark	indet
S86	172	F	dark	indet
S86	173	F	dark	indet
S88	219	F	dark	indet
S89	175	F	dark	indet
S89	179	F	dark	indet
S91	194	F	dark	groom
S92	182	F	dark	indet
S93	184	F	dark	indet
S94	185	F	dark	indet
S96	189	F	dark	indet
S97	190	F	dark	indet
S104 [R]	214	F	dark	indet (SH)
S105	215	F	dark	indet
S107	199	F	dark	indet
S114	206	F	dark	indet
S124	385	F	dark	WA (SH)
S125	386	F	dark	SH

Hence, the use of colour does not seem to have been indicative of status in such a way that the *xons* wore a motif in a colour which was never worn by the other wearers. Rather, what seems to have happened is that, among the colour possibilities (here reduced to dark, white, and dark and white combination, because of the resolution available from the black and white photographs), the *xons* restricted their selection only to one choice.

In summary, according to the visual records, not all the *xons* wore the same motifs. There are differences in the motifs types which may have been related to the time period and/or to the Selk'nam group and even to the individuals visited by each observer, since there are various motifs which appear only worn by one *xon* and not by the other known *xons* (e.g. A and T by Minkiol, Ex by Tenenesk, E by Pa-cieck). Lack of a higher number of cases forbids elaborating on a possible trend in relation to these motifs.

The *xons* could wear motifs that other individuals wore (e.g. E, Ex, F, Gx), and a number of different dynamics have been identified in relation to these different motifs:

- a) some motifs differed in relation to the portion of the face of the *xon* where they were located (Ex and Gx on the temples)
- b) some motifs showed a colour restriction when worn by the *xons* (Ex, dark and white; F, dark)
- c) some motifs did not show any difference with the other wearers (E), which shows that the *xons* were not restricted to wear only certain designs, and could use other non-specific motifs

As a consequence, it is suggested that the position of the dots in motifs Ex and Gx, the colour restriction in motifs Ex and F, and, possibly, motif Ed, may have been ways of visually marking the *xon* role. More evidence could help in determining whether this was a general pattern rather than a temporal, regional or individual preference of some of the *xons*.

5.4. Brief conclusions.

Taking into account the great number of everyday life situations and special occasions in which body painting was displayed, it is clear that such creation was a vital part of Selk'nam and Yámana life. Although in many cases there is insufficient evidence of a defined pattern beneath the designs' construction and their viewing, it can still be noted that body painting was a constitutive part of the development of several activities, and ranged from visual and practical functions such as that of Selk'nam camouflage, to visual and iconographic functions such as that of Yámana mourning paintings. Body painting could also be worn to beautify the wearer, and in various cases it seems that such function overlapped with others, such as when the Selk'nam expressed states of mood, or when they went hunting, or in the Yámana and Selk'nam wedding paintings.

The paintings were sometimes displayed to mark a role (e.g. the Selk'nam *xons* paintings), and to suit a situation (e.g. the Selk'nam and Yámana wedding paintings, and the Selk'nam hunting paintings). In these cases, there existed a communication between the wearer and the viewer of the paintings, but such communication mostly referred to the role of the wearer or the situation in which the painting was worn, and did not encode and convey a message. These designs were not representational. Such communication was, at most, denotative - of the role or the situation in which the painting was displayed: a hunting motif marked/denoted that a Selk'nam man was about to/in the process of hunting, the three white dots of motif Gx marked/denoted that the wearer was a *xon*. But these paintings did not represent referents and did not have connotative meanings. Instead, other paintings were representational and did involve a denotative and connotative code. The clearest case is that of the Yámana mourning paintings: the designs displayed communicated specific contents which required a visual code to make them, and to interpret them. Such code was both denotative and connotative: red denoted blood, and connoted a violent death. Yet meaning seems not to have been encoded univocally by only one visual feature (such as colour). In these cases, representation and interpretation seems to have been based in a combination of visual features, especially colour, form, position and orientation, all of which seem to have acted together in conveying the message to the viewer. There is, nevertheless, not enough information to ground the claim that this visual code was sufficient to convey the message of the mourning of a person independently of any other means of



Plate 5.27 and 5.28. Selk'nam shaman/*xon*'s facial paintings. Note that both *xons* are wearing the Gx motif (three white dots), combined with other different motifs. (S70, Tenenesk; S80 Halimink).



Plate 5.29. Selk'nam shaman/*xon* wearing body painting. (S69, Minkiol).

communication; the viewer may have also been aided by other visual details, possibly bodily positions, gestures, and, in the *yamalashemoina*.

At an inter-society level, various similarities have been found in terms of the situations in which body painting was worn (e.g. beautifying, first menstruation, wedding, mourning). Yet within such situations the designs worn show various differences, marking different society-related visual trends. Also, the Yámana and the Selk'nam wore paintings in very different situations (e.g. the Selk'nam wore paintings when hunting, and to celebrate a 'peace ritual', while the Yámana did not). There are some different but comparable situations, such as the Selk'nam war/combat and the Yámana blood revenge; yet their differences seem to have been deeper than their similarities, and clearly the use of body painting contributes to mark such differences.

Finally, the formal analysis based on systematic classification of motifs using clear type-categories has been a useful methodological tool to identify trends in the uses of certain designs (e.g. the E, Ex and F Selk'nam hunting motifs, and the Gx Selk'nam *xons* motifs) which might otherwise remain unidentified. The possibility of 'deconstructing' the motifs into simpler motifs and their decorative elements (e.g. Ex being formed by Gx plus F; Gx being formed by three dots, F being formed by lines) shows that the potential arbitrariness of motif classification is substantially reduced when keeping the identification of motifs and decorative elements consistent. In doing so, it has been possible to use the visual data in a more dynamic way, since the motif classification has not hindered the use of the data to identify *different* but *non-contradictory* possible trends in the display of some motifs (such as Gx being worn as part of Ex hunting motifs *and* as a *xon* motif in its own right). The contrast between visual and written data has also shown the usefulness of treating these as independent sources of information, which can shed light on the analysis of the designs by helping to pinpoint details which could remain unclear if using only one source.

Secret making, shared images: ceremonial body painting.

6.1. Body paintings for initiation ceremonies.

The initiation ceremonies of the Selk'nam and the Yámana are the situations in which a greater variety of designs has been recorded. This is likely to be the result of both a greater emphasis on the creation of ceremonial designs by the aborigines, and a greater interest of the observers in recording them. The paintings played a crucial part in the development of the ceremonies, and their uses greatly varied according to the dynamics involved in each initiation process.

This chapter analyses the designs worn and viewed in the *chiéjaus* and *kina* Yámana ceremonies, and in the Selk'nam *hain*, and reveals some of their implications for these societies. Analyses are qualitative in most cases, mainly because the visual differences found in the designs are clear-cut enough to substantiate the studies. When qualitative analyses are not sufficient to search for visual patterns and conventions, and the data are enough, quantitative analyses have also been carried out, hence the different methods underlying each chapter section.

As in the previous chapter, the analysis focuses on the search for visual patterns that may have suited the specific ceremonial circumstances, and for visual codes of communication. The construction of age and gender differences are also explored, with the aim of analysing how social roles and relationships were partly established via the display of ceremonial body painting. Due both to the level of detail of the records, and to the nature of the ceremonial paintings, these differences are analysed further than in the everyday life situations and special occasions. The political manipulation of mythical oral and visual information as a means of power by the adults over the youngsters, and by the men over to women, is explored. It will be shown that such accumulation, manipulation, and transmission of knowledge created and reproduced an informational capital that generated and continued an internal social division which defies the classical notion that considers hunter-gatherer societies as entirely egalitarian due to the lack of classes. The different dynamics developed in the painting displays for each ceremony will be studied. Inter-society comparisons are developed in chapter 7.

6.2. The Yámana *chiéjaus*.

The *chiéjaus* was a mixed initiation ceremony through which the youngsters of both genders were introduced to the mythical knowledge, moral rules and working tasks which were considered essential for adulthood. The candidates were subject to fasting and hard work, as well as to an initiation rite (see below).

Written records about the *chiéjaus* mention its celebration in 1910, when Rosa was initiated for the first time (Stambuk 1986), and two ceremonies in which Gusinde participated, celebrated in February 1920 in Puerto Remolino (northern shore of Beagle channel) and in 1922 in Puerto Mejillones (Navarino island). The 1920 ceremony involved the initiation of three candidates (*uswaala*): Homestead (17 years old), Clemente (27), and Gusinde. The ceremony lasted for 10 days, and the total number of participants was about 24 (Gusinde 1986: 783). The chief of the ceremony was Alfredo (ibid: 781-782). Gusinde was strictly advised not to take notes or ask questions, and was not exempted from the hard work and the strict fasting required to be initiated. This weakened him, reducing his attention and memory. The ceremonial hut was built within the *estancia* buildings and the indigenous huts. Children were kept away from it by the ‘watchmen’. The development of the ceremony was openly stimulated by Gusinde’s contribution with food supplies (ibid: 780).

The second *chiéjaus* took place in March 1922, in Puerto Mejillones. Gusinde stated that this place was chosen because the aborigines felt much more comfortable there, “out of the sight of certain Europeans” (ibid: 784). The ceremony chief was Santiago, because Alfredo was away. In both ceremonies, Gusinde’s godparents were Chris and Gertie (ibid: 785). An elderly man called Pedro played the role of the ‘inspector’ (this role was not mentioned for the 1920 ceremony). The aboriginal initiands were five (Manuel, 34 years old, Kines, 14, Walter II, 12, Elisa, 14, and Julia, 18, who was not Yámana but Alacaluf). According to Gusinde, this second *chiéjaus* was less rigorous than the 1920 ceremony, because Pedro was indulgent and did not strictly observe the rules (ibid: 786). This, in turn, was beneficial for him and Koppers, both of whom were being initiated, because they could ask questions and take notes. The *chiéjaus* hut was re-built using an old frame from the previous year (1921), when this ceremony had been celebrated, without any Western participation (ibid: 785).

There is a total of 22 visual records showing the *chiéjaus* body paintings: 2 drawings (Y7, Y8) and 20 photographs (Y16, Y18, Y19, Y23, Y24, Y25, Y26, Y27,

Y28, Y29, Y30, Y39, Y49, Y50, Y51, Y52, Y53, Y61, Y73 and Y74). Of these, all, except Y61¹, were taken by Gusinde and Koppers, and published by them too. Of the 20 photographs, five were taken during the 1920 *chiéjaus* (Y25, 26, 49, 50, 73), eight were taken in 1922 (Y18, 23, 24, 27, 30, 39, 51, 53); there is no accurate information about the rest.

6.2.1. The initiation rite: the young men discover the secret.

At the beginning of the *chiéjaus* the male initiands were subject to a fight with an adult man who impersonated an evil spirit called Yetaita, by wearing body painting. His body was painted with white ground and short red lines, while, in contrast, his face was painted with a red ground and white lines in many directions; his head was covered with white powder (Chapman 1987: 96). It is unknown if this design had a meaning.

After fighting with the initiand, the man revealed his real identity. But the initiands were warned that the real Yetaita would attack them in the woods if they did not behave (ibid). There existed other *chiéjaus* spirits, which “were mostly humans of mythical times who had been transformed into different animals” (ibid). Yet the ceremony’s body painting was not focused on their ornamentation, but rather on the – human – participants.

The fact that this rite had to be passed by the male initiands marks a gender division within this mixed initiation ceremony. This ambivalence – creating a ceremony for both genders which yet involed gender differences – is pervasive along this ceremony, and also noticeable, with a much stronger male bias, in the *kina* ceremony.

6.2.2. Roles and gender.

Of the 214 Yámana individuals recorded in the visual records, 106 appear taking part of *chiéjaus* ceremonies. Of these, 91 appear in photographs and 15 in drawings. Excluding repetitions, and considering only those with high visibility, the sample is reduced to 51 individuals. Of these individuals, 17 are initiands, 3 are godparents, 6 are watchmen and 25 are participants whose roles could not be confirmed. Three of these

¹ Y61 was published in 1900 in an article by Morton Middleton, without any reference to the author and content of the photograph. It has been afterwards published by Chapman (1997: 97), as a photograph illustrating the *chiéjaus* ornaments of a youth. According to this book, the photograph was taken by Furlong. A copy of the photograph is held in the Royal Geographical Society, where the records state “W. Barclay, 1903”.

roles (initiant, godparent and participant) were played by individuals of both genders, while the watchman role was only played by men (Y26, Y50).

Table 6.1. *Chiéjaus* roles and gender (individuals in good visibility photographs)

	F	M	Total
godparent	2	1	3
initiant	4	13	17
participant	13	12	25
watchman		6	6
Total	19	32	51

The fact that the three first roles were played by both men and women accords with the circumstance that this ceremony was intended for initiating both young men and women, and that each initiant, no matter if male or female, had a female and a male godparent, which then entails that, at least formally, they were both in power of instructing and assessing him/her to pass the initiation.

The watchmen were in charge of taking the initiands to the ceremonial hut, and of making sure that they would not ‘escape’. In the *chiéjaus* photographs taken by Gusinde, the watchmen’s actions seem rather posed than actual. Even photo Y50, which is supposed to be showing how an initiant was ‘trapped’ with a painted ceremonial rope, shows a very static, calm and posed scene. It may be possible that this role was indeed more dynamic in the past; for example, Rosa recalled that she was reluctant to enter the big hut when initiated (Stambuk 1986: 43).

A X^2 test shows that there was no relation between the gender of the individuals and their involvement as initiands or participants in the *chiéjaus* ceremonies ($X^2=2.33$, $df=1$; given the low numbers of godparents and initiands identified in the photographs, these could not be taken into account in the test).

6.2.3. Roles and age.

It is clear that the godparents and watchmen roles were to be played by adults, since this was an age-oriented ceremony, in which the initiands transition to the adult roles was marked/constructed. It is also noticeable that the old individuals were not playing roles as godparents or watchmen. But it should be remembered that some of them did play the important role of “chief” and/or “inspector”.

Table 6.2. *Chiéjaus* roles and age groups.

age	godparent	initiaand	participant	watchman	Total
a	3	6	18	6	33
ch		1	1		2
o			5		5
y		10	1		11
Total	3	17	25	6	51

In the ceremonies observed by Gusinde and Koppers, the initiands individuals' ages ranged from 14 to 34 years old. It is likely that this wide range of ages was related to the fact that the Yámana society was rapidly disintegrating by the early XX century, consequently making the occurrence of these ceremonies more infrequently, and hence allowing persons of older ages (whom otherwise would have been already initiated by then) as initiands. Yet Gusinde mentioned that another *chiejaus* had been celebrated in 1921, hence the attendance of initiands may have been influenced by other circumstances as distance or engagement in working activities with non-aboriginal people.

This loosening of the rules about the age of the participants can also be clearly noted by the fact that, at least in the photographs, there are children wearing facial paintings and head bands, and holding painted dancing wands as the initiands and adults did (e.g. Y28). Even though these photographs are taken outside the ceremonial hut, and that it is likely that these children were then not let inside it, this indicates that age difference was not as important as it may have been before.

6.2.4. Age and position of the designs on the body.

There seems not to have existed a straightforward relation between the age of the wearer of *chiejaus* paintings and the general position of the designs on his/her body (face or body or both). Given the low number of cases of children and old individuals, a X^2 test could only be carried out for the adult and young cases, showing that these age categories were not related to the general position of the paintings on the body ($X^2=0.12$; $df=1$).

Table 6.3. Age and general position of chiejaus body painting on the body.

	age				
portions	a	ch	o	y	Total
fa	17	2	3	7	29
fa + bo	16		2	4	22
Total	33	2	5	11	51

When considering the body portions in more detail (face, arms, trunk, legs), the observations suggest that there may have existed an age distinction related to the portions of the body that each individual could/should get painted: the youngsters only had their faces or their faces and arms painted, while the adults also painted their legs and their trunks. These differences could be related to the different number of individuals of each age category, but this could not be assessed by a X^2 test due to the very few cases in some of the categories.

Table 6.4. Age and body portions painted for the *chiéjaus*.

	age				
portions	a	ch	o	y	Total
f	17	2	3	7	29
f – a	6		2	4	12
f – a – l	7				7
f – a – t	3				3
Total	33	2	5	11	51

6.2.5. Gender and position of the designs on the body.

Both men and women painted their faces and their faces and bodies for the *chiéjaus*, and a X^2 test shows that there was no relation between the gender of the wearer and the general portion of the body that he/she got painted ($X^2=0.01$; $df=1$). This is interesting in particular because it indicates that, within the *chiéjaus* context, which was a mixed-gender ceremony, there were no gender differences in relation to the general portions of the body to be painted. This is also true for the wearing of the *hapaxel* (down head band), which was also worn indifferently by men and women.

Table 6.5. Gender and general position of body painting for the *chiéjaus*.

	gender		
portions	F	M	Total
fa	11	18	29
fa + bo	8	14	22
Total	19	32	51

Yet when looking at the painted body portions in more detail, a gender difference starts to arise. Both men and women painted their faces, faces plus arms, and faces plus arms and trunks, but only the men painted their faces plus arms and legs.

Table 6.6. Gender and body portions painted for the *chiéjaus*.

	gender		
portions	F	M	Total
f	11	18	29
f – a	6	6	12
f - a – l		7	7
f - a – t	2	1	3
Total	19	32	51

A more subtle gender difference observed is that the few women (2) that painted their trunks for the *chiéjaus* (Y29), did not paint them entirely, and only painted the upper part of their chests and shoulders, covering their breasts and abdomen with (western) clothing. Contrarily, the man that painted his trunk for the *chiéjaus* (alone in Y18, and in a group photo Y24), painted his whole trunk². This forms part of the situations related to gender differences and western influences observed in chapter 3.

6.2.6. *Chiéjaus* motifs and combinations.

The *chiéjaus* is the situation in which the Yámana employed a greater diversity of *combinations of motifs* (21 out of 41 combinations), and also of *motifs* regardless of combination (19 out of 34 motifs). This higher variety of motifs points towards the idea that more elaboration of designs (in terms of diversity, not necessarily of complexity) was required and invested in this situation, but this may also depend on the fact that

² There is only one case of a Yámana woman wearing paintings all over her naked trunk (Y37), showing an old woman named Peine. But unfortunately there is no information indicating the kind of situation in which the woman was wearing this painting.

there is a higher frequency of high visibility photographs which record individuals in this situation.

Yet it cannot be stated that there existed a straightforward or quantitative relationship between a motif or combination of motifs and the *chiéjaus* ceremony, because the X^2 test of motifs per situation could not be calculated due to the low number of expected motifs in many cases.

Table 6.7. Combinations of motifs worn in the *chiéjaus*.

Type motifs	Total
A	4
A (yf)	12
A (yf) + CJ1 + H + H1d	1
A + Ap	1
A + B + CJx	1
A + CJ	1
A + F + H	1
A + H1	1
Ap	4
Ap (yf)	3
Ap + F	1
AxB (yf)	1
B	3
B (yf)	2
BAR	1
F	4
F + Apl	2
F + H + H1	1
G	2
H1 + Vi	1
No motifs	3
Z	1
21 combinations	51 individuals

Of the 21 motif combinations worn for the *chiéjaus*, 8 of them include motif A, which was worn by 22 of 51 individuals. This is the most frequently used motif in many other situations, such as the *kina* ceremony, and mourning. Regardless of combinations, the *chiéjaus* designs involved 19 motifs, 6 of which are used only in this ceremony (Apl, AxB yf, B, CJ, CJx, and H1d), and never worn in any other situation, but their frequencies are very low to make an empirical basis from which to suggest the existence of a pattern of use of these for the ceremony.

Table 6.8. *Chiéjaus* motifs regardless of combination.

Motifs	Total
A	15
A (yf)	13
Ap	6
Ap (yf)	3
Apl	2
AxB (yf)	1
B	4
B (yf)	2
BAR	2
CJ	2
CJ1	2
CJx	2
F	9
G	2
H	4
H1	3
H1d	2
Vi	1
Z	1
Total	76

6.2.7. Motifs and age.

The relation of the motifs (regardless of their combination) with the age of the wearer is not straightforward, but it shows some interesting differences. The age group that wore the greatest variety of motifs was the adults. Although this could be related to the greater number of adult individuals, the young individuals cases are not scattered along various of the motifs, but rather concentrated in only four of them. (Most of the motifs worn in the *chiéjaus* appear with a very low frequency, hence it is impossible to carry out a X^2 test to assess the association between age and motif types; the same problem arises in relating the motifs with the roles of the wearers).

Table 6.9. *Chiéjaus* motifs and age of wearers.

Motifs	a	ch	o	y	Total general
A	13		1	1	15
A (yf)	7			6	13
Ap	4		2		6
Ap (yf)	3				3
Apl	2				2
AxB (yf)			1		1
B	3		1		4
B (yf)		1		1	2
BAR				2	2
CJ	2				2
CJ1	2				2
CJx			2		2
F	8		1		9
G	2				2
H	4				4
H1	3				3
H1d	2				2
Vi	1				1
Z	1				1
Total general	57	1	8	10	76

The comparison between the variety of motifs worn by the adults and the concentration of the young cases may indicate that the adults had more freedom and/or were expected to show more diversity as a part of their role in the ceremony. Motifs A (grouping varieties A and Ayf) and F were the most frequently worn.

Table 6.10. *Chiéjaus* motifs A and F, and others (lumped) in relation to adult and young age categories.

motifs	adult	young
A	20	7
F	8	0
Others	29	3
total	57	10

Motif A was worn by adults and young persons, while motif F was worn by adults, and by no young individual, again potentially visually marking an age continuity in the first case, and an age difference in the second one. These observations can be

related to Gusinde's descriptions of the *initiands' chiéjaus* paintings (ibid: 827-831; drawing Y7):

- a) one, two or three thin transversal lines from the nostrils or the corner of the lips, towards the ear lobes; usually red, exceptionally black
- b) thin red lines from the lower eyelid towards the cheek, varying in quantity from 3 to 15
- c) occasionally, and also for the night dances and when receiving visitors, the initiands were painted with other designs (not described by Gusinde).
- d) a white ground was often applied to the face first, to enhance the designs applied on top.

Although these face paintings were permanently worn by the initiands to identify them, they could also be worn by the adults. Body painting, instead, was not usually worn by initiands. The paintings were applied by the godparent, and retouched twice a day, because they faded (chapter 4).

The description of the designs in 'a' and 'b' mainly coincides with motif A (a series of parallel lines, worn vertically or horizontally). The design described in 'b', as well as some of the drawings in Y7, coincide with motif B (vertical lines radially painted from the eyelids to the cheeks). One of the cases of 'a' – a transversal line from nostrils to ear lobe –, also observable in Y7, corresponds to motif F, also frequently worn in the *chiéjaus*.

In relation to the *adult participants* (ibid: 882-884; drawing Y8), the simplest design they wore was a red transversal line, painted across the cheeks, from the nostrils towards the ear lobes. This coincides with motif F, which has been observed in 9 individuals, 8 of which are adults, and 1 old, hence confirming entirely Gusinde's observation. There are no youngsters or children participating in the *chiéjaus* wearing this motif, which in turn points towards its age exclusivity.

There were other more complex motifs, which were worn by the adult participants at least during the evening dances, and, if they wanted to, also during the day (ibid). These motifs were chosen according to the individual's wish, and their use was not fixed and could be changed every day. The examples given by Gusinde consist of four motifs: B(yf), A, Q, and Ax (Y8). The first three individuals that appear in drawing Y8 are variations of motif B(yf), differing on the number of lines, on the colour, and on the use (or lack of) a contrasting colour ground. No ground has been

observed in the photographs related to this motif and situation. This motif was presented by Gusinde as worn by women, but it appears in the photographs as worn by men too. Conversely, motifs A and Ax, which appear in Gusinde's drawing and text as worn by men, have also been observed in women (e.g. Y21, Y41).

Gusinde asserted in his usual style, overstating a past-present continuity, that "According to the ancient prescription, nobody could be seated in the Big Hut without wearing facial paintings." (ibid). But at the same time, he noted that the customs of body painting and head band wearing for the *chiéjaus* ceremony had been loosened, especially in the adults' case. This is particularly interesting, since on the verge of tradition loss, it is not to be expected for the adults or older persons to be those losing the traditions, but more likely for the young individuals to be less interested in perpetuating them. If correctly recorded by Gusinde, this reversal of the most commonly expected panorama seems to indicate that the *chiéjaus* bodily ornament customs would still be enforced over the youngsters/initiands, marking their subjection to the power of the adults/initiated. In this way, although the *chiéjaus* tradition may have been losing its social importance, intensity and depth, the age and role difference which was the core of its purpose seems to have been still important.

6.2.8. Motifs and gender.

The relation of the *chiéjaus* motifs to the gender of the wearer shows a similarly subtle pattern as with the age case. Out of the 19 motifs worn in the *chiéjaus*, 9 were worn both by men and women, 7 were only worn by men and 3 only by women. This already indicates that men had access to more variety, and had many more exclusive motifs to wear than women. In turn, this marks the existence of a gender division, which existed in spite of the fact that the *chiéjaus* was an initiation ceremony for both genders, and that both men and women played the roles of godparents.

Table 6.11. *Chiéjaus* motifs and gender of the wearer.

motifs	F	M	Total
A	2	13	15
A (yf)	6	7	13
Ap	2	4	6
Ap (yf)	2	1	3
Apl		2	2
AxB (yf)	1		1
B	1	3	4
B (yf)	1	1	2
BAR		2	2
CJ		2	2
CJ1	2		2
CJx		2	2
F	4	5	9
G		2	2
H	2	2	4
H1	2	1	3
H1d	2		2
Vi		1	1
Z		1	1
No motif	16	21	37
Total	43	70	113

Beyond this qualitative gender difference, a statistically significant quantitative difference could not be established ($X^2=0.6$; $df=1$; level of confidence=99%; test carried out only considering the most frequent motifs: A and F, and excluding the rest, because of their low frequencies).

Table 6.12. Motifs A, F and others (lumped), per gender of wearer.

	female	male
A	8	20
F	4	5
others	15	24
total	27	49

6.2.9. *Chiéjaus* decorative elements.

Consistently with the variety of motifs, the variety of **decorative elements** with which the *chiéjaus* motifs were constructed is also the highest in the Yámana situations of body painting use. Out of the 12 decorative elements used by the Yámana in their body paintings, eight were used at least once in the *chiéjaus* paintings.

Table 6.13. Decorative elements (without combination) worn the *chiéjaus*.

		%
BA	2	1.8
DCL	1	0.9
DCL/RD	0	0.0
DS	1	0.9
DT	5	4.5
GR	30	26.1
LI	58	52.3
LI/RD	0	0.0
PT	3	2.7
RD	13	10.8
RCDS	0	0.0
RPDS	0	0.0
Total	113	100.0

This makes the *chiéjaus* ceremony the situation in which most decorative elements were used, followed by the mourning occasion and the *kina* ceremony, in which 7 elements were used. Of the decorative elements used in the *chiéjaus*, the lines were the ones used more often (52.3%), followed by the ground and by the rows of dots. This is not a unique feature of the *chiéjaus* paintings (since lines outnumber any other decorative element in every situation) and does not mark a clear difference in the *chiéjaus* paintings from the paintings worn in the rest of the situations. The dashes and dots (not forming rows) were uniquely used in the *chiéjaus* paintings, but these elements were nevertheless worn in very low frequencies and do not mark a clear trend.

6.2.10. Decorative elements and gender.

The use of these decorative elements by gender shows no important qualitative and statistical differences ($X^2=0.65$, $df=2$; test carried out considering GR, LI and RD decorative elements), which in turn indicates that the male and female designs were made basically using the same elements. This in turn accords with the context of the ceremony, in which both genders were initiated.

Table 6.14. *Chiéjaus* decorative elements and gender of the wearer.

types dec elem	F	M	Total
BA		2	2
DCL		1	1
DS	1		1
DT	1	4	5
GR	14	16	30
LI	22	36	58
PT		3	3
RD	5	8	13
Total	43	70	113

6.2.11. Decorative elements and age.

The relation between decorative elements and age could not be assessed by means of the X^2 due to the low frequencies of the young category in comparison to the adult one. Nevertheless it is clear that, when observing the most frequently used decorative elements (GR, LI and RD), the proportions of these are similar in both categories, suggesting that there was no substantial difference between the two. This indicates that although age difference was a critical point within the ceremony – this being an initiation to adulthood –, this difference seems not to have been visually marked by the use of different decorative elements.

Table 6.15. *Chiéjaus* decorative elements and age of the wearer.

Types Dec. elem.	a	ch	o	y	Total
BA				2	2
DCL	1				1
DS	1				1
DT	4		1		5
GR	21	1	3	5	30
LI	43	1	5	9	58
PT	3				3
RD	10		2	1	13
Total	83	2	11	17	113

6.2.12. Colours, decorative elements, age, gender and role of the wearers.

The *chiéjaus* motifs were painted in the usual colours used by the Yámana (red, white and black). The decorative elements with which the motifs were constructed³ show a higher proportion of dark elements. This tendency could be related to the adding of red plus black in the same category ('dark'), because the recording of the data is based on black and white photographs, but it still indicates a 'non-white' colour preference.

Table 6.16. Number and proportion of decorative elements and colour.

Colour	Number of decorative elements	percentage
Dark	60	53%
White	49	43.3%
White and dark	4	3.5%
total	113	100%

No qualitative or quantitative/statistical relationships could be established between colour and the age, role, or gender of the wearers (age and colour $X^2=4.40$, $df=2$; role and colour $X^2=1.56$, $df=2$; $X^2=0.00$, $df=1$, all tests made without considering the 'white plus dark' category due to its low frequency).

Table 6.17. Age and colour in *chiéjaus* paintings

Colour	a	ch	o	y	Total
Dark	49		4	7	60
White	30	2	7	10	49
white & dark	4				4
Total	83	2	11	17	113

³ As noted in the methodology section, because some motifs are made of more than one decorative element, and because these may be of different colour, it is better to calculate the colour proportion for decorative elements, since the motif's colour proportion will be influenced by their differential number of decorative elements.

Table 6.18. Role and colour in *chiéjaus* paintings.

colour	godparent	initiand	participant	watchman	total
dark	6	13	29	12	60
white	2	12	29	6	49
white & dark		1	3	4	4
total	8	26	61	113	113

Table 6.19. Colour and gender in *chiéjaus* paintings.

	F	M	Total
Dark	23	37	60
White	18	31	49
white & dark	2	2	4
Total	43	70	113

Most of the decorative elements used to make the *chiéjaus* motifs show both dark and white cases. Nevertheless, when analysing the colours of those elements which were most frequently used (LI, GR and RD), it is noticeable that the lines were most often painted in dark colours, while the ground was almost always painted in white. This results in a strong relationship between decorative element and colour ($X^2=53.05$, $df=2$, 99% level of confidence).

Table 6.20. Decorative elements used in *chiéjaus* motifs and colour.

	dark	white	white & dark	Total
BA		2		2
DCL			1	1
DS		1		1
DT	4	1		5
GR	1	29		30
LI	49	9		58
PT	1	2		3
RD	5	5	3	13
Total	60	49	4	113

This use of colour suggests that no matter which motif was being made, dark lines were used on a white ground, possibly to enhance contrast between the two. The reason why the contrast was not made otherwise (i.e. dark ground and white lines) is not clear, and it ranges from exclusively aesthetic reasons to other potential meanings of the designs. Given that there is no information indicating that the *chiéjaus* paintings had

any meaning or representational qualities, it is likely then that the choice was made for a plastic reason.

When comparing the use of colour in the *chiéjaus* in relation to other situations, it is noticeable that although the same colours have been used in all the situations, the proportions of their use are different: the *chiéjaus* is the only situation in which dark colours prevail, while in the *kina* and the mourning situations, as well as the situations in which the individual is posing for the camera with no identified context of action, the most frequently used colour is white. This tendency is statistically confirmed ($X^2=22$, $df=4$, 99% confidence; the test was carried out without considering the white and dark category, and the shaman's school case for their low frequencies; it was also carried out without considering the "posing" category, with positive results).

Table 6.21. Use of colours in decorative elements per Yámana situation (only situations with high frequency cases are shown).

	<i>chiéjaus</i>	<i>kina</i>	posing (no defined situation)	mourning	shaman's school
dark	60	12	11	5	2
white	49	37	27	21	2
white & dark	4		8	4	
Total	113	49	46	30	4

This trend nevertheless does not imply straightforwardly the existence of a visual code of colour use related to the *chiéjaus*: the recognition of a person as a *chéjaus* participant could not be solely based on the colour/s he/she was wearing. Rather, it is more likely that it was the combination of visual features such as motifs, orientation, together with colour (plus head bands and dancing wand) what defined the appropriate ornamentation for this ceremony.

6.2.13. *Chiéjaus* decorated paraphernalia.

Both initiands and adult participants had to wear the *hapaxel* (down head band), which the godparent made and gave to the initiand (Gusinde 1986: 829). As seen in chapter 5, this ornament had a symbolic meaning: it represented the foam of the sea waves. In the *chiéjaus*, this object was part of a broader symbolic structure, which

included the head band, the decorated wands, and the big hut itself. The wands⁴, which were moved with rocking, sinuous and turning movements while dancing, represented the sea waves, while the hut represented an *alain*, a rocky cave near the shore, reached by the sea. Decorated tablets were also hung inside the hut (Y3), and parts of the frame of the hut itself were also painted (Y2, Y98; Lothrop 1928: 167, Stambuk 1986: 43), as well as the rope to catch runaway initiands (Y23, Y26, Y50), but no explanation of their potential meaning is given. The relationship between the symbolic contents of hut, head band and dancing wands, were very much related to the sea, which is consistent with the Yámana mode of life. Yet their relation to the paintings designs is not clear.

The wands, tablets and hut frame decoration was mainly constructed by using dots, circles, dashes and lines, reaching much more variety in the tablets (see plate in chapter 3 and plates below). The designs were painted with red, white and black, and are mostly symmetric, achieved from the translation of one or two decorative elements. Rotation is much less frequent. Some of the designs are similar to those found on facial paintings (e.g. motif A, motif Ap), while various others are different, especially because of the use of circles, which do not appear in any of the body paintings. Further comparisons between the treatment of the human body and of the objects as painting fields are presented in appendix O.

A final observation in relation to the ethnographic wooden painted tablets is that their sub-rectangular shape with notched tip, made to tie and hang it, shows a resemblance with the archaeological bone engraved⁵ objects (spatula/tablets?) found in Beagle Channel sites (Tunel I and Imiwaia I; see chapter 3)⁶. The differences in raw materials, decorative techniques and designs of these objects, and the old date of the archaeological artefacts (6000 to 4000 BP), do not suggest that there existed a straightforward continuity of production of decorated hanging tablets, which would have lasted for an overwhelming period of time. Nevertheless, the coincidence in the creation of objects which bear clear shape similarities is striking, and might suggest that part of a visual tradition may have been transmitted and continued by the populations living in the area.

⁴ See Y3, Y16, Y19, Y23, Y24, Y26, Y27, Y28, Y29, Y30, Y39, Y50, Y58, Y68, Y71, Y73.

⁵ Paint, if applied at all, is likely to have been erased by post-depositional factors, although there are potential painted cases that need to be studied microscopically.



FIG. 84.—Pintura facial de los participantes adultos

Plate 6.1. *Chiéjaus* facial paintings (Y8).

⁶ The hanging of the archaeological artefacts needs to be confirmed with microwear analysis, but the macroscopic shape of the notches the objects bear in one of their ends openly indicates that that was their purpose.

Plate 6.2. *Chiéjaus* facial paintings (Y7).



Plate 6.3. *Chiéjaus* facial paintings and wands (Y16).



Plate 6.4. *Chiéjaus* facial and body paintings worn by the ‘guardians/officers’ and string used to ‘catch’ the escaping candidates (Y26).



Plate 6.5. *Chiéjaus* facial and body paintings and string used to ‘catch’ the escaping candidates (Y23).



Plate 6.6. *Chiéjaus* facial paintings and wands (Y28).



Plate 6.7. *Chiéjaus* facial and body paintings and wands (Y29).



Plate 6.8. *Chiéjaus* facial paintings worn by initiands while doing working tasks (Y51).



Plate 6.9. Decorated *chiéjaus* hut boards (Y98).

6.3 The Yámana *kina*.

The existence of the *kina* ceremony was firstly reported by T. Bridges (1897), but his brief account does not include any descriptions of body painting use. Yet already in this document he mentions that the women and children were excluded from the *kina* (1897: 58-61), which indicates the trend and tone of the ceremony. The development of the ceremony was observed jointly by Gusinde and Koppers in march 1922 in Puerto Mejillones, Navarino island (Gusinde 1986: 1302).

The information analysed in this section comes from their written texts, and their photographs, which show male individuals painted as spirits, mostly wearing masks (Y40, Y42, Y43, Y47, Y75, Y76, Y77, Y78, Y79, Y80), and the involvement of women in the ceremony (Y40, wearing facial painting, Y43, not painted); other photographs and drawings, published by Gusinde, Koppers, Lothrop and Olivares and Quiroz, show the painted masks (Y4, Y57, Y59, Y60, Y69, Y70) that the men wore to represent the spirits.

As stated in chapter 2, the *kina* had not been celebrated for 30 years. In this case it lasted for four days (Koppers 1991:101-118), although Gusinde was told that in ancient times it lasted at least for some weeks, and even for four months (Gusinde 1986: 1293). The goal of the ceremony was to subordinate the women and make them obedient to the men, and they justified their actions with the myth of origin, in which the women had celebrated the *kina* to suppress the men (ibid: 1321). The purpose and justification mechanism are identical to the Selk'nam *hain*, but as it will be shown here, the dynamics of the ceremony clearly show deep differences.

The candidates had to firstly pass the *chiéjaus* twice in order to be allowed in the *kina* (ibid: 1322, 1325). But at the time Gusinde was observing the ceremony, the rules were less strict, and it was considered enough if the candidates had passed the *chiéjaus* once (ibid: 1303). The participants did not sleep or eat in the big hut as they did in the past (ibid: 1307). This was rightly interpreted by Gusinde as an indication of the loss of much of the seriousness about this custom (ibid: 1324). Gusinde admitted that “the most important thing for them [the Yámana] was to show us the most significant features of this celebration; what goes beyond this they leave aside, since they do not want to make too big an effort.” (ibid: 1307). Two young men, nevertheless, remained in the *kina* hut to guard it. Pedro Masemikens was the director of the ceremony (ibid: 1302).

This ceremony was mainly male, although a woman “worthy of trust” (ibid:

1294) was allowed to participate and hence got to know “the secret” (ibid: 1301). This female participation, though restricted, marks a deep difference with the strictly male Selk’nam *hain* ceremony (see section 6.4).

6.3.1. The *kina* hut decoration.

The *kina* hut, a big conical wooden structure, was decorated in the inside. The wall was painted at a man’s height with three bands of about three fingers width each, which were, from top to bottom, black, white and red (Gusinde 1986: 1299). These lines were the representation of a rocky maritime coast. The colours themselves were representational: red symbolised the beach rocks, covered in red maritime algae (*rhodopyceae*), white represented the foam of the waves, which reaches these rocks, and black represented the mussels which live stuck to these rocks (ibid: 1300). Gusinde stated that the masked men went out of the hut as if the *kina* spirits ascended from the sea to the shore (ibid). This is clearly related to the sea’s importance in Yámana life, and marks a contrast with the Selk’nam spirits, which were mostly not related to the sea.

This representational quality of colour is very interesting, in that meaning was expressed mainly by this feature and not by a specific motif. The shape of the bands seem to have been less important than their colour in constructing and conveying the message about the rocky shore.

The description of the *kina* hut interior painting by Koppers differs entirely from Gusinde’s account. Koppers stated that

“In ancient times the *Kina* hut received a painting in the interior. The elderly showed us where and how it was done. At half height of a man they drew around him two black lines of the width of two or three fingers. This painting was not applied now because the existing colorants in the *chiéjaus* had run out and besides because we did not want to demand too much to the people who were so busy.” (Koppers 1991: 101).

The reason for the difference between Gusinde’s and Koppers’ descriptions is not clear. I can only suggest that Gusinde may have gathered verbal information separately or during another visit. The fact that he wrote about it as if he had seen it is not surprising, given the style of his text, in which he mixed quotations – acknowledged and unacknowledged – with actual observations.

The interior decoration of the *kina* hut indicates that some of the visual productions generated within this ceremony were not intended for the ‘public’ in the camp, but only to the participants of the ceremony, who had access to the hut. This, in

turn, implies that in spite of the existence of a hoax to oppress the women, at least some of the procedures of the *kina*, which involved the creation of visual images, did have a further meaning for the participants. The decoration of the interior hut frame also coincides with the Yámana custom of decorating objects by painting them, which has been recorded in the *chiéjaus* ceremony. This marks a difference with the Selk'nam customs, which did not involve the decoration of any object other than the spirits masks.

6.3.2. The presentation of the initiands in the big hut and the discovery of “the secret”.

The process through which the initiands got to know “the secret” is described by Gusinde by explaining how a woman named Gertie was introduced to the *kina* hut (photo Y40, published by Koppers). Gusinde stated that this formality was only accomplished in her case, but that this procedure had been compulsory in all cases in the past (Gusinde 1986: 1309-1310). Koppers also described Gertie's introduction, but he noted that there was no certainty in relation to the procedure involving the male candidates (1991: 116).

The candidate (or *uswaala*, same term used than in the *chiéjaus* ceremony) was blindfolded and taken by a relative to the *kina* hut. There he/she was made to face the wall opposite the entrance, and to lie down. Two masked and painted spirits (or one per initiand, when there were many candidates), went to the centre of the hut, where they danced and jumped, while the rest of the participants screamed and patted on the floor, and the ceremony chief gave some indications. Then the candidate and his/her guide were asked to stand up, and the spirits jumped towards them, pushing them as if wanting to make them fall. The guide took the blindfold off, so the candidate could see the spirits. The chief indicated to the candidate to grab the spirit from his head, and when this was done, he/she realised that the ‘head’ was a mask, hence revealing the secret. This unmasking was made simultaneously when more than one individual was being initiated (Gusinde 1986: 1309, 1310).

Immediately after discovering the secret, the initiands were instructed that they should never repeat what they had seen to any of the women or children who had never been in the big hut. Among these indications, Masemikens told Gertie that the swamps smelled so badly because in ancient times a woman who had found the secret and revealed it to the others was submerged in there. Hence the revealing of the secret to some of the women gave them a privilege, but with this came also a threat.

6.3.3. The men's (spirits) paintings.

There is a great discrepancy between the visual and written information about the *kina* spirits paintings. The photographs do not show the variety of designs that stems from the written records, and hence could bias the observer towards considering that the designs showed little variation. The reasons why Gusinde and Koppers did not photograph a wider variety of spirits remains unknown. In most cases the available photographs do not have captions indicating the name of the spirits, and sometimes the written descriptions do not seem to match exactly any of the photographed images, with the consequence that it is not possible to determine which spirit appears in the photograph (and hence its referent, its colours, etc.). This lack of visual information obviously influences the extent to which the visual analysis can be done.

The available written information about 47 spirits (gathered from Gusinde, Koppers and Bridge's texts) has been systematically organised in appendix P. Koppers and Bridges descriptions are minimal in comparison, and reduced to only a few spirits (all of which appear in Gusinde's text). Moreover, Gusinde himself admitted that there were other spirits that were not represented in the 1922 *kina* (and quotes them from Bridge's dictionary, who in turn does not describe them), so the sample under study is clearly not complete (1986: 1351). The analysis is then limited by all these records restrictions, and the results need to be considered as partial and necessarily incomplete.

In all the photographs that document the *kina* spirits paintings (Y40, Y42, Y43, Y47, Y75, Y76, Y77, Y78, Y79, Y80), it is noticeable that the paint was never applied to the entirely naked body of the men. They always wore either trousers with their legs rolled up (hence showing their painted calves), or underwear/loincloth over which they sometimes also continued the painted design. Gusinde also stated that in ancient times the men got the whole body painted, but that they later wore shorts (ibid: 1304).

All but one of the 47 visible spirits (Ciniku) were subordinate. There were also invisible spirits, who were non-subordinate and were never presented to the audience, hence did not wear body paintings, yet they had 'visible effects' (see section 6.3.6).

Most of the visible spirits names end with the term "yaka". According to Gusinde, it means "game"⁷ (1986: 1339); T. Bridges defined "yaka" or "yaga" in his dictionary as "imitation of resembling, after the different names of birds which or rather

⁷ Gusinde very often uses the term "game" within the description of each of the spirits, in relation to their referent: e.g. the "magellan penguin game", the "sea trout game", etc. (Gusinde 1986: 1349). This word

the traditional accounts of which were acted in the various drama like scenes of the ceena [*kina*] and murana and others” (Bridges 1933: 659).

The body painting design was different for each spirit. When comparing these, it is clear that some of them had great differences of colours and motifs, while others only differed in smaller details. In a few cases, they did not wear a mask, but facial and hair painting, a cloth or hide piece loosely covering the head, or a crown made of tree branches.

Due to the differences and similarities observed in the spirits designs, it is possible to establish some linkages between them. The patterns found in these groups of designs can a) indicate the existence of a visual code according to which the *kina* body paintings were created and viewed, and b) shed light on some aspects of the way in which it was constructed. The two variables that are available to correlate with the designs features are the referent of the body painting design and the provenance of the spirit.

All the spirits represented natural objects, either a determined portion of landscape, or, most commonly, an animal (some of which appear in the Yámana myths). The designs were *representational* in all cases, and at least some of them were also *figurative*, since Gusinde’s explicitly stated that the features of certain spirits designs were intended to represent some visual features of the natural referent of the spirit (e.g. their feathers, their scales, etc.).

The visible spirits had different places of provenance: heaven (two spirits), the woods (one spirit), and the sea (9, plus 7 who live in the sea although Gusinde does not mention their provenance); there is no information for the rest⁸. Due to the very few heaven spirits, a search for patterns on their designs in relation to this provenance seems pointless. They both (Ciniku and Kinaiağıllum) share in common that they are painted with red and white colours, but their designs are different, and while the latter wears a mask, the former wears a piece of hide painted in white.

The *sea* spirits do not show a relation between the range of colours used and their provenance, since they were painted in different colours: white, red and black. But the many sea spirits could be visually distinguished from the rest by the decorative elements in their paintings. These distinctions, in some cases, seem to be related to the

was possibly used because the presentation of the spirit may have been considered as a game or show, although the point is not clarified in the text.

kind of animal (fish, non-fish, etc.), while in others seem to have been arbitrary, or related to features of the fauna which I ignore.

Some sea spirits who represent *fish* share in common that their designs were constructed with:

- red semi-circles, which according to Gusinde represented their scales: Suna-yaka, Kalampasa-yaka and Wongoaleaka⁹.
- vertical short lines/dashes: Lepalus, Imakai and Hikufkalaia.

Instead, the only two sea spirits known to represent *non-fish* and *non-sea mammals*, are the only ones to be painted exclusively with a red ground: Huka-yaka (an octopus, who wore a piece of hide over the head instead of a mask), and Yekslef-yaka (a squid).

The only two *kina* spirits representing sea animals which are painted with a black ground and a white band (placed in a different position in each case) are Sauyanux (dolphin) and Sursa-yaka (penguin). This visual division from the rest of the sea animals seems clearly related to their physical aspect (mainly their colour, and also their size and shape), which distinguishes them from other animals such as fish or squids. These designs also relate them to some spirits whose referents are birds, whose paintings were also designed with black grounds and white bands (see below).

Another group of animals which were referents for the *kina* spirits are the *birds*. Again, these, as a group, cannot be distinguished from other spirits by their colours, since they were painted with red, black and white. But the birds could to an extent be distinguished from other referents by their decorative elements. They wore designs that include:

- dots: Kilaxila-yaka, Katanux-yaka¹⁰, Kixinteka-yaka, Kimoa-yaka

⁸ In the case of birds, their provenance is not indicated; they could be considered as sea animals because they live on its shores, and fly over it to travel and to feed, but I have not found information about this.

⁹ Wongoaleaka was already mentioned in chapter 4 because it had the task of gathering red pigments from the women in the camp. It was the son of a whale and had the shape of a fish (Gusinde 1986: 1345; Koppers 1991: 111), and for this reason he was painted with red semi-circles representing his scales. But its imaginary shape was more complex than a normal fish, since “its top half a beautiful girl and the lower half a simple fish” (Koppers 1991: 111). This “mermaid” aspect does nevertheless not seem to have been represented in the body painting. Wongoaleaka did not wear a mask, but a crown of branches. This is particularly interesting, since this spirit had to be in close contact with the women when visiting the camp and the identity of the wearer could then be discovered; yet the women were advised not to go out of their huts.

¹⁰ Gusinde noted that the design corresponding to this spirit looked exactly like the appearance of this maritime bird (Gusinde 1986: 1348).

- horizontal short lines/dashes: Wemarkipa-yaka, and Wilaueleyaka
- black grounds, mostly combined with white bands: Taperola-yaka, Yesex-yaka, Wasenim-Yaka and Touwisiwa-Yaka. This in turn bears a visual relation to the design of Sursa-yaka (the penguin) which might have been considered a bird; yet there is no clear explanation to why the spirit representing a dolphin (Sauyanux) was also painted with a similar design. Another possibility is that these birds were considered aquatic and hence different from the other birds and similar to the penguin and dolphin, but this remains to be confirmed.

These observations are not enough to indicate any clear pattern of colour or motif use that formed part of a visual code that operated underneath the construction, visualisation and interpretation of the *kina* spirits paintings. The recurrences noted here may have been part of such a code, but its existence has not been unveiled with the available information.

It is clear nevertheless that the *kina* spirits designs were representational, and that they were all different, visually marking the identity of the spirit that was being represented. In spite of this representational quality, there seems to have existed a need to present the spirits orally, since their appearances were announced by the ceremony chief. The spirits were presented by name, and sometimes some brief information about them was also provided (Gusinde 1986: 1337). Gusinde explained that the spirits were not recognisable by their movements (a point in which they clearly differ with the Selk'nam spirits), and that in many cases the paint only insinuated vaguely the natural appearance of the animal that they represented, and therefore they had to be announced (ibid: 1339).

This need of verbal information suggests that the visual information alone was not considered enough and/or appropriate to identify the spirits. This in turn may be related to a) a specific Yámana custom in which visual expressions were required to have parallel oral expressions, or b) a loss of the tradition about the *kina* spirits, hence requiring the support of oral information to make the spirits known to the female viewers (and also to the ethnographers, but in this case there was no need to make the announcements public). The first possibility is less likely, since within Yámana culture there are other visual manifestations through body painting which did not require any oral support; the clearest example of this are the mourning paintings. Nevertheless, this habit might have been specific to the *kina* ceremony. The second possibility seems more

likely, particularly when taking into account that when Gusinde and Koppers observed the ceremony, the Yámana had not celebrated the *kina* for 30 years¹¹. It is likely that given the low frequency of repetition of the ceremony, an important portion of the public may have been unfamiliar with the tradition, including the visual codes involved in it. For this reason, the use of oral information to introduce the spirits may have been required to convey some sense to the visualisation of the painted beings that were being presented to the audience.

6.3.4. More details on some of the spirits.

The creation and presentation of some spirits can be analysed with more detail, due to their importance for the Yámana, to the availability of information about them, and particularly to their implications in relation to the body painting use.

One of the spirits that is more frequently mentioned and that seems to have appeared in several occasions during the four days of the *kina* ceremony is Kalampasa. The term Kalampasa is used not to refer to just one spirit, but to at least three spirits and/or presentations of it: Kalampasa (Gusinde 1986: 1305), Kalampasa-yaka (ibid: 1349), Kalampasa-matu (ibid: 1307), and the son of Kalampasa (ibid: 1306, Koppers 1991: 103). The designs that these beings wore are also different, reinforcing the possibility that they were different spirits, or the same spirit in different situations¹².

Kalampasa-yaka was the spirit of a fish, and this was indicated by the semi-circles on his body painting, which represented fish scales. Kalampasa-matu, who wore very little painting, was either another spirit or a way of presenting Kalampasa in the domestic camp, to the women (see below). Kalampasa and the son of Kalampasa wore different body painting designs, but with the same central motif: Kalampasa wore white transversal bands criss-crossed by a central longitudinal band, on the chest (photo Y40); the son of Kalampasa also wore this motif, but over a red ground, and also wore four parallel white transversal lines around each arm, and his mask was painted with a white ground and red transversal lines on each side (photo Y79; Gusinde 1986: 1306, Koppers 1991: 103).

The presentation of Kalampasa entails a series of implications. Six men representing this spirit got out of the big hut, forming a compact line, embracing each

¹¹ The celebration may have undergone many differences and transformations when put into practice on the grounds of what the adults remembered from the previous *kina* ceremonies.

other. They remained still and singing repeatedly, and went back to the *kina* hut (Gusinde 1986: 1305). Photo Y40, published by Koppers, illustrates the appearance of these spirits. A number of observations can be made about this photograph. In the first place, the men are not wearing masks. Instead, they are wearing the lower half of their faces painted in white. This facial painting (and its function) is not described in any of the sources. Koppers explained that these spirits had presented themselves without wearing masks because the masks were not ready, and for this reason the ‘spirits’ became impatient and went out of the hut without wearing them (Koppers 1991: 103).

This photograph shows a woman standing next to the six men, wearing the same facial painting, but the men wear the Kalampasa design in their torsos, while the woman does not. Although it was stated both by Gusinde and Koppers that a few women were allowed to witness the whole ceremony, the presence of this woman is not explained in the text by any of them. It also is not mentioned by Koppers in the caption of the photo, although he does mention the names of all the men. The reason for her appearance next to these Kalampasa spirits, and for her facial painting remain obscure. Nevertheless, the document points clearly to the involvement of women in the ceremony not just as witnesses of the ‘secret’, but as actively linked to the spirits, even wearing partially the same body painting designs. Hence two gender issues are simultaneously present in this case. Some women had access to the secret and direct participation in at least one presentation of the male spirits, while at the same time they would not strip off their clothes as the men did to wear body paintings. These points mark some clear differences with the Selk’nam case (see section 6.4).

The fact that the six men representing the Kalampasa spirits without wearing their masks let Koppers (or Gusinde) take the photograph is also a crucial piece of information. It suggests that the Yámana men did not take the issue of the secrecy about the use of masks and paint as deeply and seriously as the Selk’nam did. As shown in chapter 4, a Selk’nam man would never have gone out of the big hut painted as a spirit and without wearing his mask, nor would he let anybody photograph him in such a state. Both Koppers’s text and photograph Y40 show a deep contrast between the Yámana and the Selk’nam positions in relation to this matter, which in turn are related to the function that the *kina* and *hain* ceremonies played respectively within each society. It is my contention that these differences are concordant with the socio-

¹² The descriptions of the son of Kalampasa’s body painting design are very similar to that of Kinaiağëllum, but there is no other information relating these spirits.

economic structures of these two societies and the position of the women within them (see chapter 7).

Although bearing quite a similar name, the Kalampasa-matu, seems to have been either a different spirit, or a different presentation, because it involved the visit of the men to the camp to check the behaviour of the women. Koppers noted that Kalampasa-matu “literally means Kalampasa-to walk, to visit” (Koppers 1991: 106). The only body painting involved in the visit of this spirit was a white line from the corner of the mouth to the ear lobes (Gusinde 1986:1307, Koppers 1991:106). According to Gusinde, this was enough since, because the presentation was done during the night, “it is not to fear that any of the women will look at the men face to face” (Gusinde 1986: 1307-1308).

Masemikens announced the arrival of the Kalampasa spirit by shouting from the *kina* hut to the camp, and told the women that he would visit the camp, and to lie down and cover themselves, without moving or peeping. This visit of a spirit to the camp, and the way in which the women were expected to behave, show a clear resemblance with the Selk’nam So’orte spirit visits to the camp (see section 6.4.4.a below). The group of men even entered one of the huts, while the women and children who were gathered there remained silent, still and covered. Body painting seems not to have been crucial here, since it was a) apparently reduced to a minimal expression due to the poor lighting situation, b) not expected to cover the face and disguise the identity of the men, who were not expected to be seen by the women. Nevertheless, it is still significant that the men did paint themselves (although minimally), which suggests that in this case the paint may have had other implications such as marking the spirit’s role, rather than a visual-deceitful importance.

Another spirit, Yekëslëfkipa, seems to have been related to the Yekëslëf-yaka spirit (a squid). Since *kipa* means woman, it is very likely that this was a female spirit, possibly the partner of Yekëslëf-yaka. The appearance of this spirit is not described, but Gusinde explained that the painting she wore is identical to the one she was wearing when the mythical female *kina* hut was attacked by the men (Gusinde 1986: 1350). This shows a coincidence with the structure and contents of the Selk’nam mythology, in which the mythical ancestors were converted into natural objects and their body painting patterns remained visible in their feathers, skin, etc. (see section 6.4). This information also hints towards the idea that the *kina* spirits’ designs were representational.

Finally, Ciniku was an extremely evil spirit, who murdered the men inside the big hut. His actions were hinted at by the men's sounds, as well as by the harpoons that the spirit placed against the hut entrance, to indicate that he used them to murder the men. There, he piled up his victims, while the women watched the scene. A *yekamush* appeared in the scene as if by chance, and neutralised Ciniku's presence, who ran away. The *yekamush* pretended to bring the men back to life with his magic (Gusinde 1986: 1342-1343). With this, he obviously reinforced his power as a shaman, as well as strengthened his male bonding with the men acting as spirits and as their victims, to the detriment of the "unknowing" women. This scene bears a clear resemblance with the killing of the Selk'nam men by Kotaix, and their revival by Olim (see section 6.4.4.j).

6.3.5. The women paint themselves.

The celebration of the revival of the men killed by Ciniku was the only situation recorded in Gusinde's text in which the women were painted during the *kina* (with the exception of the woman's painting in photo Y40, already commented above). After the men were returned to life by the *yekamush*, the women went to their dwellings to get painted. According to Gusinde "each one painted a white band, of a hand's width, which goes from the throat to the navel, and a red line, of a finger's width, from the corners of the lips to the ear lobes." (Gusinde 1986: 1343). It seems quite unlikely that Gusinde could observe this, since according to the written and visual records at this point in time the Yámana women were very reluctant to get naked, particularly in front of a foreign observer. It is possible that Gusinde was told about this painting as an ancient practice, and that he described it as if it had been still done in the 1920s.

The *yekamush* also painted himself (inside the big hut), with a red ground, big white dots and a white band of a palm's width, also from the throat to the navel (ibid). The purpose of these paintings can be said to be related to the celebration of the revival of the men, since the painted *yekamush*, the painted women, and the men, gathered together, and, following the *yekamush* indications, the women danced around the men, who sang and made specific rhythms by beating the ground (ibid).

6.3.6. Invisible spirits, visible effects.

The spirits mentioned and analysed so far are those which were visible and wore body painting. Within the Yámana mythology related to the *kina* ceremony, there were other spirits which were not visible; that is, they were never presented to the public

or within the hut. Nevertheless, the presence of these spirits was hinted with sonorous signs or verbally explained. The effects of the spirits' violent actions were sometimes visible, marked by a very specific painting procedure, which involved picking the noses of some of the participants with a stick in order to obtain blood, with which they bedaubed their faces. This procedure was put in practice in several situations, visually marking the presence of different spirits, so that the women could infer this by viewing the blood.

The most important spirit within the big hut was Lexakipa, a female being who was more powerful than the rest of the spirits, but benign with all the participants. She had the task of healing the men from the tortures applied by the evil spirits, and bringing them back to life when they were killed (Gusinde 1986: 1339-1340). This was verbally explained to the women by the ceremony chief, hence giving them a reason for their miraculous recoveries after the brutality of the spirits. Lexakipa was never represented/shown to the women, and no visual information is associated with her.

It is interesting to note that this benign, powerful spirit of the *kina* was female, which entails that the Yámana were able to have a positive attitude towards female beings, at least mythically. In contrast, the Selk'nam's most powerful being of the *hain* ceremony –Xalpén– was also female, but was cruel and most feared, showing the negative connotation that femininity had for this society (see section 6.4.4.c).

The most feared *kina* spirit, also invisible, was Tanuwa. His presence was hinted by sounds: strokes, which indicated that he was beating the men, and screams of the men, who suffered his beatings and defended themselves from his attack (idem: 1305-1306). The presence of Tanuwa was a threat for the initiands, the women, and, supposedly, the men. The initiands remained inside the big hut, with their heads covered, while specific sounds were made to hint that the spirit was arriving (ibid: 1340). The men's simulated deaths were announced by one 'surviving' man, both to the candidates and the audience in the camp. Some men made their noses bleed in the manner commented above, and all of them bedaubed their faces with it. With a series of specific sounds, they announced the arrival of Lexakipa from heaven, who made Tanuwa flee and restored the men back to life (ibid: 1341). They afterwards went to the camp, where all the women could see their bloody faces, a visual sign of Tanuwa's attacks.

As explained in chapter 4, this technique was not a male prerogative, since some

women also knew about it and put it into practice with the same purpose. The presence and aggressions of other less powerful but evil invisible spirits, Yamaalakemana and Koyutulaikipa, were also shown by bedaubing the men's faces with their own blood and showing them to their relatives (Gusinde 1986: 1344, 1345).

6.3.7. The Histuku game.

For this "game", the men painted their bodies with white and a red bowed line across their foreheads. They then formed a line, squatting, and slowly moving forward. The women were called by the ceremony chief by a specific sound. They ran towards the men, who formed a circle (still squatting), surrounded the men, pushed them and made them fall on the ground, 'killing' them. After this, the women ran away. The men stood up after some time, and silently went back to the big hut, where they washed their paint and cheerfully commented that they actually had not been murdered by the women (Gusinde 1986: 1350). Histuku is the spirit of the sea lion, and the scene represents a mythical fight that the women had with such an animal, who moved clumsily as the men did in the game, and was killed by a group of women (ibid: 1351).

This scene has a clear similarity with the Selk'nam Hostan game/dance (see section 6.4.5.a) in the "choreography" of the men's movements and in the men-killed-deceivers and women-killers-deceived relation, although the spirits involved in the Hostan and the Histuku games are clearly different.

6.3.8. The painting of the candidates, and their paraphernalia.

According to Gusinde, the candidates could be identified by their face paintings. He explained that in ancient times this painting consisted of a white ground over which a red horizontal line was painted, on the forehead (ibid: 1326). But then the candidates started to receive instead a head band made of hide, which was whitened before tying it to the candidate's head (ibid: 1327). This substitution is similar to that of the mourning tonsure, which was replaced by the headband (see chapter 5).

The initiand could also be painted by his/her guide with a complex design, constituted by thirteen thin red lines over a white ground, which radiate from the lower eyelids (motif B in the typology), and a red horizontal line, which joins the two eyes and also goes from the corner of the eyes towards the ears (ibid: 1327). This latter line is what I have described as the "Yámana factor", which is a detail that constitutes many of

the facial designs of this society, and has been recorded from the earliest photographs of 1882-1883 (Y32, Y33) to the 1930's (e.g. Y45). This design is very similar to that worn by some *chiéjaus* participants, regardless of the number of lines (a point rightly noted by Gusinde (ibid); see drawing Y8), and also by other wearers (see for example Y7, Y15, Y 27).

The initiand received from his godparent two rods of quadrangular section and a pointed end, which he/she was expected to hold with the point upwards when the mythical stories were told to him/her. Once the stories were ended, the rods were to be put on the hut frame (as they did with the *chiéjaus* dancing wands) until further use. These rods were frequently smeared by the godparent with dry red pigment (ibid: 1327). Drawings of these rods (with no apparent decoration), and of the head diadems appear in Y91 and Y92.



Plate 6.10. *Kina-talawaia* spirit (Y77).

Plates 6.11 and 6.12. *Kina* spirits (Y78, Y79).



Plate 6.13. *Kina* spirits without masks (towards the right there is a woman wearing facial paintings, this is not clearly visible in the copy of the photograph, but is more visible in the scanned copy in the CDrom, Y40).

6.4. The Selk'nam *hain*.

The *hain* body paintings have been documented by an anonymous Salesian missionary (in Belza 1974), L. Bridges (1935 and 1951) and mostly by Gusinde (1951, 1982)¹³. Chapman (1982) added data recorded from her informants, but did not observe the ceremony herself. The *hain* ceremony can be divided according to several events and spirits presentations that happen along its celebration. The order of the different appearances of spirits and different events of the *hain* ceremony was not completely fixed. The women could influence the order of spirits appearances by means of their singing (Chapman 1982).

The basic structure of the *hain* involved the initiation of young men into adulthood by learning the secret that the spirits presented in the ceremony were painted and masked men. The hoax had the aim of arousing the fear of the women of the malignant spirits and their compassion for the men, who appeared to suffer the spirits's evil attacks.

From the first day of the *hain*, the ceremony involved different kinds of body painting, which was produced and worn by different social actors: adult men, initiands and women. The number of different visible spirits (about 15) was less than those of the Yámana, but the variety of their painted designs and masks was much greater.

6.4.1. The first painting of the initiands (*klóketens*).

To start the *hain* ceremony, the initiands have to be cleaned and painted, as described in chapter 4. The red colour with which they are painted was considered especially beautiful and also pleasing to the spirits (Gusinde 1982: 806). There is no meaning or purpose recorded in relation to their facial painting. The facial design is described by Chapman as with three stripes, one on the centre of the nose and one on either side of the face. As it can be noticed in the two photographs showing the painted *klóketens* (S16, S40, both taken by Gusinde), these stripes are very irregular (hence the name “irregular stripes” by which I have identified them – see decorative elements list).¹⁴

¹³ The written texts mention the celebration of this ceremony in: 1914 (Anonymous Salesian Missionary in Belza 1974), 1920 (Gusinde 1920, Chapman 1997: 105), 1923 (Gusinde 1924, 1982), 1933 (Chapman 1982: 140).

¹⁴ Photo S112 by Gallardo (1910: 331), which has a caption indicating “a *klóketen*”, does not show this same facial painting design, but a coarse version of a typical, maybe everyday life Selk'nam design. 345



Plate 6.14. Painted klóketens, in their typical position as initiands (S16).

The mothers of the klóketens also got their faces painted. According to Chapman they were painted with the same design than their sons, but the only photograph that documents this (S39) shows the mother of the eldest initiand wearing a design which is not entirely the same as the *klóketens* designs, since it is not made by irregular stripes but by two opposed lines in L shape (one on each cheek) and a straight line running along the nose. According to this visual information it cannot be asserted that the face design worn by the mother is the same than the facial paintings of the initiands, although they share in common that the three lines/irregular stripes are vertically laid out along cheeks and nose, and that they are white.



Plate 6.15. Mother of the eldest *klóketen*, wearing facial paintings (note that she is also wearing a kocel, which is usually strictly a male head garment, S39).

The So'ortes appear for the first time in the open space in front of the big hut about the time when the *klóketens* painting is being finished. With this they point out that they are anxious to receive the initiands and the men who are still in the camp. These spirits then leave, going back to the *hain* hut, where the initiands were taken by their male guides and later discovered the secret (see section 6.4.3). After being initiated, the *klóketens* got painted for many scenes of the *hain* (see sections below), sometimes as themselves, not disguising their identities, and sometimes impersonating spirits. In both cases their performances played a part of the ceremonial hoax, in the former, they generated sympathy from the women (see below), in the latter, they were playing a clearly male-oppressive role.

6.4.2. The women's initial painting.

The women and girls got painted for many *hain* scenes (discussed in the corresponding sections). The first day of the ceremony they used red paint to cover their upper bodies (ibid.: 99). After the So'ortes got back into the hut, the women ran from the camp towards the centre of the 'stage' and back to the camp, shouting and swinging their arms and bodies, as a welcome to these spirits. During the *hain* of 1923, Gusinde observed that one of the girls fell down when she was running back. This circumstance was considered as a bad omen, so the girl was required to stay in her hut for four days, until the potential danger was over. Gusinde was told that in ancient times she would have been killed by a shaman (Gusinde 1982: 827).

6.4.3. The initiation rite: the discovery of "the secret".

Within the *hain* ceremony, there was a central event in which the initiands found out the "secret", that is, that the spirits were painted men wearing masks. This event (already described in chapter 4), was the core of the *hain* as regards the initiands, since by means of this process they passed from the non-initiated state to the initiated stage: they were initiated in the knowledge of the use of masks and paint to represent the spirits¹⁵ and oppress the women. The initiation rite happened almost immediately after the initiands were taken to the big hut, possibly because the 'secret' was difficult to keep within the hut (Chapman 1982: 104).

¹⁵ It cannot be stressed enough that the fact that the men represented the spirits and kept this "fake" in secret does not imply that they did not believe in them; contrarily, the Selk'nam did believe in the spirits, as Chapman has clearly demonstrated.

Here the use of the paint seems to an extent to be separated from the use of the masks: the revelation of the secret consisted in the initiands having to take off the spirit's masks after fighting with them (Gusinde 1982: 831-832), hence revealing their actual (human) identity. When the men had their heads uncovered, the initiands could recognise them. But their bodies were still painted. The revelation was not done by erasing the men's body painting, which would have been a much slower, less immediate process. The visual impact of the revelation was achieved by the abrupt transition from masked spirit to unmasked but still painted man. So the importance of body painting in revealing the secret seems not to have been its erasable quality (which was nevertheless crucial for the ceremony, and also in the myths), but its permanence in contrast to the absence of the mask.

6.4.4. The men's (spirits) paintings.

6.4.4.a. The So'ortes.

The men impersonated a series of different spirits, of which the So'ortes were the first to appear in public and crucial to the ceremony's development. The So'ortes wore a standardised design with several variations. There were seven principal So'ortes (S17, S18, S41, S42, S43, S44, S74, S118), corresponding to different cardinal points, related to the different kinship skies (*sho'ons*) and also symbolised in the *hain* hut posts. There were also various subordinate So'ortes (S45, S46, S47, S49, S51). All of them looked different.

The So'orte was the only spirit that appeared in the camp with a daily frequency. Moreover, he appeared more than once in the same day, and Chapman states that for this purpose their painting included symbols that corresponded to each period of the day (ibid.: 97). This proposition could not be tested against the designs layout for lack of written information to connect with the visual data, although the variety of layouts observed may have been related to such differences.

The basic So'orte design involved painting the trunk, upper arms and thighs with an entirely or partly red ground, and big white dots on top, the calves and lower arms in white, and the hood-like mask (*asl*) painted with a ground colour matching the body, and usually with a white band across the eyes¹⁶.

¹⁶ Not all the individuals photographed playing the So'orte role wear a white band around the eyes, since some of them have their entire face painted in one colour, vertically divided in two halves, or painted with

This design has a double layer of referents and meanings. In the first place, the designs evoke K'tétu, a mythical shaman who played the So'orte role to perfection in the mythical first men's *hain*. This *hoowin* ancestor was then transformed into a small white owl (*Speotyto cunicularia*) (Chapman 1982: 100). The white bands around the eyes represented the face of this animal, while the white big dots portrayed its feathers (idem: 100). The movements of the So'ortes were also intended to represent the owl's movements.

In the second place, the So'ortes designs indicated their cardinal/sky/ kinship origin by a combination of visual features (see below) which allowed their identification. So while the overall appearance of the So'ortes design represent the small owl, the specific appearance of each kind of So'orte indicates the kinship/sky to which that spirit belongs. It is this latter layer of the design what generates the variety found among the So'ortes body painting layout.

a cross motif (e.g. S45 and S118). Most of the So'ortes appear painted with big dots, but two of them (S47) do not show this feature clearly.



Plate 6.16. So'ort spirit (S17, So'ort from the North).



Plate 6.17. So'ort spirit (the design indicates that he is from the West, although this is not stated by Bridges in the caption of the photo, S118).

Table 6.22. Principal So'ortes designs¹⁷. (Gusinde 1982: 909; Chapman 1982: 81)¹⁸.

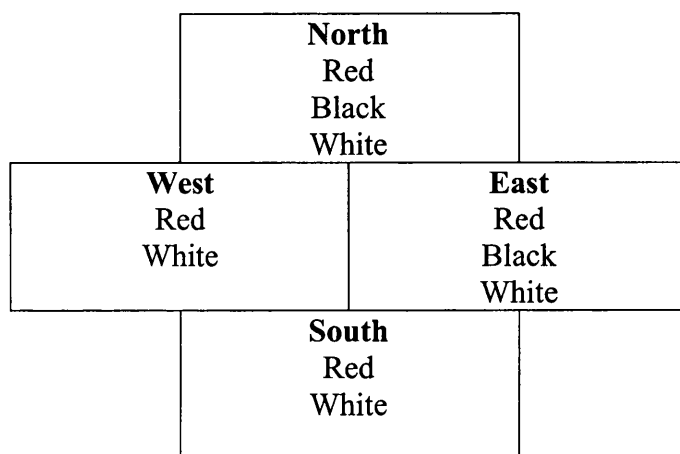
Name, photo and individual	Cardinal point (Gusinde)	Cardinal point (Chapman)	Design (ibid)
Sáte S43, ind 87	S	S	Predominantly white, as all southern spirits, because in this region there is much snow. All body painted in white. Broad red line with white big dots from tip of the mask to the knees.
Yóicik S41, ind 41	S	SW	Oldest and most important of southern So'ortes. Right half of body and mask, painted in white. Left side painted with red ground and white dots. Lower arms and calves painted white.
Wacús No photo	E	SE	Red ground with white dots. Three black broad transversal lines across the body.
Keyáisl S41, ind 84	N	NE	Right portion of the body, as well as leg, painted black. Left portion of the body, red ground with white dots.
Talén S17, ind 32 S18, ind 33 S74, ind 156	N	N?? Télil	The strongest and most influential of all the So'ortes. Red ground with white dots, white line from shoulders to knees, in both sides of the body. Calves and lower arms in white.
Pawús S42, ind 86	N	E?? Páhuil	Wide horizontal bands. Red ground with white dots, alternate with white grounds, both in the body and mask.
Sánu S18, ind 34 S44, ind 88 S118, ind 220	W	W	Red ground, many white dots symmetrically arranged in all the body.

The number of principal So'ortes varied according to the sky: there was only one in the East and West skies, two in the Southern, and three in the Northern. Each principal So'orte was painted differently. It has been claimed that the So'orte mask and body were painted with the predominance of one colour, which was specific of the sky to which this spirit belonged: N = black, W = red, S = white, E = apparently no specific colour (Gusinde 1982: 909; Chapman 1982: 84). Each predominant colour had a meaning linked to the territory it represented: white for the southern snow, red for the western sunset, black for the dark northern waters. Hence the colours themselves seem to have had a representational dimension. Yet the analysis of the visual data does not entirely confirm the use of this colour code. Graphic 6.1 shows the range of colours worn by So'ortes of each sky.

¹⁷ There is also an important amount of visual information about the subordinate So'ortes, but the scarce written data about them hinders the possibility of developing a thorough analysis.

¹⁸ The discrepancies of cardinal orientation for Pawús/Páhuil are not discussed further since from this data I cannot ascertain whether the two terms are referring to the same spirit.

Graphic 6.1. Use of colours in So'ortes designs according to their sky origin (data from Gusinde 1982).



Colour use can be analysed from three perspectives:

a) *range of colours involved in the designs*. The three So'ortes of the North sky were not always painted with the three colours: Keyáisl, the NE So'orte, was painted with white, red and black, but Talén and Pawús were only painted white and red. Hence the idea that Northern So'ortes were predominantly painted in black cannot be maintained. The Eastern So'orte was painted with the three colours too, hence it could have been confused with the Northern one if the recognition had only been based in the colour scheme. Both Western and Southern So'ortes were painted with the same combination: red and white, generating again the same identification problem. Hence their visual recognition could only be achieved by a clear colour predominance.

b) *decorative element colours*. The bands, lines, and big dots are mostly painted in white in all cases. There is one case of a red band in the South, of red and white bands on the North, and of black bands in the East, which entirely disagree with the predominant colours scheme proposed in the written data.

c) *ground colours*:

c-1. Southern So'ortes: one is painted with a white ground; the other one is half painted with a white ground, while the other half is red. In both cases, given that the lower arms and calves are also white, this can be considered as the predominant ground colour.

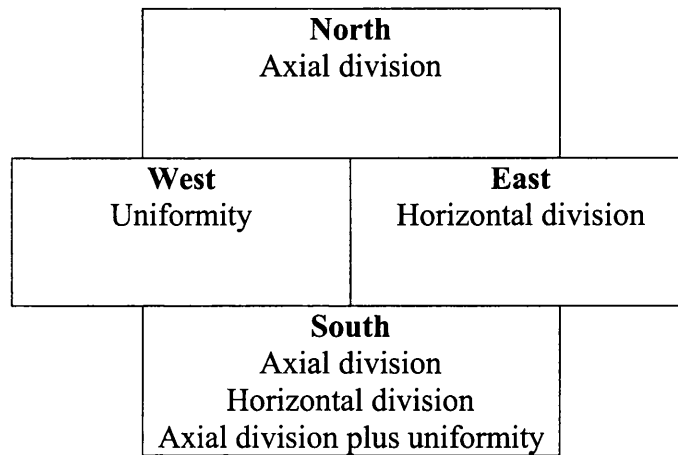
c-2. Western So'orte: painted with a red ground (with lower arms and calves in white)

c-3. Northern So'ortes: one has the right half of his body, including lower arm and calve, painted in black; the other two have no black grounds

Therefore, according to the visual data, it is not entirely possible to confirm the idea that there existed a predominant colour indicating the skies to which the spirits belonged. The visualisation of colours alone would not always indicate the So'ortes provenance, hence the existence of a direct univocal visual colour code cannot be confirmed. Rather, the range of colours used (but not always their combination) was related to the skies of provenance of the spirits: red, white and black were used in the North and the East So'ortes, while red and white were related to the West and South So'ortes.

The principal So'ortes designs layout shows an interesting trend when considering their orientation along vertical and horizontal axes. The design of both of the Southern So'ortes is structured by a vertical division. In one case (individual 85, S85) it has an axial division that separates the design in two symmetric halves (red and white), while in the other case (individual 87, S43) a red vertical central band over a white ground divides the design in three symmetric portions, generating a reflexive pattern (white, red , white). The layout of the Eastern So'orte shows a horizontal division, generated by the horizontal lines that run across it. The layout of the Western So'orte shows a total uniformity, with no division of the design along any axis, because it consists of an extended red ground with rows of white big dots which do not generate any visual partitioning of the design. Finally, the layout of the Northern So'ortes shows all these varieties: one individual presents an axial division (84 in S41), another one shows a horizontal division (86 in S42), and the third one (33 in S18) presents an axial division but keeping the resulting portions uniform (not marking contrasting changes as in the South). These observations can be summarised as follows:

Graphic 6.2. So'ortes paintings layout according to axial and horizontal axes.



The reasons for this formal display of the designs cannot be ascertained, since these inferences stem exclusively from my observation of the images and are neither based on, nor can be related to, any written data. These ways of laying out the So'ortes designs cannot be solely considered as a visual code that enables a straightforward recognition of the spirits, since the Northern ones show cases similar to those found on the designs from all the other cardinal points.

The analysis of each separate variable does not show any straightforward conclusion that allows asserting that they were, alone, the basis upon which a visual code was established. It is only by the *combination* of decorative element, colour, and axis orientation of the design, that the visual identification of these spirits could be achieved.

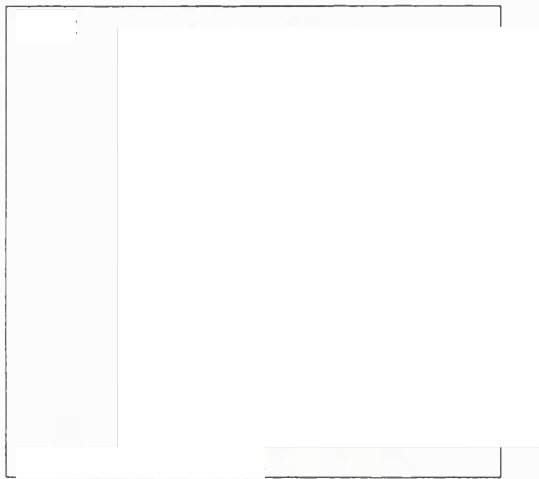
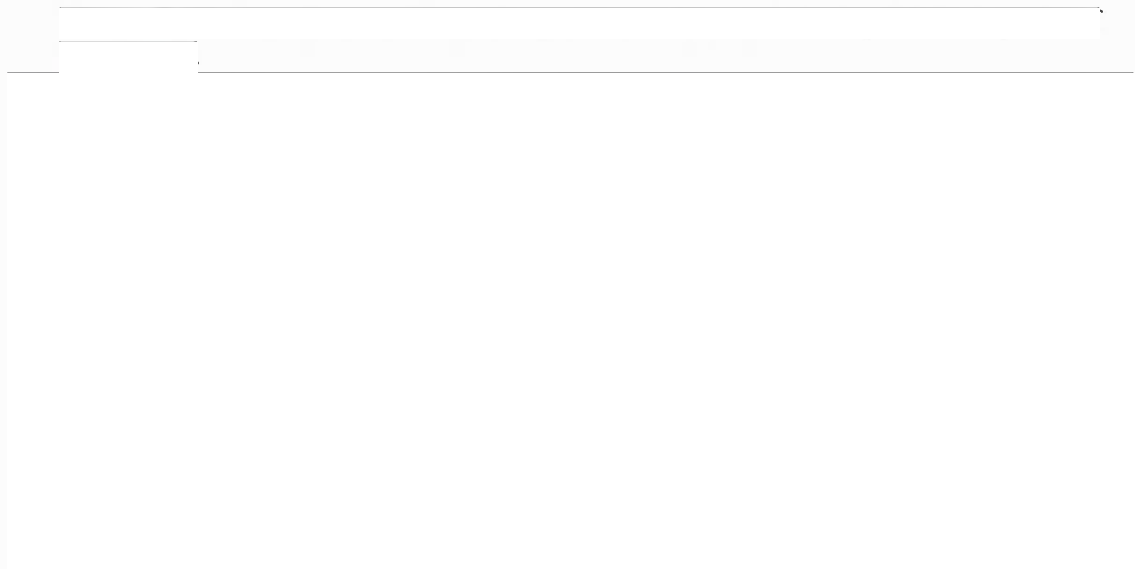
Taking into account that the So'ortes were related to the sky/cardinal points and to the *hain* hut posts that represented them, there seems to have existed a specific mythical relationship that can be formulated in the following way: sky – kinship – big hut post – body painting. The So'ortes body painting designs could be constructed, viewed and interpreted due to the underlying visual code that rendered their symbolic content.

The So'orte was considered to be made of rock, and this role was played by a well built, good-looking man (*hawitpin*). This physical appearance of the performer, together with the body painting, made the So'orte to be considered as beautiful by the women. The So'ortes went to the camp to scare the women by shaking the huts (where they hid) and throwing many of the objects that were kept inside them. This was both a

warning towards being submissive, and a punishment for 'insubordinate' women, fostered by their husbands and other male relatives.

Consistently, in their appreciation of these spirits, the women distinguished between the So'ortes who only paraded in front of the big hut and those who came daily to the camp to harass them: they considered the former as beautiful, but not the latter (Chapman 1982: 103). The women not only suffered the attacks of these spirits, they also called them to see them: "A woman would be proud if her singing brought forth a particularly beautiful So'orte, painted with the designs of her sky, and the men were very attentive to the women's chanting." (Chapman 1982: 97).

The role of the So'ortes was then double: they were agents of social control and coercion, but at the same time, they generated consensus through their agreeable physical appearance. Body painting was an instrument in both sides of the So'ortes roles: it allowed the men to disguise their identities and represent the spirits and get in touch with the women to frighten and punish them, but it also generated a pleasing effect in the female public, who as a consequence became better predisposed towards their appearance. This ambivalence of the women about the appreciation of the So'ortes as frightening but beautiful, facilitated the continuity of the men's action, which might have been hindered had it not been for their pleasing visual aspect.



6.4.4.b. The Hayílans.

The Hayílans were the So'ortes servants. They generally appeared in pairs of an old and a youngster. They were painted and wore masks of the So'ortes type, but unlike these latter, they were "recognised as humans by the audience" (Chapman 1982: 115). The Hayílans had an ambivalent role, they were both amusing but very offensive to the women and threatening to the *klóketens*. There is no written or visual information about these spirits paintings.

6.4.4.c. Xalpén.

This female spirit is the core mythical being around which the whole *hain* ceremony was structured. Her power was boundless and her personality was very evil, cruel and lustful. According to Gusinde, she was intensely feared by the women, while the men pretended that they were terrified by her, but only to deceive the women (1982: 895).

Xalpén is So'orte's wife, and since there are seven principal So'ortes (one for each 'sky'/region), there is a Xalpén for each one of them. But their relationship is not similar to that of the Selk'nam married persons, since Xalpén is much more powerful and influential than her husband, and can do as she pleases, even regarding her intimate encounters with Selk'nam men, to which So'orte cannot object (Gusinde 1982: 895). This reverses the situation of real Selk'nam marriages, where the men have more power to do things than women and also have power over them.

Xalpén lived under the earth, but during the ceremony often emerged into the big hut, to give orders to the men and punish them if she was not satisfied. When she returned under the earth, she usually took a man with her, to have sexual intercourse. All this was claimed by the men to happen inside the big hut, out of the sight of the women.

Sometimes the men exteriorised their experiences with Xalpén by loudly commenting to each other how beautiful she was, and also how exhausted they were after being with her, with the aim of letting the women hear this (Gusinde 1982: 898). Women justified the pleasure obtained by the men by stating that they were obliged by this powerful spirit (*ibid*), and hence seem to have forgiven their infidelity by granting that they had no other choice. This particular point of the whole symbolic process contained and generated by the *hain* ceremony has clearly an ideological function, in

that the men present an unpleasant situation to the women in relation to their (present or future) marital relationships, and make the women agree with it by means of the menace that stems from Xalpén's power to kill any of the men and *klóketens*, and also the women and children, if she was greatly disappointed and angry. Moreover, it can be suggested that, among other purposes, the men provoked this situation with an openly sexual content in order to make the women jealous and at the same time augment their desire for them. This would then help in keeping them interested and hence would maintain their agreement with the unequal circumstance, both in the symbolic, and the actual situations.

Although most of what involved this spirit was only talked about or hinted with sounds emitted from the big hut, Xalpén was indeed presented during the ceremony to the women and children at least once. During the 1923 *hain* it was presented only once, at night (ibid: 907), which may have helped in achieving a more fearful sensation, as well as may have contributed to reduce the need to paint her in detail –see below. It may be also for this reason that there are no photographs of this spirit (there are also no drawings of her).

This spirit's appearance is the only one that does not involve the painting of the naked body of a man (as in most of the cases), or of his cloak (as in Tanu's and/or *Hainxo's* case, see below). Instead, Xalpén was represented by a very large cylindrical structure, of about 6 metres long and 80 centimetres wide, made of many hide cloaks with the fur towards the inside, stuffed by bunches of branches, moss, grass and long rush stems, and tied with leather ropes. Only the frontal portion was painted, using a dark red ground and white thick transversal lines (Gusinde 1982: 907). Gusinde stated that this was its "characteristic painting", but he provides no information about its potential referent or meaning. The reason why only this portion was painted is that only about two metres of it were shown to the public, by pushing the top of the structure out of one of the sides of the big hut, sliding it over the ground. The fact that the women were terrified by the physical apparition of this dreaded spirit made them keep hidden in their huts, and/or cover their heads, or at most, have a quick look at the being, which contributed to the lack of need to paint Xalpén's face with detail or her body entirely (ibid).

She was a monstrous spirit that did not have a human-like shape as the others. Nevertheless, the men talked about her as a 'beautiful woman' (Gusinde 1982: 898, my

emphasis), possibly because this was the form in which they could justify having sexual intercourse with her. Gusinde stated that the shape of this being represented the aspect of a whale (ibid: 907, 908), but the reason for this is not clear. Therefore Xalpén seems not to have represented any *hoowin* ancestor, neither by her painting, nor by her shape (Chapman 1982: 151).

In his description of his observation of this spirit, Bridges stated that the effigy was actually worn by a man, who could barely move and breath because of the tight frame, weight and size of the structure (1935: 35, 1951: 418). This marks a substantial difference with the representation of Xalpén observed by Gusinde, whose description does not involve any man wearing this spirit's structure. Bridges also stated that it was a spirit from the clouds, but both Gusinde and Chapman stated that it was a spirit from the under ground.

Xalpén's most evil and feared act was the slaughter of the initiands. She disemboweled them with her long fingernail in the *hain* hut. After their death, the *klóketens* were displayed in a procession outside the hut, wearing fake wounds painted with guanaco blood (Chapman 1997: 104). Such a scene generated sorrow and consternation among the women, who, according to Chapman's informants, felt deeply sad (ibid), since they were involved "in the same earnest play-acting as the men" (Chapman 1982: 140). But a couple of days later, Olim, an invisible spirit, returned the *klóketens* to life (Gusinde 1982: 940, this spirit was visible according to L. Bridges 1951).

In spite of her cruelty and potentially harmful power, the women, who really disliked Xalpén, had to calm her down with their chants and offerings of meat and pigments, to induce her to have mercy on their husbands and sons (Gusinde 1982: 902, 904, 906, 908). Body painting does not seem to have been crucial in the visualisation of this being, which was brief and limited, and its shape and painting are likely to have been meaningless. But body painting was present in a more material, substantial way, since, as shown in chapter 4, the women were providing one of the crucial means with which the men would then oppress them: the paint pigments.

6.4.4.d. Hashé and Wakús.

These two beings are married, Hashé being the husband and Wakús, his wife. They were not spirits, and did not wear masks. Both of these roles were played by men,

who had their faces painted with charcoal and wore head garments of leaves and branches and appeared only at night (Chapman 1982: 118). Body painting was secretly present in the task that these beings carried out when visiting the camp: as emissaries of Xalpén, they gathered meat, and paint, especially red ochre (*ákel*), which they took back to the big hut (ibid; Gusinde 1982). This was one of the ways in which the men could get hold of pigments, which they use in great amounts during this ceremony. No further written or visual information about the paintings is available.

6.4.4.e. Kulan and Kosmenk.

These two spirits are married. Kulan is female and Kosmenk male. They both live in the heights, and have very different personalities (Gusinde 1982: 944). Kosmenk suffers from the infidelity of his wife. Kulan escapes from her husband to find lovers who she traps, takes with her to the heights and submits to her sexual desires (ibid). She was very much feared and disliked by the women - Gusinde stated that some relatives even cried for the young men's fate (ibid: 945). Nevertheless, Kosmenk appeared more frequently than Kulan (ibid), who mostly appeared at night. Possibly for this reason, there are five photographs and one drawing of Kosmenk (S15, S22, S50, S52, S53, S75, adding up to 10 individuals), while there are no visual documents of Kulan's appearance.

Kosmenk wore a tall conical mask (*tolon*) and his entire body was covered with paint. According to Gusinde, the distribution of colours changed from one actor to the other, and did not have any special meaning (ibid). He mentioned that the general design was formed by a red ground and white lines making different, very simple patterns (ibid: 947)

Gusinde's descriptions of Kosmenk's paintings can be summarised as follows (ibid: 947; the information between brackets corresponds to my observations)

- uniform red ground with long white stain on the right portion of the torso (e.g. S15)
- colours distributed differently on each half of the body (e.g. photo S15; white on the right and dark on the left, including mask and body).
- red ground over which a white stripe of three fingers width runs from the tip of the mask to the genitals; from this stripe appear some horizontal stripes (e.g. S22)
- red ground over which three or five vertical white lines link the tip of the mask with the knees (e.g. S52, and possibly but less likely S53; drawing S75 seems to be a

copy of photo S53).

- entirely black, with a non-continuous white band, which reached from the mask to the penis (e.g. S22)

These descriptions account for nine of the ten Kosmenk individuals visually documented. Individual 99 in S50 does not fit exactly any of these descriptions. His design is constituted by a dark ground in the mask and body, except for the lower arms, calves and feet, which are painted white. Horizontal white lines are painted across the upper arms, chest, abdomen, and thighs. A vertical line (darker than the ground), runs through the mask and the trunk, splitting in two the white horizontal band. This same design is recorded in drawing S76, but its caption states that it is a representation of Matan spirit (see below). This is likely to be an editorial mistake, since this is bound to be a drawing of Kosmenk, with a mistaken caption.

Although the designs show a general similarity which enables the viewer to identify this spirit, they are not greatly stereotyped. This variety of designs can only be explored at a formal level, since according to the available data, they seem not to have been representational. All the designs described above were constructed by combining a reduced number of decorative elements: lines (LI), bands (BA), grounds (GR) and patches (PT). They all share an axial symmetry, which is enhanced by the vertical display of lines and patches in 7 cases out of 10, and by the symmetric division in the use of colour in one case (individual 28 in photo 15). Their variety is given by the width and length of the lines, the shape of the patches and mainly by the number of these and display on the body. Finally, the combination of the decorative elements generated only a few motifs (A and D) which are not exclusive to Kosmenk, and can be identified in other designs.

Table 6.23. Kosmenk decorative elements and motifs.

Type decorative elements	Type motifs
LI + BA + GR + PT	
LI + GR	
LI + BA + GR + PT	
LI + BA + GR + PT	
LI + BA + GR	A
LI + BA + GR	A
LI + GR + PT	
LI + BA + GR	D
GR	
BA + GR + PT	



Plate 6.19. Kosmenk spirits (S80).

Much attention was paid to Kulan's decoration. Since this was a female spirit, a short man of small physique was chosen to play this role (Gusinde 1982: 947), which could be an *initiaand* (Chapman 1982: 126 quoting Federico, her informant). Kulan wore the same mask as Kosmenk, but she had conspicuous female attributes: two filled leather bags represented her breasts, and she wore a loin-cloth, which concealed the real gender of the actor playing the role. Her designs were not representational, possibly because this spirit was not related to any of the 'skies' (Chapman 1982: 125)

There are different descriptions of Kulan's design:

- ◆ a red ground over which numerous white thin longitudinal lines were painted very close to each other (Gusinde 1982: 947).
- ◆ half body and mask painted red, and the other half painted black (*ibid*: 946; note similarity with individual 28 in S15, which is nevertheless Kosmenk, not Kulan, given the lack of female attributes and the photo's caption)
- ◆ "a conical mask which is painted red and bears a broad white stripe from the tip of her head to her crotch, which is concealed by a pubic covering. Other stripes are painted across her thorax ..." (Chapman 1982: 125-126; note the similarity with individual 103 in S53, but as in the case above, both the photo's caption and the male attributes suggest that this is not Kulan but Kosmenk).

The body of the young man that was "retained" by Kulan was also painted. It was adorned by the elderly men, who painted him with a very attractive and special design, and put many feathers on his hair. Ornamented like this, and without wearing his cloak, he was taken to the camp, where "he awakens the women's desires; but all of them show their happiness for seeing him finally free from the sexual demands that have been imposed to him by Kulan" (Gusinde 1982: 945).



Plate 6.20. Kosmenk spirits (S62), note the variety of designs in relation to photo S80.

6.4.4.f. Matan.

This was considered as a good spirit and very proficient *xon*/shaman, and was well received by the women (Gusinde 1982: 941). According to Gusinde's data it was a male spirit, while Lola and Angela, Chapman's female informants, considered him a female spirit (Chapman 1982: 128). He/she was a spirit from the heights, and was almost independent from Xalpén. He was very agile, entertained the people from the camp with his dances, and appeared in the big hut very frequently.

Matan's overall appearance is very similar to that of Kosmenk, yet some differences between them help in their visual distinction and identification. Matan's head was constituted by a tall conical mask, which Gusinde considered to be much wider than that of Kosmenk in its lower part (Gusinde 1982: 942; S21, S62, S63, S76). It had two holes for the eyes placed towards the sides, since the actor moved laterally more than frontally.

The mask and body painting of this spirit was composed by a red ground that covered the whole body. The lower arms, calves and feet were painted white (note the similarity with the So'ortes, and with some of the Kosmenk). Over the red ground, white oval patches were painted, displayed vertically, and generally symmetrically in the two halves of the body and mask. Also a few white bands were painted on the mask, abdomen, and/or thighs. There is also one case (S62) in which the painting includes a black vertical central line that runs across the mask, trunk, and abdomen, reaching the genitals, and dividing the body symmetrically in two equal halves (Gusinde 1982: 943 and data from my database).

Neither the written nor the visual information shows any cases in which the genitals were painted white. They were, instead, always painted with the same red colour as the ground on the rest of the body, hence not highlighting this body portion by colour contrast. This feature may be related to two possibilities: a) the fact that this spirit did not have a threatening role towards the women, hence the lack of need of a menacing figure of a sexual nature (as the So'ortes, for example), and/or b) the information provided by Chapman, that maintains that this was a female spirit, in which case the male performer's genitals would obviously not need to be enhanced, but rather should be dissimulated along with the rest of the body.

All the features named above act as cues that can be used as visual criteria to identify Matan. These patterns, together with the sounds announcing the spirit

presentation and his bodily movements once he was on stage, are likely to have helped in the recognition of this character by the viewers.

There is little information regarding the representational quality of the designs worn by Matan. The Selk'nam mythology indicates that in the hoowin epoch, the woman that was representing this role in the female *hain* became metamorphosed into a black-necked swan of the west sky (*kohmen*) when the hoax was discovered by the Sun (Gusinde 1982: 836-848; Chapman 1982: 128). According to the information provided by Federico to Chapman, this animal acted as a referent at least for the painting of Matan's mask, since in the past it was painted half white and half black to represent this swan (ibid). The masks documented in the photographs do not show such a design, but rather a dark ground and white patches painted over it. Moreover, according to the written sources the dark ground was actually red, and not painted in black. Hence Federico's description must hold for past times or for other representations of this spirit.

According to Chapman, Matan's body painting designs showed small detail differences which indicated the four skies that this spirit was representing (ibid). Given that there is no written information explaining their 'sky' origin, it is not possible to relate the different design details to these referents.



Plate 6.21. Matan spirit (S21).

6.4.4.g. Tanu.

This was a male spirit, according to Gusinde (1982: 954), and female, according to Bridges (1951) and Chapman (1982: 129)¹⁹. In Selk'nam mythology, Tanu was the sister of Xalpen (Chapman 1982: 129), but the full meaning of this is not clear (ibid: 149). While Gusinde noticed that Tanu's appearance was very similar to *Hainxo's* (Gusinde 1982: 952), Chapman stated that these were in fact different names for the same spirit (Chapman 1982: 179, footnote 60).

The origin of this spirit was related to the *hoowin* times, and at least two *hoowin* ancestors were linked to it. In the female *hain*, a *hoowin* ancestor was transformed into a small female whale (*ochen*) of the north sky. Later, after the women's hoax had been discovered and when the first men's *hain* was celebrated, the *hoowin* who played the role of Tanu was metamorphosed into a bird (*shocits*), of the south sky. Both these ancestors are represented by Tanu, but only the former seems to have been symbolised in the painting designs of this spirit: the dark bands painted in his/her cloak (see below) represent *ochen*, the small female whale (ibid: 130).

Schocits was an earth creeper bird, and there are no data suggesting that it was represented in Tanu's costume painting. This bird is considered as very unclean, because it feeds from excrement, and, according to Chapman, "this 'dirt' is metaphorically compared to the performer's perspiration as he supports the weight of the heavy costume" (ibid: 130). Hence the symbolism of one of the mythical referents of the spirit is in this case not found in a visual representation, but in a more tangible, tactile and/or olfactory quality.

This spirit is the only one whose appearance is not based on the painting of the naked body and the wearing of a mask. Instead, Tanu was represented by a man wearing a painted cloak that included a hood. This costume was constructed by tying various guanaco hides together. Its shape was given by fastening a series of bows (Chapman 1982: 130)²⁰ or wood branches (Gusinde 1982: 954), and stuffing this structure with

¹⁹ In the cases of Gusinde and Chapman the difference of the gender attribution of some of the spirits is likely to have been originated on the informants consulted by each of these ethnographers: Gusinde observed both genders, but seems to have interviewed mainly men, while Chapman interviewed both men and women.

²⁰ This suggests a very interesting function for the Selk'nam bows, different than the usual one to hunt. The affordance of these artefacts when used in a non-subsistence, ceremonial situation is quite peculiar, and may have had certain entailments about their meaning as material culture products. Unfortunately the lack of more information about this hinders the development of an analysis of this issue.

reeds, grass and leaves. This generated a fat and very tall being²¹ of sub-rectangular shape, the ‘body’ with a conical/triangular upper portion, the ‘head’.

Tanu came from under the earth (Gusinde 1982: 954). There existed four different Tanus, each one belonging to a different cardinal point (ibid: 953), corresponding to the four different ‘skies’ (Chapman 1982: 129), which were recognisable by their painting (Gusinde 1982: 954, Chapman 1982: 129). According to Chapman, Gusinde made some mistakes in the determination of two of the cardinal points to which each Tanu belonged, hence I present the information in the following table so that the data retrieved and interpreted by each author become clearer.

Table 6.24. The four Tanus: names, ‘skies’ and designs.

Name	Cardinal point – Gusinde (1982: 953)	Cardinal point – Chapman (1982:180 footnote 61)	Painting design description. Gusinde (ibid). All the Tanus wear a red ground.
Korukanh	West	South	From the white transversal line that marks the neck and divides the head from the body, several white lines of two fingers width, go downwards. Between these, and separated by a space of about a finger’s width, run a dark red line of the same width. Both, in turn, frame a longitudinal row of white dots. Hence the longitudinal rows alternate as follows: white, dark red, light red with row of white dots, dark red, white.
Kamaukanh	North	North	Over a light red ground, it has white parallel longitudinal lines that run at a distance of 8 centimetres of each other. Between these, there is a black line which has in its central part a row of white dots. To the sides of the white lines runs a dark red line.
Knanekanh	East	West	Similar to the previous one. The long longitudinal white lines frame a black line. To the sides of this, there is a dark red line. The three of them have a row of small white dots. [The white dots over the white lines must have been painted by circling them in another colour].
Keukarkanh	South	South	This is the simplest of the designs. From the transversal line that marks the neck spread numerous white lines, very close to each other. These, at a finger’s distance, frame a dark red line.

As seen in table 6.24, according to Gusinde’s data each of the four Tanus corresponded to a different sky, while Chapman indicates that two of them belonged to the South, one to the North and one to the West, while there would be no information about the existence of an Eastern Tanu²². Nevertheless, in her book, she published the

²¹ Gusinde (1982: 954) noted that the whole structure exceeded the head of the interpreter, who was the tallest Selk’nam, by about 90 centimetres.

²² This might be explained by the fact that the 1923 *hain* was taking place in the South, and hence more spirits of this sky might have been presented. Nevertheless, it is intriguing why the Selk’nam used two different words to name these Southern Tanus, and why their layouts looked differently, unless they belonged to different sections, such S-E or S-W, but there is no indication of this.

only photograph of Tanu (taken by Gusinde) stating in the caption that it is Tanu from the West, while in the text she states that its name (Korukans) indicates a South origin.

In spite of this problem, the information summarised in table 6.24 shows that the four Tanu designs were different, and that there existed a visual code to identify the origin of each one of them. This code consisted of the use of different colours and decorative elements (lines and lines with central rows of dots), and the order in which these were displayed. In all the Tanus this order is symmetrical in the overall design, because it is structured by translating symmetric motifs. Three of the four Tanu motifs are not only symmetric but also reflexive towards a central decorative element (a line with a central row of dots), which is the axis of the motif²³, hence the other elements are organised succeeding a 1-2-3-2-1 order. The result of this order of the differently coloured decorative elements in the four Tanus is as follows:

- ◆ white line, red line, light red line with white dots, red line, white line, for Korukanh
- ◆ red line, white line, black line with black dots, white line, red line, for Kamaukanh
- ◆ red line with white dots, white line with white (?)²⁴ dots, black line with white dots, white line with white (?) dots, red line with white dots, for Knanenkanh
- ◆ white line, red line, white line, red line and so on, for Keukarskanh (this motif is not reflexive but just symmetric, and is the only one that does not use a line with central row of dots)

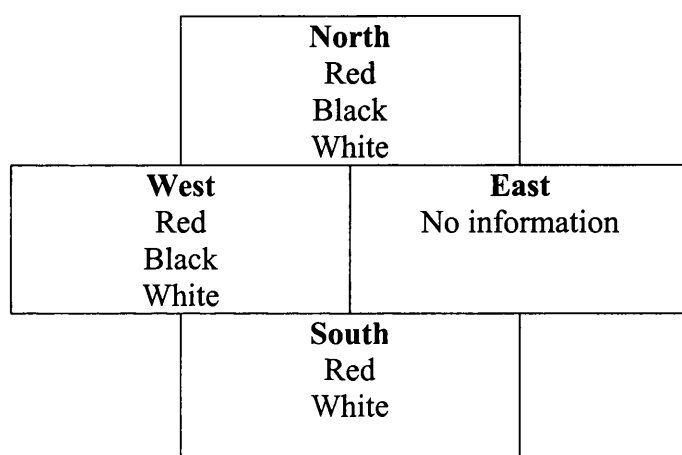
These descriptions, plus the data coming from the visual image that documents Tanu's appearance, have important implications that go beyond the decoration of Tanu itself, and link it with other body paintings. One of these implications is that there is a linkage between his/her designs and those worn during the *kewanix* dances, which is developed in section 6.4.5.e and appendix R. Another implication is that there might be a relationship between the colours used for the Tanu of each sky, with the colours used for the So'orte of each sky (see section 6.4.4.a), and with those used in the male *kewanix* designs (see section 6.4.5.e). The comparison is made with the designs of these spirits (So'orte and Tanu) because I have information about both their cardinal points/skies and their body paintings layout.

The association between Tanu's colours and skies depends on the classification of the different Tanus, which, as shown above, differs from Gusinde to Chapman's data.

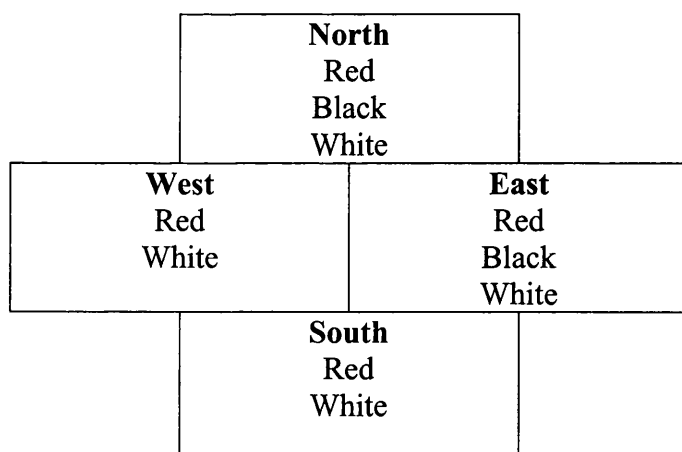
²³ The axis of the motif is taken from the description by Gusinde, but actually any of the decorative elements of the design could be selected as the axis, since the order of the series would still remain unaltered.

The information provided by them is summarised in table 6.25, and the comparison with the colour data about the So'ortes is presented in graphic 6.3 and 6.4.

Graphic 6.3. Use of colours in Tanu's design in relation to his/her sky (according to Chapman 1982)



Graphic 6.4. Use of colours in Tanu's design in relation to his/her sky (according to Gusinde 1982).



²⁴ See comment in table 6.24 above.

Table 6.25. Comparison between colours combination in So'orte, Tanu according to Gusinde, and Tanu according to Chapman.

Cardinal point/sky	So'orte	Tanu - Gusinde	Tanu - Chapman
North	R – W – B	R – W – B	R – W – B
West	R – W	R – W	R – W – B
South	R – W	R – W	R – W
East	R – W – B	R – W – B	No data

In comparing the colours of the designs worn by the four Tanus with those worn by the So'ortes, it should be borne in mind that the N So'ortes did not always wear designs combining the three colours. Hence, even if finding a coincidence between the colours used in the designs of Tanu and So'orte, it cannot be claimed that this constituted per se a visual code, because what this indicates for the So'ortes case is only a range of possible colour combinations.

The possibility that arises from the data presented by Chapman seems more likely, given the control carried out by this author of the terms naming each Tanu. It shows a certain but not total resemblance to the colour distribution of the So'ortes according to their sky/cardinal point. This information shows a coincidence between the colours of the Tanus and So'ortes of the north and south, but not for those of the west, which in Tanu are red, black and white, and in So'orte are only red and white.

The possibility that stems from using Gusinde's data is less likely in that the attribution of two of the skies of Tanu (west and east) seems to have been mistaken by Gusinde, as seen above. Nevertheless, I want to consider the information provided by this author in respects to the colour distribution inferable from it. As the table shows, the distribution of the colours used to make each of Tanu's decorative elements match entirely with those colours used to make the So'orte's designs of the same skies. This suggests that there may have been a colour range and combination code not only behind each group of spirits in particular, but also across them. As a result of this code, the use of colours seems to have been related to the sky of origin of Tanu and, to an extent, of So'orte, not pointing directly to the provenance of the spirit, but reducing the four sky possibilities to two: red and white would indicate west or south, while red, black and white would indicate north or east. But because the N. So'orte did not always wear the three colours, their provenance could not be inferred just from their colour scheme.

What the coincidences found may point at, then, is a convention of possibilities of use of colour, but not a code by which the observation of the colours above in a design would indicate sky provenance.

A more refined and direct provenance, indicating precisely to which sky the spirit belonged, was indicated by the overall layout of the design, particularly by the kind of decorative elements used, and their order on the body or cloak surface, as seen above in the tables. It cannot be stressed enough that this is only a hypothetical possibility that arises from considering the data about Tanu as recorded by Gusinde. Its coincidence with the colour information related to the So'orte spirits is very interesting and appealing, but it is only suggested here as a potential broad and lax code of colour use.



Plate 6.22. Tanu spirit (from the West, according to Gusinde 1982, S23).

6.4.4.h. Hainxo and Hainxohewan.

Hainxo was a male spirit according to Gusinde (1982: 955), and female according to Chapman (1982: 134). Hainxo was observed by Gusinde during the *kéwanix* dances (see below) on June 4, 1923. Gusinde stated clearly that he was not satisfied with the amount of information he could gather about this spirit (1982: 955), which to an extent accounts for the differences in his interpretation of the identity of this character with those made by Chapman. While Gusinde considered that Hainxo was a different but similar spirit than Tanu, Chapman contended that they were in fact the same spirit, named with different terms (ibid: 179, footnote 60)²⁵.

According to Gusinde's description, Hainxo was very similar to Tanu, although its painting design was simpler: as Tanu, its body consisted of a long coat with its fur inwards, painted with a red ground and white parallel vertical lines of about a finger's width. But unlike Tanu, Hainxo lacked the vertical rows of down buds attached to it, and the portion of the gown that represented its face was white, instead of black (Gusinde 1982: 955-956). In her description of Hainxo, Chapman (1982: 134) mentions a conical mask, but this does not form part of Gusinde's description, nor does it adjust to Tanu's description and photograph, to whom Hainxo is so closely related. There is no visual information to document Hainxo's appearance; but the description of its painting can be related to the designs worn by the dancers in the only scene in which it appeared: the *kewanix* (see below).

Hainxohewan was a female spirit, and the wife of Hainxo. Her painting was simpler than that of her husband, but not described or photographed (Gusinde 1982: 956). The men painted their heads and bodies in red, and stabbed their noses with a short sharp stick, making them bleed, to simulate Hainxohewan's attack. They then went out of the hut, in a procession, bleeding, and let the women wipe their blood in order to show that it was fresh and real, which aroused their compassion (Gusinde 1982: 956-957).

6.4.4.i. Ulen.

This male spirit has a different appearance from all the rest of the visible spirits of the *hain* (photo S4). Both his mask and body painting are different from those worn

²⁵ She provides a series of data to prove that these were only two names of the same spirit, including the meaning of the terms used to name the spirits, the different names used in the chants in honour of Tanu,

by the other spirits. The mask was made of bark, and had a conical shape with a wide basis and a truncated apex. The painting design, which covers the entire body including hands and feet, was made of a red ground (Gusinde 1982: 951, dark according to the photograph), over which white thin horizontal lines were painted, covering the entire figure from the mask to the feet²⁶. A single white vertical central line criss-crosses the horizontal lines in the trunk and abdomen (hence in the database this design has been recorded as formed by two motifs: A (set of parallel lines) and D (set of parallel lines criss-crossed by a transversal line)).

The spirit showed to the public only a portion of his body, since he put only his head and one bent arm out of the northern and southern sides of the hut. Nevertheless, according to the visual information, the man representing it got entirely painted. The photograph shows the individual standing on the snowy ground, and not in his typical position when presenting himself to the audience.

Ulen did not announce himself by any noise, but rather was pointed by some of the men, who went to the camp with that purpose. His appearance in the *hain* had the aim of amazing the women with his speedy movements, since after appearing over one of the sides of the big hut and staring at the audience for some minutes, he then vanished and immediately appeared over the opposite side, hence apparently covering about eight metres (the big hut's length) in a few seconds. This scene was obviously performed by two identical spirits, standing one on each side of the big hut, and coordinated by a third man who indicated to them when they should make the appearing/disappearing movements. These movements were practised intensely by the men in order to synchronise them. The performance lasted for about twenty minutes. The women found it very amusing, and admired the spirit for his inexplicable speed (ibid). Hence this spirit does not have any aggressive attitude towards the women or the initiands.

Ulen was a spirit originated in the north of the island, and, maybe for this reason, it was interpreted only once in the *hain* during winter 1923, which took place on the Southern portion of the island. His appearance was emotionally welcomed by two Northern Selk'nam (Hotex, a man and Alamsärke, a woman) who were participating in the *hain* (ibid: 952).

and the elements carried by both Tanu and *Hainxo* (two pointed little sticks), which make it likely that her interpretation is correct.

Neither Gusinde nor Chapman (1982: 134) could gather information about the mythical relevance of this spirit. This may have happened because only a few men from the North participated in this *hain* celebration (ibid).

Gusinde considered that Ulen occupied in the North the role of Kotaix in the South (ibid: 952). This was reinforced by the fact that when he observed the presentation of Ulen, it was accompanied with a chant which originally corresponds to Kotaix (ibid). At first sight, no similarities can be established between Ulen and Kotaix, since these two spirits are quite dissimilar in their exterior aspect, physical movements and role within the *hain* ceremony. Nevertheless, besides of Xalpén and her son/daughter K'ternnen, these are the two spirits that were painted only with red and white colours. But there is no independent information to establish whether this was a pattern or a coincidence.

²⁶ The mask decoration was described by Gusinde as having also very thin white and dark red vertical lines (ibid: 951), which are hardly visible in the photograph.



Plate 6.23. Ulen spirit (S4).

6.4.4.j. Kotaix or Halaháches.

This male spirit was named Kotaix by the men and Halaháches by the women (Gusinde 1982: 937; Chapman 1982:93). He was very powerful, and could temporarily dispute Xalpen's position, since when he appears in the big hut she withdraws immediately under the earth (Gusinde 1982: 937). Kotaix can make Xalpen cease her arbitrary actions against the men and the initiands, and the women called him for his aid repeating rhythmically "*halahaces ha, halahaces ha*", hence its other name (ibid). For this reason, this spirit is interpreted by Chapman as "anti-Xalpen" (Chapman 1982: 144). The women's singing to call for Kotaix's help was stimulated by the men, who gave them clues about their suffering under Xalpen's action by means of their loud screams from the big hut.

But Kotaix could also be cruel with the men, and could even kill them. After showing up he threw various fur cloaks out of the big hut, covering part of the snow. He then took a couple of men out of the hut, struck them with his fist, and left them laying down over the cloaks, because "they were now dead" (Gusinde 1982: 939; photo S120 by L. Bridges). The women approached the big hut to a distance of about 30 metres and threw small clay balls at him, to make him stop mistreating the men. Kotaix nevertheless dodged them (Gusinde 1982: 940). When the women ran out of clay, they went to the camp to bring more; they were allowed to carry only what could fit in their hands (ibid). In the mean time, the man playing Kotaix went back to the big hut to rest and to maintain his body painting, which had been erased a bit in his legs (ibid). Gusinde does not explain if this 'break' was agreed between the spirit and the women, or if it was customary to wait until the women run out of clay. The maintenance of the spirit body painting suggests the importance of keeping the appearance of the spirit intact, and with it, of keeping the secret.

After a second (unsuccessful) round of throwing clay balls at Kotaix, the spirit left the scene. The women observed how the "dead" men were carried to the big hut by other men. According to Gusinde "those who recognised a relative among them [the dead] felt an intense sorrow" (ibid: 940). But, as with the death of the *klóketens*, the women counted on the help of Olim to restore the men to life (ibid).

Kotaix had a very particular appearance, significantly different from the rest of the spirits (photo S20). He was represented by a painted man wearing a special mask

that had two big horizontal horns²⁷. The mask was painted with a white ground, with dark patches in the tips of the horns and in the portion that covered the face of the wearer. The body painting was composed by red/dark and white horizontal bands. The lower arms and calves were painted white, as in the rest of the spirits. Being horizontal, the white horns of the mask look like another band added to the series of bands painted on the body, generating a harmonic visual continuity between mask and body.

These visual features differentiated this spirit from the rest. The spirit was also recognised by his bodily position: he stood spreading the legs, leaning the trunk towards the front, and placing his left hand over the chin (Gusinde 1982: 938-939; S20). He moved by making lateral leaps, making sudden movements towards the sides with his head (ibid). In addition to this, a certain sound (uá) was repeated many times before it appeared on the 'stage' (Gusinde 1982: 939). At this specific point of the scene the information about Kotaix was sonorous, but during the rest of it, it was primarily visual.

The body painting and mask of Kotaix stem from a mythical story, which states that in *hoowin* times, during the first male *hain* ceremony, there was a man who played the role of this spirit, who was a wrestler and warrior from the west sky, and was the most agile and restless of all. This *hoowin* ancestor got metamorphosed into a small fish, the *háchai*, which lives in the sea, and can be found in shallow places of non-deep water (ibid; Chapman 1982: 144).

The fish is about 10 cm. long, of whitish-yellow colour, and with various dark circles along the body, and has whiskers on the head (Gusinde 1982: 940). Hence the body painting bands and the mask horns can be related to the physical features of this fish, which was the referent for Kotaix general appearance.

This is one of the cases in which the body and mask painting of a Selk'nam spirit, which was geometric and at first sight does not seem to bear any resemblance to a referent known by the western observer, was in fact representational. Without the

²⁷ Due to this feature, Gallardo (1910: 336) considered that this spirit might be the representation of the devil as conceived in the Christian religion, which according to him must have resulted from the missionaries influence. This appreciation is not grounded in any data, and according to the available information the creation of this spirit is of aboriginal origin. The horns have also been interpreted as the representation of a bull, although this is also unlikely (Chapman 1982: 144). Nevertheless, Chapman agrees that "When the Indians saw the white man's cattle, the impersonators of this spirit may well have mimicked the bulls, though the horns were an important traditional attribute of the spirit. Bridges was impressed by how realistically one of the Indians who played this role imitated a well-horned charging bull." (1982: 182-183, footnote 22). About its appearance, Bridges (1982: 413) commented that it was rubbed with grey down, since it represented the lichen from which it originated. But Chapman rightly points out that this description is not found in any other first hand source. Nevertheless, she considers it

knowledge of the mythical background that gave meaning to the image, its formal layout might be interpreted as a non-representational design. This knowledge was necessary to the producers and viewers of Kotaix to create and decode his design, which in turn gave access to his identity and to the meaning of his body painting, both in terms of its specific referent (the fish) and the mythical story represented by it. And this knowledge is clearly also necessary for the researcher, who can recognise the design at a formal level as different than the other spirits' designs, but would not be able to understand and interpret it on an iconographic level.

This mythical information was transmitted to the initiands after the Kotaix scene had ended. They also commented on the performance of the actor playing the role of this spirit. Moreover, some youngsters practised the movements of this spirit (possibly to represent him in the future) which was highly encouraged by the elderly men (Gusinde 1982: 941). What is lacking, as in relation to many other scenes and spirits, is the information related to if and how the women got to know these mythical contents which gave its full meaning to what they visually perceived.

During the presentation of Kotaix, the initiands had to get painted in a special way (see photo S48). Their bodies were painted with a red ground, and their calves were painted in white. Two parallel white vertical lines were painted from their shoulders to their knees (across the trunk, abdomen and thighs), and a white dot was painted on each cheek, near the corner of the eyes. They also wore the *kocel*.

The initiands appeared painted in this way when Kotaix was in the big hut, demonstrating his power throwing men out of the hut. The action that they had to perform in particular was to run outside the big hut, for about 30 metres, showing that they had been "thrown away by Kotaix", and turn around and get back immediately (Gusinde 1982: 938). According to Gusinde, these paintings, together with their small bodies (in comparison to the adult men), helped in recognising the klóketens from afar, which made their mothers very happy, since they could see their sons again (ibid). This observation would suggest that this design provided certain visual information about them. But we lack any other data, including the reason why the initiands had to be painted specially for this scene, and the possible meaning that the designs may have had.

probable that this spirit was adorned at times with grey down, as K'ternnen (Chapman 1982: 182, footnote 22).



Plate 6.24. Kotaix spirit (S20).



Plate 6.25. Initiands painted for the presentation of the Kotaix spirit (S48).

6.4.4.k. K'ternnen.

K'ternnen is the baby born from Xalpén and one of the *klóketens*²⁸. It grows up with amazing rapidity, and, after its presentation, it is supposed to go under the earth to live together with his mother (Gusinde 1982: 931). Being the offspring of a spirit and a human, the baby was considered to be a spirit (ibid). K'ternnen could be either a boy or a girl, but it was always represented by a *klóketen*. If the newly born spirit was a girl, the preparation was somewhat more difficult, since the genitals of the boy had to be hidden between the legs and tied with thin tendons, and the initiand had to be particularly thin and small.

When this spirit was presented, the women and children were allowed to get closer than usual to the *hain* hut to watch him/her (Gusinde 1982: 931). They considered it an extremely beautiful baby and a very pleasurable and joyful activity to see it. According to Gusinde everybody felt this was the most beautiful scene of the *hain* (ibid: 935). Bridges (1951: 414) stated that this was the only spirit that was entirely kind or pleasurable for the women. He recorded this being as a male spirit, and did not account for the possibility of its female existence. Gallardo (1910: 335) also described this spirit as a “masculine Venus”. As in many other portions of his work, Gusinde stated that this presentation was done “according to the very ancient customs”, hence assuming their antiquity (ibid: 934)

The appearance of the baby is similar to that of the spirits wearing conical masks (e.g. Kosmenk, Matan), but radically different in that his/her skin and mask were entirely covered with down buds (see photos S19 and S64). These were attached to the body of the actor during a very long preparation process that in the 1923 *hain* involved the work of three men (see chapter 4).

Before the down buds were attached, a red ground was applied to the body; this colour was considered of “especially desirable beauty” (Gusinde 1982: 933-934). The lower arms, hands, calves and feet were painted white – this visual similarity with the So'ortes painting might indicate the baby's relation to this spirit.

A white vertical central line extended along the mask and down to the lower abdomen; much thinner white vertical lines were also painted on the trunk, abdomen

²⁸ Although she has sexual intercourse with all of Selk'nam men, not just the initiands, K'ternnen is always the son of a *klóketen*.

and upper arms, as if vertically linking each of the cotton buds (data on colours from Gusinde 1982: 931; description from my observations database)²⁹.

K'ternnen was presented to the 'public' accompanied by two *xons*/shamans, one on each side, close tightly to him (only one *xon* is visible in photo S19). K'ternnen walked with very short steps and held his legs very close to each other. The slow movements and rigid limbs implied, for the women, that he was a "newly born baby" (Gusinde 1982: 933-934).

While the rest of the spirits differ from each other in the values of variables such as colour, decorative element, or shape of mask, K'ternnen is the only spirit that differs from them mainly due to another variable: texture. Texture was crucial in the appearance of this being, since the fluffy down that covered him/her was indicative of the baby's fragility. This does not mean that texture was not relevant in the many other body paintings that do not include down, since indeed every painting (every image) has a texture, but there is no information about the appreciation of this feature in the other body paintings. In contrast, this design, which has this three-dimensional soft material attached, is, coincidentally, the only one about which there is written information regarding how this visual-tactile feature was interpreted by the viewers.

The ornaments of this spirit were only placed on its frontal side, which was the side shown to the 'public'. The back part of the body was not decorated, hence the interpreter had to be very careful not to turn and show it, and moved only from back to front and sideways (Gusinde 1982: 934).

K'ternnen was a demanding part to play since the actor had to endure the long preparation of its body decoration, had to move in a very slow manner and keep a rigid position for a long time and several presentations (which lasted for about two hours), and even during the breaks had to stay standing inside the big hut, since he had to take care not to ruin the ornaments (Gusinde 1982: 932, 934-935). It is my contention that the strict sticking to the role requirements, which involved so much physical discipline, can be included among the tests that at least some of the initiands had to pass during the *hain*. Likewise, the fact that an initiand played this role, which was beloved by the women, meant that he was directly involved in creating the hoax that deceived and

²⁹ Gusinde (ibid) mentions the presence of a series of white *horizontal* lines between which a dark red horizontal line was painted. These are not visible in the photographs. It is possible that there could be a mistake in the translation or in the original version of the text.

contributed to their domination, which in turn put the klóketen closer to the grown up men who were not just in possession of the secret, but actually enacted it.

The presentation of K'terrnen involved the body painting of other persons besides the initiand playing this role. The future appearance of the baby was announced by the most influential *xon*/shaman, who said: "You will soon see something beautiful, get ready." (Gusinde 1982: 932). This, together with the previously heard Xalpén's yelling when giving birth to her son/daughter, indicated that K'terrnen was going to be presented soon. The *xon* was painted and dressed for this special occasion. He wore his frontal ornament (*po'ojm*), and his cloak with the fur towards the inside (ibid: 933). His face was painted with a red transversal line from ear to ear, and with three dots, one on the nose and one on each side of the eyes (that is, the *xon*'s motif – see chapter 5). The women prepared themselves to receive the baby, by painting rows of white small dots on their faces (the *oxtálampten* design, Gusinde 1982: 932).



Plate 6.26. K'terrnen, next to Tenenesk, a *xon*/shaman who was the principal counsellor of the 1923 *hain* (S19).

6.4.5. Paintings for the dances/games.

Except for a dance/game which imitated the movements of sea lions (Gusinde 1982: 975), most of the playful dances performed by men and/or women during the *hain* involved wearing body painting.

6.4.5.a. The Hostan dances.

Hostan was an invisible female earth spirit. Her name also named a male dance of painted men (Gusinde 1982: 970; Chapman 1982: 124-125). This game consisted of a rite in which the women ‘punished’ the men. The men wore their hair split into three or four bundles, tied with long pieces of reeds or grass (Gusinde 1982: 970). They grouped on the ‘stage’, they squatted, and bounced up and down, making leaps as frogs. The women, especially the youngsters, attacked them, aiming at their husbands or a bachelor. The men dodged them jumping towards different directions, while the women tried to pull one of the bunches of their hair, and make the men fall. Once the women succeeded, the men were considered “dead”.

According to Gusinde, the purpose of this game was to generate a situation in which the women could override the men, which made the former enjoy the game enormously (1982: 970). And indeed the game seems to have been a kind of compensation for the stress and fear that the women underwent along the ceremony, although during the *hain* there were also other positive inputs for them as well, as suggested elsewhere in this chapter.

Body painting was only worn by the men during this game dance. It was very simple, consisting of a black ground painted on the faces or necks, with the rest of the body remaining naked (Gusinde 1982: 970, 971), or of “red horizontal stripes covered over by white chalk” (Chapman 1982: 125). (Note the similarity with the kulpus dance body paintings, below). The facial painting did not impede the identification of the men, who were recognised by the women and hence selected for the ‘attack’. There are no visual records of this dance, and no information about the possible meanings of these designs, or of their potential relation to the Hóshtan spirit.

6.4.5.b. The Kulpús dances.

These dances were named with the name of a female spirit, who is not visible for the audience (Gusinde 1982: 965). They were three, according to Gusinde (ibid) and

four according to Chapman (1982: 122). These are (in Chapman's terms): the hopping dance, the undulating dance (called 'snake' by Bridges 1951: 425, not described by Gusinde), the penguin dance (called 'frog' by Bridges and Gusinde) and the pushing dance.

The first three dances were performed only by men, while the last one also involved women. I will not describe their "choreography" here since they do not seem to show any linkage with the body painting designs (see Bridges 1951: 425-427; Gusinde 1982: 965-969; Chapman 1982: 122-124 for the descriptions of these dances).

The four dances involved the use of body painting. The decision to make body paintings or just facial paintings was related to the time of the day: if the dances were going to be performed during daylight, then the entire body would be covered with painted designs, while if they were going to take place at dusk, then only the face was painted (Gusinde 1982: 965, 967). This already indicates that body painting was not closely linked to the performances nor did it have specific meanings that should rigorously appear marked over the dancers' bodies. Furthermore, the fact that the choice of painting the body or of the face only was made according to the time of the day and hence the amount of light, suggests that this was mainly an ornamental painting to be viewed by the 'public' and/or the other dancers. Only in one of the dances (the pushing dance) a fire to lighten the scene is mentioned (Gusinde 1982: 969). This would have made the body paintings visible, yet these were not worn, hence their reduced relevance to perform the dances. So in this case, given the suggested lack of meaning of the paintings, the decision not to make them when the dances were to take place at night time seems to have been based on a least cost logic: there was no point in getting painted if nobody would be able to see it.

The men dancing the *hopping dance* got painted in the *hain* hut, wearing black on their faces and red on their bodies (Chapman 1982: 122); Gusinde does not describe any body painting within this particular dance, but in the paragraph previous to this dance he observed that the young men painted their faces in red when Tenenesk announced that the Kulpús was going to be danced next (1982: 965). For the *undulating dance* the men wore white horizontal stripes over a red ground on their trunks, arms and legs (Bridges 1951: 425).

The *penguin dance* involved several possible designs, which also varied according to the time of the day (note the differences on the information provided by

Gusinde and Chapman):

a) during the night

a-1) black ground over the face (Gusinde 1982: 967)

a-2) black ground over the face and red ground over the body (Chapman 1982: 123)

b) during day-time

b-1) red, white, and black diagonal stripes on the torsos or entire bodies, “as they do for the undulating dance” (Chapman *ibid*; note that for the undulating dance Bridges does not describe them as diagonal but horizontal)

b-2) on the torso (Gusinde 1982: 967):

- red transversal lines
- alternating red and white lines
- alternating black and white lines
- red ground covering the whole body, and two transversal white lines across the chest and over the navel

b-3) on the face (*ibid*):

- white transversal line, over the upper lip
- red or black ground

This dance has been documented by Bridges in one photograph (S119), where 11 male individuals (all seem to be very young or children) are jumping like a ‘frog’ (hence the name given by Bridges and later Gusinde)³⁰. The body painting consists of white horizontal lines across the whole body, hence partially matching Gusinde’s descriptions. It is likely that between the white lines a dark (red or black) line was also painted, which would match Gusinde’s description entirely, but it is difficult to distinguish these in the photo. Bridges noted that after this dance he saw several men making displeasing faces to the women, to show them their hatred and disdain, but he stated that but that the women could not see them, since they were too distant (1951: 426). Photograph S54, taken by Bridges, shows two men with their bodies painted with white horizontal lines, precisely in the moment of this action³¹.

³⁰ This photograph is particularly dark and a bit blur, so its information has not been included in the painted individuals database. Also, the fact that Gusinde edited this photograph to publish it in his book has already been commented in appendix B (see photos S54a and S54b below).

Plates 6.2/ and 6.2/b. Men scaring the women. Note the two versions of the same photograph (S54a, non-edited, published by L. Bridges, and S54b, edited, published by Gusinde)

³¹ As discussed in chapter 2, this photograph has also been published by Gusinde but with a different framing that leaves out a third man, not painted and wearing an occidental cap.

Chapman added to this that Federico said that the women laughed at them. As part of this scornful expression, they “had inserted bits of wood in their mouths and under their eyelids to make themselves look hideous” (1982: 124). This is particularly interesting for it shows a connection with two Yámana photographs, Y13 and Y61, which respectively show three children wearing facial paintings, and a youngster wearing facial paintings and a feather head band (a *chiéjaus* participant, according to the caption in Borrero et al. 1997), wearing the same sticks on the eyelids and mouths (Y13 and Y61), and in the nose orifices (Y13), although the circumstances and intention of these individuals is not clear.

Finally, for the *pushing dance*, the men only blackened their faces with charcoal powder, which Gusinde defined as a provisory resource, since the men should wear at least some paint (Gusinde 1982: 968). Hence the paint seems to have had no representational value, but was still a requirement for performing the dance. During daylight, the men wore coloured stripes for this dance, and the women wore face paintings with red and white stripes and spots (Chapman 1982: 124), an information that does not appear in Gusinde’s text.

There is one photograph taken by Bridges and republished by Gusinde (S66), whose caption reads Kulpús game (not indicating which one of the dances is being performed). It shows 14 individuals wearing exactly the same design, which consists of white and dark horizontal lines that cover the whole body (the face is not clearly visible). These observations match the descriptions of the designs most commonly worn for these dances.

In synthesis, the paintings worn for the *kulpús* dances were made using the three usual colours (red, white and black), and the decorative elements used mostly consisted of horizontal lines, and grounds. These basic geometrical designs seem to have been non-representational, and mainly formal visual requirements for these dances.



Plate 6.28. Kulpus dancers wearing body painting (S66).

6.4.5.c. Oshkonháninh, the phallic dance.

This dance, performed by the men, required a very particular bodily ornament (S55, S56). The men wore a 'costume' made of elongated bundles of small branches, grass and reeds, which the women gathered at the old men's request (Gusinde 198: 979). The bundles were worn as head bands, around the neck and around the waist, from which a long central bundle was suspended (Gusinde 1982: 980). This latter piece of the 'costume' represented a phallus, which was moved during the dance as if erect (Chapman 1982: 133). The men's bodies were also painted with black lines over which white rows of dots were painted. This design involved the creation of a specific decorative element (white row of dots over black line), which was exclusively used in the paintings for this dance. There is no information about the possible meanings of these special designs.



Plate 6.29. Oskonháninh dancers (S56).

6.4.5.d. The Hapaskán dances.

Gusinde reported that these dances were of Haush origin (Gusinde 1982: 973). The men painted their faces and bodies with a red ground and announced their presentation with a specific sound. The women observed the scene passively and did not intervene in it. The men squatted and moved 'jumping like frogs', looking and moving as Hapaskán, a spirit that lived under the earth and required that the men represent him (ibid). There is no available information that can help in the analysis of these paintings worn by the men.

6.4.5.e. The Kewanix dances.

The term "*kewanix*" meant "person painted in many colours, well adorned" (Gusinde 1982: 958-959), and it was only used for this scene. These dances were also called *héuwan tien* (Chapman 1982: 181) or *ewan* (Bridges 1951).

The scene was commanded by *Hainxo*, according to Gusinde (1982: 958), and by Tanu, according to Chapman (1982: 134). As stated above, Gusinde described *Hainxo* as a spirit of similar appearance to Tanu, but simpler in its design, while Chapman argued that *Hainxo* was in fact another name for Tanu. Beyond the discussion about the identity *Hainxo*/Tanu, it is clear that a spirit wearing a painted cloak was present during the *kewanix* dances. This is of particular interest, since the layout of the design that decorated this spirit can be related to that worn by the *kewanix* dancers.

The dances were carried out by men and women, and they took place on the open space in front of the big hut. Most of the adults participated in these dances (S2, S24, S57, S60, S61 – male³²), and female (S58, S59 - female); also young girls are mentioned by Gusinde (1982: 962) and one is visible in a photograph (S58).

The women were warned the previous night that *Hainxo* had already manifested his/her intentions to carry out this scene the following day. Both men and women had the right to wear a range of designs (*tari*), which corresponded to

- a) the earth/*harwins* or territories to which they belonged (Gusinde 1982: 961; Chapman 1982: 136)

³² Of these, photo S24 includes all the male individuals wearing these paintings, while the rest of the photographs picture smaller groups of these same individuals, wearing the same body painting designs. Gusinde noted that "to be photographed, the men grouped themselves according to their personal wishes. In forming these groups, they had the intention of putting ornaments of opposed designs next to each other." (Gusinde 198: 959, footnote 163). This is certainly noticeable in photos S2, S57, S60, S61). The reason why they wanted to be photographed like this is unknown.

- b) their skies/*so'ons* (Chapman 1982: 136; according to this author this latter situation was more frequent)
- c) the appearance/body painting of mythical ancestors (see below)

In choosing what 'emblem' (sensu Chapman 1982: 135) to wear, the men had to discuss this with Tenenesk, the *hain* 'inspector' (Gusinde 1982: 959). In spite of this territorial determination of the designs, Gusinde states that there are some designs which were very popular among the people from the North and the South (ibid: 960), which would to an extent contravene the relation of the designs to the *so'ons/skies* stated by Gusinde and by Chapman.

The referents of the *kewanix* designs were related to the myth of origin:

"All these varied drawings and colour designs are those that in ancient times had been worn by the women, when they were gathered in the *klóketen* hut. But the men surprised them there. All the women were transformed into animals or other natural objects. They were thus painted in those times, and they remain like this until today. We the men imitate now what was before practised by the women." (Gusinde 1982: 961).

Hence in the mythical sphere, a three-step transformation process seems to have occurred with the *hain-kewanix* body painting: firstly, the myth of origin states that in the female *hain*, the women wore body paintings; secondly, when they were surprised by the men they metamorphosed into natural elements (animals, plants, mountains), and remain like this in the present, bearing the marks of their paintings in their appearance³³; thirdly, the *kewanix* designs represent these natural elements, which are the referents of the designs, and therefore they seem to represent the appearance of the body painting worn by the women in the *hain* of the *hoowin* epoch. Therefore, the visual structure of the *kewanix* designs responds to a perceptual and conceptual cognitive rendition of mythical contents, which contains three layers of superimposed and integrated meanings.

It is not clear in Gusinde's text whether the women knew this mythical content of the designs or not. It is inferable from Chapman's data that they did know the

³³ These are called *hoowin* divinities by Chapman (*hoowin* referring to the mythical epoch and the ancestors), and she explains that the divinities were identified both with the skies, through a very complex symbolic system, and with the earths/territories, in relation to the places of the island in which an adventure or metamorphosis had occurred (1982: 136). The *hoowins* were usually related to more than one territory/*harwin*, since their adventures had taken place in different parts of the island. Furthermore, most of the *hoowin* divinities had two names: one that identified them in the *hoowin* epoch, before they were metamorphosed, and a common term of the Selk'nam language, by which these aborigines designated the fauna, flora and other natural elements of their environment (1982: 137).

referents and meanings of the designs they wore, and very likely their relation to those worn by the men (see details below).

Gusinde stated that in the *kewanix* paintings the Selk'nam artistic creative force reached its peak (1982: 959). Chapman considers that this opinion was related to the "symbolism expressed in the body designs and the sensual dancing of the naked painted bodies" (1982: 135). But the assessment of their importance should not be restricted to the symbolic content and expression of the designs, and should include the visual complexity achieved in their layout.

The information provided by Gusinde (1982: 960-961) about male *kewanix* designs is summarised in appendix R; it refers to their name, referent, provenance territory, and description, and the name of the wearer, to which I add his identification number in reference to photograph S24 (which shows all the male individuals together). Other designs of individuals not photographed by Gusinde are sometimes not described, and only their referent is mentioned.

The overall appearance of the *kewanix* designs is characterised by the white vertical lines and rows of dots. The red ground may also have been particularly visually striking, although this is not inferable from the photographs (obviously because they are black and white)³⁴. The *kewanix* designs were highly geometric, but were representational. It is clear that without the contextual knowledge about the referents that these designs were representing, it would be impossible for the anthropologist/archaeologist to infer that the paintings were representational, and to find out their represented referents. This may be the reason why Gusinde asserted that "the drawings have a special sense [meaning], but this apparently cannot be grasped rationally" (1982: 959).

While the referents of the designs were mythical, and hence conceptual/ideal, they were also material because the painted *hoowin* ancestors had metamorphosed into tangible and visible material elements of nature. Hence the referents of these paintings were mythical, but visible. Although these referents were visible, and even knowing them from the data collected by Gusinde, it is not possible to state if any particular portions of these (e.g. the feathers of a bird, the fins of a whale, etc.) were selected to

³⁴ According to Chapman, "the parts of the body which did not have a design were painted again with other colours, over the red paint." (1982: 135); I have not found this same information in Gusinde's description, it could come from her informants, but there is no indication of this.

make the representations (i.e. making these figurative), or if these latter did not bear any visual resemblance with the referents (i.e. making these abstract).

In spite of the lack of information to assess the figurative or abstract quality of the *kewanix* paintings, a formal analysis of these designs can shed light on the visual conventions used to construct and to decode them while viewing them. The *kewanix* paintings showed a great complexity and variety of designs. They were all composed by combining a limited number of decorative elements: lines, rows of dots, dots, dashes, Y-shaped bands, patches, and grounds, although not all of them were present in all the individual's layouts (see table 6.26 below). The representation of the referents was achieved by combining some of these decorative elements, generating specific patterns which acted as "emblems" (Chapman 1982: 136) of the natural beings/hoowin divinities that were represented.

The *kewanix* designs are mainly body designs. The face painting designs with which they were combined were also worn in everyday life circumstances, and are not *kewanix*-specific.

The *kewanix* designs worn by male individuals can be classified according to the motifs formed by the decorative elements listed below (table 6.26). The overall layout of the designs results from the combination of these motifs, and from their position on the body.

The comparisons are made basing the visual analysis on the white decorative elements and motifs, since these are the clearly visible on the black and white photographs; the dark ground (red, according to Gusinde) that covered the whole body is a common element to all the individuals, so it is not taken into account for this comparison, which aims to pinpoint *differences* in the layout of the designs. The detailed formal analysis of the designs worn by each of the ten men can be found in appendix R.

Table 6.26. Decorative elements and motifs that constitute the male *kewanix* designs.

Individual	type decorative elements	type motifs
42	LI + RD + GR	F + K + RT
43	LI + RD + DT + DS + GR	C1 + G + K + 2Linv
44	LI + RD + DT + DS + GR	G + J (X2)
45	LI + RD + DT + GR + Yb	CJ + YB
46	LI + RD + DT + DS + GR	A + CJ + G
47	LI + RD + GR + PT	F + J (X4) + J (X8) + JPT*
48	LI + RD + GR + PT	F + J (X4) + J (X8) + JPT

49	LI + RD + DT + DS + GR	A + CJ + G
50	LI + RD + DT + GR	CK + G + J + RT
51	LI + RD + DT + GR + Yb	CJ + G + YB

The formal analysis of the photographed sample of male *kewanix* designs shows that within these, some individuals wear very similar, or even exact designs, which are substantially different from others. This in itself indicates the existence of visual conventions to create patterned designs. And when put in context and related to the known referents represented by these designs, it reveals some of the rules of a visual and symbolic code.

The iconographic analysis of these formal differences suggests that the different layouts of the male *kewanix* paintings are mainly related to the different referents they represented (the *hoowin* ancestors appearances), and less to the cardinal points (*so'on/skies*) to which the referent and the wearer belonged. This is visible in that identical or very similar designs represent the same referents, although of different cardinal points/'skies' (e.g. individuals 47 and 48, who are from the North evening sky and South night sky respectively, wear exact designs)³⁵. Also, the designs representing different referents from the same cardinal points show no formal similarity (e.g. individual 47, representing the Southern night sky, and individual 45, representing the Southern 'somorgujo-bird'). In other cases, the *hoowin* referent and the sky coincide entirely, and so do the designs (e.g. individuals 45 and 51, representing the Southern 'somorgujo-bird', and individuals 46 and 49, representing the Western wind). So, according to the written and visual data about the sample under analysis, when *hoowin* referent and sky did not coincide, there was a primacy of the *hoowin* referent over the sky referent in the male *kewanix* designs.

In relation to the uses of colour for the designs of each sky, their distribution can be visualised in graphic 6.5.

³⁵ The different cardinal points might be represented by their small detail differences, but this is only a suggestion of a possibility, since there is no independent information to corroborate this.

Graphic 6.5. Colours used in male *kewanix* designs per sky.

North Red Black White	
West Red White	East No designs
South Red White Black	

This colour distribution can be compared with that found for the So'ortes designs and for the Tanus designs, to search for possible patterns of colour combinations use.

Table 6.27. Comparison of colour combination in So'orte, Tanu and male *kewanix* designs, according to sky/cardinal origin.

Cardinal point/sky	So'orte	Tanu - Gusinde	Tanu - Chapman	Male <i>kewanix</i>
North	R – W – B	R – W – B	R – W – B	R – W – B
West	R – W	R – W	R – W – B	R – W
South	R – W	R – W	R – W	R – W – B
East	R – W – B	R – W – B	No data	No designs

The distribution by cardinal point of colours used in the male *kewanix* designs shows similarity with the colours used in the North and West So'ortes, but not with those of the South, which lack black. This also happens when comparing these designs with those of Tanu spirit according to Gusinde's data, since the colours used in the North and East Tanus are the same, but not the South colours, again because of black, which was used in some of the Southern *kewanix* designs, but not by Tanu. Finally, less coincidence is found between the Tanus colours and those of the male *kewanix*, when considering Chapman's data, because only the North shows a full coincidence, while the West and South differ.

The women also got painted for the *kewanix* dances. Gusinde's description of the female *kewanix* paintings is much less detailed than that of the men. He stated that different white, black and dark red designs were applied over a red ground³⁶, which

- a) were much less complicated and diverse than the men's paintings
- b) had no special meaning
- c) were superficial imitations the men's designs (Gusinde 1986: 962).

The visual information obtained from two photographs (S58 and S59) of three individuals each, shows that the women's designs were indeed overall similar and less visually complex than the male's designs. This can be firstly noticed in the number of decorative elements used to create the designs, which is smaller than those used in the male designs: lines, rows of dots, patches, and ground (4 decorative elements out of the 7 elements worn by the men - the dots, dashes and Y-shaped bands are missing in the female *kewanix* designs). Less complexity is also involved in the layout of the designs, since many of them only require the combination of few decorative elements, which are mostly displayed by translation and in few cases by rotation too.

Table 6.28. Decorative elements and motifs that constitute the female *kewanix* designs.

Individual	type decorative elements	type motifs
119	LI + RD	A + Ap
120	LI + GR + PT	A + H
121	LI + GR + PT	CJ + 2L
122	LI + RD + GR	A + Ap
123	RD + GR	DMP
124	RD + GR	DMP

The formal analysis of the 6 female individuals wearing *kewanix* body paintings can be found in appendix R. It clearly shows that, besides their overall resemblance, women and men do not wear exactly the same *kewanix* designs. But these need not be exclusively related to a gender difference. They could also be related to the size of the sample: identical designs to those worn by the women might have been worn by other men that were not photographed, and vice-versa.

Also, the observation of identical female designs indicates that there existed visual conventions that guided the creation of these paintings, since they were not made randomly, following only the producer's or wearer's choice and will. This nevertheless

³⁶ The red ground is not observable in the photographs, so it has not been recorded in the database. White ground, covering specific body portions has been observed

does not prove per se that they had a specific referent and meaning. Still, Chapman retrieved new information about these designs from at least one of her informants, Angela Loij, who wore a design representing “the whale, a symbol of the north sky to which she belonged” (Chapman 1982: 137; photo S59, individual #123; also the same design is worn by individual 124). This makes it unlikely that the other female designs would not be representational.

In addition to this, the facts that the male designs were representational, that the female designs share an overall similarity with them, that they were worn in the same dance, and that women were also involved in the Selk’nam territorial (earth and sky) divisions, also hint towards the representational nature of the female *kewanix* designs.

The idea that the women imitated the men’s paintings is contradicted by the information provided by Gusinde that indicates that women and men got painted in different places, the former in some of the camp huts, the latter in the *hain* ceremonial hut (Gusinde 1982: 958, 962; see chapter 4). If for each *kewanix* dance the women got painted in a separate place than the men, it is obviously impossible for them to have seen and imitated the men’s designs before the scene started. This is also suggested by the fact that, since their body painting was simpler, the women got ready earlier than the men, hence they could not have a look at them when they were ready (Gusinde 1982: 962). Therefore, the women must have known the layout features designs from beforehand, if they were to paint them without any help from the men.

The female *kewanix* designs seem to have been representational and linked to the same mythical background than the male paintings. What is not clear is when and where they learnt about them.

A final gender difference in relation to these paintings involves the body portions in which they were worn. Men wore them entirely naked, over the trunk, abdomen, hips and thighs, as well as on the upper arms, in some occasions. Women wore them over the trunk, abdomen and upper arms. Gusinde stated that in ancient times women used to get almost entirely naked, only wearing a loin cloth, and painted the rest of their bodies as the men did, but they did not want to do this in the 1923 *hain*, and their explicit reason for this was the cold weather (1982: 962)³⁷. The men protested about this attitude of the adult women because in this way the complete ornamentation could not be applied (Gusinde 1982: 962).

³⁷ The girls did uncover their lower limbs and got painted only wearing a loin cloth (photo S58)

Besides their explicit excuse, this attitude of the women is likely to have happened because of the missionaries' influence in relation to the adoption of western clothing and the sense of "modesty" or "shame". But even if this was the case, this influence appears to have had a different impact on men and women, since men still got naked to get painted while women did not want to undress from their waist down (ibid). Also, the women may have been uncomfortable with the presence of a male European observer who was also recording their images with his camera.

To finish this section on the *kewanix* paintings, I want to focus now on the relation of the *kewanix* designs to *Hainxo* spirit painting design. As explained above, Chapman noted that the Selk'nam aborigines she interviewed made no distinction between *Hainxo* and Tanu: they were considered to be the same spirit (Chapman 1982: 134, 179). Although Gusinde did make a distinction between them, he noted a close similarity of their appearances (Gusinde 1982: 955).

These spirits are the two only ones which were represented not by the naked painted body of a man, but by a painted cloak which covered the man's head and body. Their painting basically consisted of vertical lines and rows of dots. Hence *Hainxo*'s and Tanu's paintings were not only similar to each other, but also similar to the *kewanix* designs.

Gusinde realised that there existed a connection between this spirit 'body' painting design and the designs worn by the men and women who danced in this scene: "the varied painting of the indigenous intends to be an imitation ... of the colours and designs of *Hainxo*. They organise this festive procession to show him that they know how to get painted at least with the same mastery as this spirit" (Gusinde 1982: 965). This is consistent with the fact that *Hainxo*/Tanu was the spirit that asked for the *kewanix* to be carried out.

But the relationship between the designs of the cloak of *Hainxo*/Tanu and that of the *kewanix* dancers goes beyond this formal observation, and has other entailments at an iconographic level. The detailed analysis of the *Hainxo*/Tanu designs and its relations to the *kewanix* designs is developed in appendix R. The results of this analysis show that there is no univocal relation between the Tanu pictured in photo S23 and the male *kewanix* paintings, since

a) the design of a single Tanu spirit (regardless of being from the South or from the West), shows a resemblance with the men's designs of two different skies (West and

South)

b) there is no visual unity in the all the men's designs from the same cardinal point, hence there is only partial coincidence of the male *kewanix* designs representing southern referents with the possibly southern Tanu.

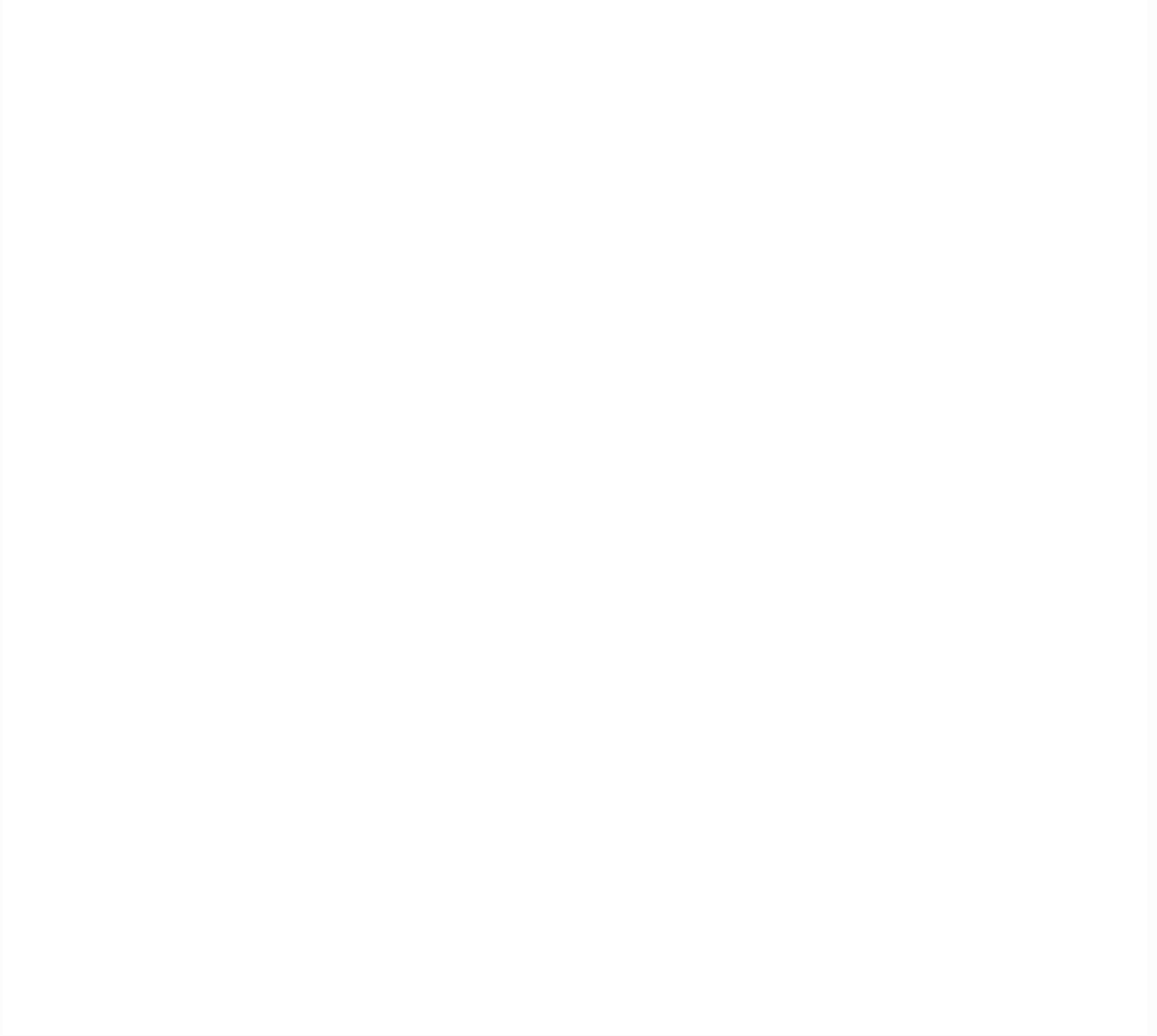


Plate 6.30. Male *kewanix* paintings (S24).



Plate 6.31. Female *kewanix* paintings (S59).

6.5. Brief conclusions.

There are clear differences in the visual features of the body painting designs worn on ceremonial occasions by the Yámana and Selk'nam, both at an intra-society and inter-society levels. Even a western observer can differentiate a Yámana *kina* spirit from a Selk'nam *hain* spirit by their formal visual properties. Moreover, visual differentiations within these groups of spirits were also clear.

While the apparitions of the Yámana *kina* spirits required their oral presentation by announcing their names, such verbal announcements were not necessary in the Selk'nam *hain*. This suggests that the body paintings of the former did not constitute a visual code alone, because their presentation required the aid of parallel verbal communication. Also, such potential visual code may have been forgotten by the majority of the population, given that in 1922 the *kina* had not been celebrated for about 30 years, hence the need of verbal explanations. In contrast, the fact that the Selk'nam spirits did not require such oral presentation suggests that their body paintings designs were structured according to a visual code, which was shared by (male) wearers and (female) viewers. Yet such sharing of the visual knowledge that allowed the interpretation of the images did not include other kinds of knowledge, those related to the myths of origin and to the manipulation of painting techniques to generate the visual effects shown 'on stage', on which the whole ceremonial experience was based. In correspondence with their different social structures in terms of gender differences, the manipulation of this informational capital was entirely male in the Selk'nam society, and partially shared by women in the Yámana society. The transmission and uses of such capital was not just a reflection of these social structures, it played a crucial part in their construction.

The visual codes upon which the identifications of these spirits and of the *chiéjaus* participants could be grounded, are mostly not based on one single visual element (e.g. colour, motif, orientation), but rather on combinations of these. In addition, the uses of specific material culture objects (head bands, decorated wands, painted masks), also contributed to a broader system of visual conventions that included but extended beyond body painting. But body painting, on its own, was in many cases a powerful and effective means of constructing situations, roles and relationships, of communicating contents, and of expressing and generating feelings and sensations.

Finally, the active role of the aborigines in the taking of at least some of the

photographs has been clearly shown in the cases studied in this chapter. Such 'encounter of subjectivities' was involved in the production of visual documents which bear the marks of the intentions of both the photographer and the subjects photographed. This double agency makes the photographs be reliable sources which, under critical analysis, can shed light on aspects of material culture which would otherwise remain in the dark.

Conclusions: body painting in action.

7.1. The power of action, the power of images. Implications of this research for knowledge about the aboriginal societies of Tierra del Fuego.

7.1.1. Diachronic dynamics.

From a regional perspective, the populations in continental Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego have in common the fact that they produced body painting. Yet, according to the available data, these productions show deep differences, mostly in that the variety and complexity of designs achieved by the Fuegian societies was never developed and/or recorded in Patagonia. These regional differences may be accounted for as the results of a series of factors, both environmental and social. Among the former, the fact that the two contrasting groups of societies are located in the continent (Patagonia) and the islands (Tierra del Fuego) points towards the possibility that insularity, and hence at least partial isolation, may have enhanced such differences. Among the latter factors, the different visual traditions identified in Patagonia (rock art, cloaks decoration, little body painting) and Tierra del Fuego (no rock art, little cloak decoration, sophisticated body painting, object decoration in the Yámana case) were deeply rooted in each socio-cultural context, hence the differences seem also to have responded to such societies' needs and desires.

In contrast with the deep differences between the Patagonian and Fuegian body paintings, within the Fuegian area the body paintings bear clear similarities, especially in their functions, which suggest inter-social contact. Yet they also show various inter-society differences, which again indicate that beyond the existence or lack of contact, underlying socio-cultural factors were structuring the differential construction of body painting practices.

Diachronically, the habit of body painting was either shared by the original populations of the Fuego-Patagonia region, which then diverged after the formation of the Magellan strait, or, alternatively, body painting was created later separately by the continental and insular populations. Although the early archaeological finds of colouring substances in the Beagle channel sites indicate an early management of such materials, an interpretation of their purpose is far from straightforward. Hence at present there is

unfortunately not enough evidence to support one of these hypotheses over the other. Further study of these substances and of potential painting tools may hint towards a clearer direction in the future.

Short-term diachronic continuities in certain designs have been identified in the Yámana (e.g. Y32 and Y15) and in the Selk'nam case (e.g. S18 and S118). These in turn suggest a successful continuation of a visual tradition at least from the 1880's to the 1920's.

7.1.2. Synchronic logics.

Although there is clear and reliable information that body painting was practised in Tierra del Fuego from the XVI century onwards, most of the analysis of its production and display dynamics has been based on the late XIX and early XX century records. Hence the results obtained mostly shed light on these productions from a synchronic perspective.

A number of different simultaneous and interacting dimensions formed part of the dynamics that underlay body painting production and use. In the first place, body painting is, regardless of the different ways of pigment processing and application, a particular technique with specific affordances and hence potential uses/manipulations. As a technique, body painting played a part in the paintings' purposes. These were fulfilled by some of their features, especially the fact that they are erasable, which makes the painted images ephemeral.

The fact that the paint could be erased was important, for example, in the Yámana mourning paintings, which both conveyed the news of the decease of a person and the causes of his/her death, but after a certain amount of time would not need to be worn any more. Paint erasing was also crucial in the painting of the *kina* and *hain* spirits (possibly also of the *chiéjaus* spirit, in spite of the little information available), obviously because to maintain the 'secret' about the spirits' representations, the men had to appear unpainted after the representations so as not to hint any relation to the presentations of these beings. In such cases, visual knowledge to view and interpret the images was shared, while the making of the images was secret. Such secret production was fundamental for the later effect of the paintings on the viewers. In this sense, body painting was a 'technology of enchantment' (sensu Gell 1992: 43), since the withdrawal of technique from the public's sight fulfilled part of its 'magical' effects when the paintings were viewed.

The materials used to make the paint seem to have formed, on some occasions, part of the purposes of the paintings, such as when guanaco bones were burnt and ground to make the Selk'nam engagement white paintings and, strangely, flint seems to have been ground to make black wedding paintings. Although we do not know the reason why these materials were particularly chosen, the mineral pigments usually employed were not considered adequate for such situations. Hence the materials, and not just the designs, were situation-specific and possibly significant. This clearly coincides with the non-neutrality stance developed by the 'critical theory of technology' as explained in chapter 1 (e.g. Ingold 1986b, Pfaffemberger 1992).

Furthermore, certain specific techniques seem to have been employed by individuals playing specific roles, possibly helping in the construction and reinforcement of these. Such is the case of the application of paint on the palm of the hand, from which lines were scratched out and then the remaining lines applied to the face, which was only used by the Selk'nam *xons*/shamans to paint their faces. Designs made by other techniques, for example that requiring the careful painting of rows of small dots (possibly by the application of the paint with a comb-like instrument dipped in paint) were worn by adults and by some Selk'nam children, but are likely to have always been manipulated by adults, given the level of dexterity required. This relation between two age classes was also marked in the *chiéjaus*, the *hain*, and in the first menstruation rituals of Selk'nam and Yámana girls, all of which involved adult 'guides' (of the same gender) painting young candidates in a non-public context. Hence, during such processes, the younger generations were incorporating the technical and visual aspects involved in the paintings, many of which were not likely to be learnt in any other situation. And, at the same time, the adult generations were enforcing a specific trend, narrowing the potentially wide scope of ways of making designs, into a structured and appropriate pattern, which was then being transmitted and reproduced, intentionally and/or by habit. Such process of transmission (teaching and learning) seems to have involved both verbal and non-verbal communication. According to the written sources, the patterns of some designs (especially the *hain* spirits, the *kewanix* paintings and the *kina* spirits) and their meanings, were verbally explained by the adults to the youngsters. Instead, the production of these and other paintings seems to have been transmitted non-verbally, and learnt mostly from imitation. This suggests that the access to

a visual code which could even work without the support of oral information during the paintings display, did require an initial verbal explanation, which was incorporated, and on which the viewer would later back his/her interpretation of the meanings and/or the roles and situations that such paintings referred to. Conversely, it seems that learning painting techniques and putting them in practice did not require such verbal knowledge, and relied more on visual information, except for the crucial point of keeping the whole process secret when the paint was being used to create spirits images.

The handling of materials, techniques and the overall production processes, constituted an informational capital that generated and maintained a social division mainly based on age and gender. This division was constructed on the basis that the uses of the painting techniques (and possibly their creation) were dictated by the adults, and that the production processes were under their control, varying according to the situation:

- in the male initiation ceremonies (*hain* and *kina*), these processes were administered by male adults in the Selk'nam case, and by male adults and a few female adults, in the Yámana case
- in the mixed initiation ceremony (*chiéjaus*), they were controlled by male and female adults
- in the first menstruation celebrations, they were controlled by female adults

Hence the social relations of production involved in body painting (especially in the situations mentioned above), entailed that the roles of the painters, who prepared and applied the paint to make the designs, were in many cases roles of authority. These roles gave them power to control how to do the paintings, to wear them and/or to instruct the younger persons how to wear them, over the youngsters who were initiated, and over the women and children who were special viewers (in the *kina* and especially in the *hain*).

Moreover, the images themselves were sometimes means and sources of power. In the Selk'nam case, the spirit paintings (especially So'orte) were daunting, but aesthetically appealing. The ambivalence of these images was then manipulated as means of coercion and consensus, since they aroused fear, but generated aesthetic pleasure. The combination of both qualities seems to have made it more difficult to ignore and to disengage from their effects.

Chapman has rightly pointed out that, in the Selk'nam case, the *hain* masks emanated power, by putting the men in contact with the spirits (Chapman 1982: 86, 1997: 90). I propose that power also stemmed from the use of paint. Paint was not a means of connection with the spirits as the masks were, but it was a vital element in making the representations effective, in making the spirits visually tangible. Hence the horror of the Selk'nam when they faced the possibility of being photographed by Gusinde during the process of getting painted: if such pictures had fallen into the women's hands, the power of these images could have disappeared. This case coincides with that of the ritual arts of Papua New Guinea, in which women were "kept rigorously uninformed about how the illusion is produced ... free from all awareness of stage business and technical trickery" in order to make the ritual impersonations effective, that is, to make them believable by the viewers (Schwimmer 1990: 10). Hence the vividness and 'reality' of the illusion depends on concealing its human-made, technically constructed nature.

Such manipulation of the paintings in the *hain* and *kina* ceremonies had the ideological function of showing the men suffering the actions of spirits (i.e. by means of showing the daunting and aggressive spirits and/or the effects of their attacks), while in fact the men were representing the spirits, and both oppressing the women and gaining sympathy from them by manipulating body painting production.

But being a body painting producer did not automatically entail power. From the many written sources consulted, it is very clear that the gathering and storage of pigments was a very common activity, and that in many cases women were in charge of this task. It is also clear that virtually everybody had some knowledge about at least some of the body painting techniques, due to the existence of everyday life paintings, which were practised in public. Yet in some cases body painting was secretly manipulated as a means of control and oppression of women and children. And in doing so, the men relied on the pigments that had previously been collected, mostly by the women. Moreover, during the ceremonies, the men (embodying spirits or as their emissaries) asked the women for even more pigments, which they had to provide. Hence the women were providing the means through which they were suppressed by the men.

Yet, if they wanted, the men could have gathered enough pigments to last for the whole ceremony. Therefore, it is my contention that this was not only an economic but also

a ritual transaction. This provision of pigments was a kind of enactment of the power of men over women, and of the women's (possibly knowledgeable) subjection to the non-egalitarian system, as a form of maintaining it and avoiding further conflict. This economic and ritual interaction bears an element of exploitation, in so far as the men gained further control of the women by manipulating resources generated by the latter. This clearly shows that having certain control of some means of production (e.g. pigments) did not automatically guarantee that the power that could stem from their uses would not be driven against those who initially controlled them (cf. Godelier 1976, who to some extent provides a more mechanical account of the entailments of the access to the means of production, though not in relation to art production and use).

This intra-society gender and age division was reproduced by the fact that the control of the knowledge, technical resources and development of the body painting productive process was held by male and/or female adults (according to the occasion), who guided the learning about body painting creation and use, guaranteeing the continuation of a visual tradition. The traditions were different in the Yámana and Selk'nam cases, since while in the former the women had access to all body painting production contexts and more thorough knowledge about its uses, in the latter they clearly had no access to ceremonial production contexts, and (at least explicitly) less knowledge about its uses. In turn, this was consistent with each social structure, coinciding with the important gender *differences* of the Yámana society, and the deep gender *inequality* of the Selk'nam society.

These social divisions reinforced and were reinforced by the age and gender divisions that structured other social relations of production, such as those underlying mobility and subsistence activities. As noted in chapter 2, the role of Selk'nam women in subsistence was considered as subsidiary, and although many domestic tasks, and especially their mobility, did rely on their transport of the packed tents, these task seems not to have been regarded as significant enough as to confer them power and a more equal status within society. Instead, in the Yámana society, the women fulfilled two fundamental tasks within the same role: while rowing the canoes, they were simultaneously in charge of mobility, and of carrying out a crucial part of the seal hunting process, hence also contributing substantially to subsistence. This does not necessarily imply that mobility and subsistence activities directly determined the dynamics of body painting production and

use, but the similarity of the roles' structures found in both spheres is remarkable. What these similarities in subsistence and body painting roles suggest, is that the Selk'nam and Yámana societies had socio-economic structures based on social relations of production which had similar logics cutting across different spheres of production.

It is then clear that, at an inter-society level, these social structures differed. The causes of such different logics are very difficult to ascertain, and I can only suggest that they may have been related to two (non-exclusive) main factors: the socio-economic and ideational backgrounds generated by the Selk'nam and Yámana ancestors, and the availability of materials and landscape features of the territories they occupied.

7.1.3. Situational variations: inter-society comparisons and interactions.

Although there is very early archaeological evidence of decoration of bone artefacts by engraving, this tradition was already lost by the time the Europeans reached Tierra del Fuego. In relation to object decoration, the Selk'nam only painted their masks, while the Yámana painted not only their masks, but various other ceremonial artefacts (tablets, wands, hut frames). But, for both societies, at least during the contact period, the body was the main medium or support of image making. The creation of body painting was pervasive in the Selk'nam and Yámana societies, involving an important number of situations. Its use showed numerous similarities and also significant differences.

Although it is clear that everyday life paintings existed, there is not enough information to show any trends or visual patterns in either of the two societies. Various special occasions of the Selk'nam and the Yámana social life required body painting. Birth was the first occasion at which the a Selk'nam person could get painted, and such a practice marks a difference with the Yámana, who do not seem to have painted their newly born babies.

First menstruation was a situation in which both Selk'nam and Yámana societies required that girls were painted and advised by female relatives, and such procedures functioned to an extent as a private and individual female initiation to adulthood. Although the colours of the painting were different (white in the Selk'nam case and red in the Yámana), the designs were quite similar: a set of lines radially displayed from under the eyes, along the cheeks (motif B). The little amount of information available does not allow

us to establish a solid pattern in relation to these paintings, but the overall similarity of the designs and of the rituals that the girls underwent is quite remarkable.

The Selk'nam seem to have celebrated a kind of 'engagement', previous to the wedding, both of which required the special materials noted above, and both of which involved facial paintings with motifs which were entirely uncommon and hence situation-specific (white I for engagement – S13 –, and black Bp for the wedding – S7). The Yámana wear facial paintings of a very common motif (red A – drawing 5), but the distance between the parallel horizontal lines looks, at least in the drawing, as much smaller than in the rest of the cases, hence possibly contributing to the visual identification of the bride's and groom's roles. These seem to have worn the same designs, hence not marking a gender division. But the Selk'nam 'engagement' design was gender oriented, since it was only worn by the woman, while the man did not wear a special painting but just an ordinary motif.

The shamans of both societies wore paintings. Special designs are not identifiable for the Yámana *yekamushes* everyday life or activities as healers. In contrast, Selk'nam *xons* are identifiable by their special facial painting designs (motif Ex, with the two external dots placed on the temples instead of the cheeks, as worn by other individuals for other situations), which only they would wear. But the *yekamushes* wore special designs (Y44) on their body, entirely different from any other paintings, when attending *loimayekamush*, their 'school', through which they were initiated to their role. And they also wore mortuary paintings, which in turn constitute the only painting for such purpose known in Tierra del Fuego.

Although it has been noted that Yámana and Selk'nam women could be shamans or healers (Stambuk 1986: 64, Chapman 1982: 51), the visibility of female shamans in the visual records is nil. Their identification may be biased by the lack of published information about the roles of individuals depicted in many photographs. But this might also be showing that there were fewer female shamans, and/or that they were less important and/or less 'visible'/recognisable in terms of their body paintings by the time the records were made.

Mourning was another occasion in which body painting was worn and viewed by both societies. But mourning paintings were much more developed by the Yámana than by

the Selk'nam. The Selk'nam mourning paintings do not show any clear motifs or colour patterns. Although Gusinde claimed that these paintings communicated the mourning feelings and news about a death, it is not clear how this would happen through viewing the painted motifs, given that no visual code could be revealed. It is likely that scarification and tonsure, which were more systematically worn by the Selk'nam, complied with such functions.

Unlike the Selk'nam, the Yámana had a range of motifs that communicated the message of the death of a person (including the cause of death) and the wearer's grief. Hence these paintings were representational and, sometimes, iconic. The high sophistication of the Yámana mourning designs was underlain by a visual code of communication which could transmit meaningful visual information without the need of supporting it with verbal expressions.

Another distinction between the Yámana and the Selk'nam mourning paintings is that the former had two different mourning commemorations: the *talawaia*, celebrated for each individual death, and the *yamalashemoina*, the relatively periodical group celebration. These two could not be distinguished in terms of the designs worn for each. But what is interesting is that the dynamics involved in the latter, which included facial painting, and painting of paddles and rods to develop a fake fight in which people 'blamed' each other for the deaths, shows clear similarities with the blood revenge, which had been earlier practised in the XIX century. It is my contention that, because blood revenge was much opposed by the Anglican missionaries, and because it could generate deaths that added to an already weakening society, blood revenge may have been replaced by the *yamalashemoina* as a ritualised version of it. It is clear, in conclusion, that the Yámana mourning paintings and celebrations were significantly different and much more elaborated than the Selk'nam ones.

Possibly corresponding to their wide variety and eye-catching display, the better documented facial and body paintings are those worn during the initiation ceremonies. The differences in the body paintings worn in the Yámana *chiéjaus* and *kina* and in the Selk'nam *hain* are clear-cut enough to allow the recognition of individuals involved in each of these ceremonies just by observing visual data. Yet the differences between the *chiéjaus* paintings and those worn by the Yámana for other situations are not clear-cut, since some

of the same motifs were worn, for example, during mourning. In this case, the identification of a Yámana individual who was participating in the *chiéjaus* could not be done only on the basis of the motifs, their colours or orientations, but rather by combining these and relating them with other ritual paraphernalia, such as the *hapaxel* (down head bands) and, especially, the decorated dancing wands. Also, there seem to have existed some trends in the designs according to the gender and age of the wearer, which may in turn have helped in constructing their roles (female vs. male, godparent vs. initiand), through their visual differentiation. These trends are quite clear in some cases, such as in the fact that the range of motifs to be worn was broader in the adults' case and in the males' case, which suggests that they had more choice and freedom to choose different designs, possibly because of their dominance within the ceremony, and overall, within Yámana society.

Conversely, in the *kina* and *hain* ceremonies, the visual patterns are much more clear-cut. The first obvious observation is that the spirits' roles were always played by men, which marks a very deep gender division. The overall design of the spirits was visually constructed by painting the whole body (with some inter-society differences, see below) and wearing painted masks. An interesting feature that most of the *kina* and *hain* spirits designs share in common is that they usually involved painting the lower arms and calves in white. This characteristic is one of the most diagnostic visual elements of identification of these roles. Although the reason why these beings were painted like this remains unknown, it clearly shows the existence of an interaction between the Selk'nam and the Yámana that goes beyond the general habit of representing spirits by painted and masked men. The habit of sending a spirit/group of spirits to the camp to request pigments from the women also shows a clear similarity between the body painting dynamics involved in the two ceremonies.

The assessment of the origins of such similarity is far from simple. The two obvious possibilities are that either the two visual traditions had a common origin, or that one society copied the tradition of the other one. This is not just relevant for the visual productions themselves, and needs to be related to the mythical and symbolic sphere of the two societies. Gusinde (1986: 1358) and Chapman (1987: 86) considered that the origins of the *kina* had to be traced back to a Selk'nam influence. This interpretation was based on the fact that Yámana social structure was not as heavily based on male dominance as the

Selk'nam, hence the ceremony's female suppression logics would be 'alien' to the Yámana society. Yet Koppers (1991: 156) recorded information that pointed to a possible influence from the Alacaluf, whose social structure, as the Yámana's, was not heavily male-dominant. Therefore, a possible more complex mixture of inter-society influences and intra-society rearrangements and re-creations may have happened in the development of the *kina*.

Besides these potential differences in origin and development in time, in the early XX century, when Gusinde observed the *kina*, it had not been celebrated for about 30 years¹, while the *hain* had been celebrated only a couple of years before. These differences in the frequency of celebration can also be related to the fact that the *hain* was celebrated by the Selk'nam with great intensity and abiding strictly by the rules, while the Yámana *kina* was a mild and dispassionate performance. Hence the *kina* seems not to have been regarded by the Yámana as primordial for their socio-cultural life, while the *hain* was clearly crucial for the existence of Selk'nam society, and was not weakening as much as the *kina*. Consequently, the differential treatment of the secrecy about the body painting process on these ceremonies by each society clearly coincides with these different attitudes towards the whole ceremony: it was core and crucial for the Selk'nam, but not so sacred and essential for the Yámana.

Even if the Yámana had copied the ceremony structure from the Selk'nam or the Alacaluf, it is clear that they had re-created it according to their own socio-cultural values. The Yámana spirits show an enormous variety of mythical referents and of designs which do not coincide with those created by the Selk'nam or the Alacaluf. For example, their many spirits representing sea referents, so much linked to the Yámana mode of life, are clearly absent in the Selk'nam case (though might have been present in the Alacaluf case, but non-documented). Also, the women's participation in the Yámana *kina* marks a difference: not only were they aware of the uses of body painting to represent the spirits

¹ This fact suggests, in turn, that during the late XIX and early XX centuries, the core memory practice and mechanism of transmission of the *kina* tradition may have been verbal, and not visual, due to the lack of display of the spirits designs for such a long period of time. This may have had a deep impact in the layout of the designs when they were again displayed in 1922, since these may have been substantially transformed due to the lack of frequent displays which would refresh the memory about them, and/or of inscribing practices which could store such visual information. It may also be due to these primarily oral incorporating practices that the *kina* spirits were orally introduced during their presentation in the *kina*, while such oral information was not necessary in the Selk'nam *hain*.

and their effects, but they also put them in practice in some scenes, participating in the ‘male deception’ to the rest of the women and the children. Finally, in the myths of origin, the manipulation of paint by the women is also different, since while in the Selk’nam myth the women were discovered washing it off and hence were killed for deceiving the men, in the Yámana myth the women suffered the same fate, but also used paint to mark the backs of the men and hence show the rest of the viewers that the spirits were only painted men. In synthesis, the existence of inter-society interactions *and* differences are then quite clear, but the independent or otherwise influenced origin of the ceremonies cannot be established through the analysis of body painting practices.

The differential effect of westerners on the custom of painting the body can clearly be pinpointed in the visual records. Although both societies had adopted the use of western clothes, the Selk’nam still had access to wearing their aboriginal clothes, while the Yámana always appear wearing western clothes, possibly because of the different intensity of interaction between the voyagers and missionaries with these societies. This, in turn, can be related to the fact that the Selk’nam men do appear entirely naked wearing body paintings. The Selk’nam women, instead, would at most uncover their torso to wear paintings, which shows a combination between aboriginal and western values in relation to female nakedness, which is still consistent with the Selk’nam gender division. Conversely, the Yámana men and women were never pictured wearing paintings over the entirely naked body, and only rolled up their sleeves and trousers to paint portions of their arms and legs, or, in the men’s case, at least wore a loin cloth (which could be painted over as part of the designs). This milder gender difference is consistent with the Yámana social structure, and at the same time shows the western influence over the Yámana body painting habits through the introduction of new dressing customs.

7.1.4. Images, re-presentations and beyond.

At a formal level, the repertoire of Selk’nam and Yámana share some decorative elements, motifs, and various visual principles and features that characterise the paintings. But clear qualitative and quantitative differences between them have been established in the designs, particularly in the motifs worn. These differences are not claimed to have been perceived by the aborigines as statements of their identity, because there is no independent

information to back up such assumption. But they coincide with and reinforce the fact that these were different societies, who generated different visual products.

Both societies show a clear preference for axially symmetric designs. The only exception to this are the asymmetric but axially divided designs in some Yámana mourning paintings (and a few of unknown purpose). The usual orientation of the designs was vertical or horizontal, and little use was made of diagonal orientations (again, observed in very few Yámana cases). The designs were mainly structured by a one-dimensional translation of one or two decorative elements (i.e. following a line). Rotation was also used, though less frequently, and reflection was almost never used².

Hence the variety of the designs relies much more on the decorative elements and motifs used, and on their position on the body, rather than on the visual principles and features involved in their structure. Some decorative elements were situation-specific: for example, the big dots in the So'ortes designs, and the lines and rows of dots in the *kewanix* paintings. But overall, the decorative elements used by both societies were less specific to the situations in which they were worn than the motifs.

Although there is no information about how the Fuegians perceived their designs (e.g. if they 'saw' them in terms of figure and ground, orientation, symmetry, etc.), these design tendencies show that there were consistent ways of constructing the images, based on visual perception and thinking, and structured by intention and habit. These tendencies are deeply informative about the socio-cultural dynamics underlying visual art production, which can be traced in time and space, and hence are useful for the study of any archaeological case, including prehistoric materials.

At an iconographic level, there were cases of clear-cut visual identifications of referents of the designs, for example in the Yámana mourning paintings and in the *kina* and *hain* paintings. The spirit designs constitute a particularly complex system of constructing and conveying visual and mythical meaning, since they constituted 'representations within representations'. The mythical being was represented by a man masked and painted in a certain manner that made it possible to visually identify the spirit. But, within such representation, in some cases the colours and/or the motifs worn were also representational

² This is related to the fact that the decorative elements and motifs are mostly symmetric themselves, while reflection involves displaying a-symmetric motifs which mirror each other.

– of ‘skies’/cardinal points, of feathers, of fish-scales. Hence the double layers of meaning representation were inter-related to generate the specific design of an individual spirit.

But the designs were not exclusively worn to communicate contents. Some cases show that designs were worn to mark roles or situations, such as the wedding, *chiéjaus* or the *xons* paintings, which, according to the available information, were not representational. While in the representational designs a visual code was needed to encode and decode their meanings, in these cases other visual conventions applied, not to encode and convey a message in relation to a further referent, but to suit a situation. Such dynamics could be broadly termed ‘communication without a denotation-code’, since they conveyed visual information about such roles or situations, but did not communicate a meaningful message referring to a represented referent.

7.2. The future of the past. Theoretical and methodological implications of this project.

The perspective from which this research project has been structured is centred on the realisation that the creation of *any* product involves social relations of production, and that the economic aspect of a society is not only an ‘external determinant’ of visual art production, but a fundamental part of its existence. The contextual determination of art (such as rightly pointed by Faris 1972, 1978, and Wolf 1993) is simultaneous to its active role in the development of society. Visual art is a material part of reality, and not exclusively its representation (Bryson 1983, Freedberg 1989, cf. Baynes 1975, and Zis 1987 who suggests a more passive embeddedness of art in its social context). Its active role then stems from the very process of its production in which people engage through different social relations of production, and continues through its display, and even through its disposal.

Yet this economic aspect is inter-related with the political and ideological functions of visual art, with its cognitive dimension, including the thought, perception and memory involved in creating and viewing it, and with many spheres such as technology, myth, and subsistence, all of which contribute to its production and use. Although any particular dimension of the existence of images can be highlighted for analytical purposes, the others

should not be neglected in the overall theoretical perspective, given that it is by studying their interaction that image making can be better understood.

This perspective also contradicts the commonly held idea that images are deceptive. It rather focuses on the fact that art images are realities (not just illusions) that are manipulated by human agents: even the 'deceptive' spirits were actual visual realities through which Fuegian men and women interacted. Images are not deceptive *per se*, people who manipulate them can be.

The usual pre-eminence of the study of the ideational functions of images over the study of their material aspects stems from the idea that images are representations. But, as shown in the cases under study, images should not be expected to be just representations of (previous) realities since they are also part of their constructions. Images, whether representational or non-representational, involve the presentation of a material creation which has a series of visual qualities which can be subject to formal analysis.

Formal analysis, and, when suitable, iconographic analysis, require the development of a relevant and reliable methodology. This mainly involves a critical approach to and systematic gathering of the data, whether these are written or visual (coming from visual records or from observing the actual art images).

Through the development and application of the methodology for this project, I hope to have shown that visual information should not be *a priori* treated as more subjective than other kinds of information³. Moreover, much archaeological information is in fact visual (e.g. the shapes of pots, the angles of lithic flakes edges) and usually handled systematically, and there is no reason why art images should be treated less rigorously. Hence the methodology should a) find out *relevant* features to record (which both show qualities of the images and are helpful in answering our questions) and clearly define the variables, b) generate clear *rules* about how to proceed and c) keep *consistent* ways of recording the information.

I also hope to have shown the importance of distinguishing the basic visual features that structure a design from those that arise from their interaction, because this allows us to break down design complexity (which can be bewildering and misleading), and can help in

³ The representational and expressive burden of visual information seems to have affected image analysis more than any other kind of archaeological and anthropological study, yet expression of feelings and ideas can be found in other sources of evidence, such as faunal remains.

finding hidden patterns and hence explaining as far as possible how such complexity was developed. With the exception of the studies of symmetry, which have focused on the visual principles that structure different symmetric patterns (Speiser in Gombrich 1984, Washburn 1989) the few authors who have defined most of the visual features that characterise an image (e.g. Arnheim 1956, Moore 1991, Acton 1997) have not focused on their potential internal hierarchy. The search for 'balance' or for 'perspective' may be more systematic and clearer if firstly the shape, position and orientation of motifs is identified, since the former are perceptual results that rely on the latter features, which are also perceptual, but more independent and basic variables. Therefore their visual construction can be better accounted for, since it can trace the changes or continuations in each variable rather than only in the results of their combinations.

Yet it is important not to expect to always find direct or univocal relations between two variables (e.g. motif and colour), which would obviously be ideal to establish the existence of a visual code. Rather, as the results of this project have shown, statistical *tendencies* can also be expected. These may show significant conventions that structured such trends and gave a range within which visual creations were adequate.

Because art images are the result of a work process, its technical analysis is clearly an appropriate way of tackling it. Such study of image making does not just have a descriptive purpose (which is still a necessary first step), but, as shown in this thesis, the data obtained can be further analysed to shed light on the economic roles of producers, and political and ideological uses of the visual effects generated, and their implications for society.

Beyond the potential applications of these concepts to the analysis of other cases, it has been my aim to show their usefulness and relevance for the study of the Fuegian body paintings. By approaching the analysis from this perspective, I have tried to reveal how body painting was produced in Tierra del Fuego to create not only a visual illusion, but a visual reality. In doing so, I hope to have contributed in shedding new light on our knowledge about the Selk'nam, the Yámana, and the power of their images.

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**Body painting in Tierra del Fuego.
The power of images in the uttermost part of the world.**

Volume II

Danae Fiore

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Appendix A. Databases: variables, criteria and rationale.

This appendix presents the set of variables used to carry out the visual analysis of the body painting designs, using two databases. Such variables, the criteria used to define them and their different states, and the rationale on which the identification of the decorative elements and motifs is based, are presented in this appendix.

A.1. The databases.

Two databases have been created and used in this project:

- 'catal' (in the CDrom) records the data of each visual document (photo or drawing) which forms part of the thesis' catalogue,
- 'bdp' (in the CDrom) records the data about body painting per individual.

The data recorded in the two databases can be easily linked by the number of each visual record, which is the same in both databases: for example, individuals 265, 266 and 267 appear in photo Y019; individual 7 appears in photo S005 (see samples of databases forms in A.2.2 and A.3.4, which show the forms of this latter example). The data have not been integrated in the same database to avoid repeating the information about each photo or drawing in each individual's record, which would result in a much bigger database with redundant information.

This appendix presents the list of variables recorded in the visual records catalogue and body painting databases. When necessary, the criteria behind the selection and definition of a variable and its different states are explained. In the case of the decorative elements and motifs that constitute the body painting designs, the rationale behind a) the definition of such variables and b) the identification the different decorative elements and motifs is developed separately, after the whole list of variables has been presented. Finally, a brief methodological note on the use of databases and on the interpretation of the results provided by this database is introduced with the aim of clarifying the readings of the tables and quantitative data used in this thesis.

A.2. Variables for the visual documents database ['catal']

- record number (which is the same than the images catalogue number and allows reference to the visual records compiled in it)
- photo or drawing
- author of photograph/drawing
- author of publication
- aboriginal society
- date taken/made
- date published
- publication
- caption
- collection/institution/archive
- subject of photo/drawing (e.g. hunting, walking, initiation ceremony, etc.)
- body painting
- face painting
- number of persons
- number of painted persons
- age (see below)
- gender (see below)
- roles played by the individuals (e.g. spirit, initiand, bride, etc.)
- wearing masks? (yes, no)
- decorated? (yes, no)
- use of ornaments or instruments? (yes, no)
- decorated? (yes, no)
- observations (including details about the background of the photo/drawing, such as if it was taken in open air, inside a hut, which type of hut, etc.).

A.2.1. Notes about the age and gender variables.

This database records the gender and age of the persons wearing body painting and of those who appear in the photographs not wearing it (which does not usually occur), because this allows to assess potential gender and age differences in the wearing and non-wearing of this body ornament. In recent years, gender has been the subject of thorough exploration and study in archaeology and anthropology (e.g. Claasen 1992, Moore 1995, etc.). This research project does not focus on the analysis of gender as a central topic. Yet gender is considered as one of the main variables

taken into account in the characterisation of the individuals who produced, wore and viewed body paintings. Gender is conceived here as a cultural condition, but only two genders –male and female– are considered and no other states of this variable are taken into account or explored, since the data do not indicate the existence of other possibilities. The relevance of considering gender in this research is related to some of its implications within the societies under study: as will be shown in this thesis, gender was a fundamental variable upon which many social roles and relationships were established, including the production, wearing and viewing of body painting.

As gender, age was another fundamental variable that structured social life, and, again, it will be shown that it was deeply involved in body painting practices. To record the age of an individual, the following age categories have been defined, according to the criteria between brackets:

- old = O (many wrinkles and grey hair)
- adult = A (mature)
- youth = Y (during and after puberty)
- child = C (pre puber)
- baby = B (in arms of in the initial stages of walking)

These age categories and criteria are in fact arbitrary and to an extent difficult to apply to the observations of individuals in photographs, but they are the only way in which at least some information related to this variable can be retrieved.

Finally, the general purpose of considering gender and age as variables of analysis is to show these were in fact significant factors over which a hunter-gatherer society can be structured and deeply divided, affecting its everyday dynamics and its reproduction in time

A.2.2. Sample of catalogue database entry form.

TIERRA DEL FUEGO - BODY PAINTING PHOTOS AND DRAWINGS CATALOGUE
PHOTO or DRAWING DATA

catalogue number database nu Id auto
TDF society photo or drawing
author author publication author repub:
date taken/made date published date republish
page fig #: page fig #

publication

caption

collection

CONTENT

subject of photo/drawing body painting: face painting
amount of persons in photo amount of painted person
age and gender
old female old male
adult female adult male
young female young male
child female child male
baby female baby male
role/situation use orn/in deco instru
wearing masks? decorated masks?

NOTES

observations

photocopied: scanned #: photo #: slide #:

A.3. Variables for visual analysis database ['bdp'].

A.3.1. Preliminary definitions.

The body painting visual analysis database contains a series of fields that correspond to a set of variables that account for the *basic visual features* and for some of the *characteristics of the plastic composition* which result from their combination, and from using one or more *visual principles*. Both the basic visual features and the more complex characteristics of the plastic composition are properties of the *decorative elements*, which are the smallest unit of analysis, and of the *motifs* which are constructed by one or more decorative elements; in turn, one or more motifs construct the body painting *design* (see details below).

As mentioned in chapter 1, in this project, a series of basic visual features has been identified as the basic visual properties of the designs, upon which other more complex characteristics of the plastic composition are constructed. These basic visual features are:

- **form:** the shape of the decorative elements and motifs that constitute the overall design. (As a category, form also includes volume, but such feature is not characteristic of the Fuegian paintings). The forms of decorative elements can be symmetric or asymmetric, and the motifs and designs they form part of can also be symmetric or asymmetric (see details on symmetry below).
- **colour:** the hues of the paint used to create the decorative elements and motifs. Two or more different colours generate contrast in a design.
- **size:** the largeness of a decorative element or motif. Two or more different sizes generate proportion/s.
- **position:** the place of the body or object in which the decorative element or motif is located
- **orientation:** the direction in which the decorative element or motif is located and/or towards which it points
- **texture:** the tactile property of visual images, which is not necessarily related to its actual perception through the sense of touch, but can also be generated by viewing the softness, roughness, hardness, etc. of the
- **repetition:** the relative abundance of a decorative element and/or motif within one single design

The resulting *characteristics of the plastic composition* obviously differ according to the values of the basic visual features in a specific design. A very wide range of characteristics of plastic compositions can result by combining these basic visual features, using one or more *visual principles* (translation, rotation and reflection, as defined in chapter 1). Of these various possible characteristics, this research project has focused on a) the position of the overall design on the body of the wearer (obviously based on the location of the decorative elements and/or motifs on the body portions), b) the 'figure and ground' relationship (based on the size and position of the decorative elements and/or motifs), which was basic in the construction of many body painting designs, and c) on the symmetry of the overall design (based on the form of decorative elements and/or motifs used, their position, orientation and colour).

The following section presents the rationale that justifies the definition of the body painting decorative elements and motifs, based on some basic concepts on the psychology of perception. Further details about the ways in which the basic visual features have been recorded in the database are presented in section A.3.3.

A.3.2. Looking for motifs, seeing patterns. A rationale about the identification of decorative elements and motifs in the Yámana and Selk'nam body painting designs.

The visual analysis of the Yámana and Selk'nam body painting designs has as a general aim to search for patterns both in the plastic composition of the designs and in their wearing. The latter involves, for example, linking the visual designs to the gender, age, and body portions of the wearer, as well as relating them to the situations in which they were worn. The patterns found in this case are mainly cultural patterns related to the actions and traditions involved in body painting creation and display.

The search for visual patterns in the images that form the body painting designs is also a search for cultural patterns, but in this case constructed and manifested in the formal properties of these designs. Although the overall designs worn by each individual are visually perceptible, the patterns that are formed by the elements that constitute them, and those that can be found in the recurrent use of these by two or more individuals, need to be searched for in order to be 'seen'. The study of these visual patterns requires specific units of analysis and particular criteria that help in the identification of the elements and their combinations.

Many of the criteria used in this research project can be applied to the analysis of the designs that decorate various kinds of objects, and one of the goals of this project is in fact to attempt to make a contribution towards the methodology of visual analysis. But the explanation proposed here covers only the analysis of body painting designs, and is specifically adjusted to the study of aboriginal paintings from Tierra del Fuego.

The units of analysis have been thought as a series of inclusive categories which account for different scopes of the visual designs, which, going from the broader and more complex to the less extensive and simpler, range from the **individual** (the person, who wears the whole design) to **motif** to **decorative element**. These categories are analytical divisions that attempt to give an account of the different levels at which the overall designs can be analysed. Two designs may differ in some (or all) of the motifs that they are constituted by, but at a simpler level, they may share some of the decorative elements with which the motifs are constructed. These categories can help in shedding light on the patterns underneath the plastic creation of the body painting designs, which, if regarded in a too detailed level, can be regarded as too different, and if considered in a too basic level, can be in turn mistakenly seen as too similar, hence disregarding actual differences. It is for this reason that the overall design laid out on the individual is broken down into several motifs, which in turn are broken down in several decorative elements, which are the basic visual unit considered relevant for the analysis. I will start by defining them from the simplest of these categories, since each category builds up and becomes more complex, based on the previous category.

One of the general notions of design construction indicates that there are three basic elements in a design: the dot, the line and the plane (or figure). Given their very basic level, these three elements are too general, hence we need a more specific category with a more restrictive definition, to start giving an account of the body painting designs. A **decorative element** is the simplest visual unit that forms the body painting designs. It consists of several expressions of the basic elements named above, which are transformed and/or repeated, forming a recognisable visual unit due to their spatial delimitation and their continuity. Hence a decorative element is not plainly geometric but already plastic (i.e. having visual qualities related to the properties of the designs).

The spatial delimitation of the decorative elements can be related to the Gestalt law¹ (or general principle) of “figure and ground” in which a shape can be recognised in contrast to the ground on which it is laid out or against which it can be perceived. The continuity of a decorative element can be related to various of the Gestalt laws: mainly “similarity”, which points that “things that look ‘similar’ are grouped together” (Bruce et al 1997: 107), but also “proximity”, which indicates that “things that are close together are grouped together” (idem: 107); the “relative size” law can also be helpful in the identification of some decorative elements, since it indicates that “other things being equal, the smaller of two areas will be seen as a figure against a larger background” (idem: 109), hence remitting us to the figure and ground principle mentioned above.

Taking into account the repertoire of decorative elements that I have identified, these can be linked to the basic elements of a design described above, and can be defined as follows:

The **line** is one of the cases of a decorative element that looks exactly the same as one of the three basic elements, it can appear as straight line, curved or as sinuous and irregular lines; in this latter case this decorative element that has been named ‘**irregular stripe**’. There are also **double colour lines**: they are thin lines of one colour framed/bordered by a thin line of a different/contrasting colour. These could be considered as a motif, but they have been included as a kind of decorative element because they are used as such, actually serving as different and more complex elements –instead of lines– forming a motif usually made by simple straight lines of only one colour (e.g. motif A and motif F).

The **dash** also derives from a basic element, since it is in fact a shortened line, and the **rows of consecutive dashes**, and **rows of parallel dashes** are decorative elements formed by repetitions of these, identifiable by their similarity, proximity and relative size. The **dot** never appears alone in the designs under study, but in **rows of small dots** or of **big dots**, in **groups of big dots**, or organised forming specific

¹ These “laws” or principles of visual perception are used here mainly as methodological tools on which my decisions to identify decorative elements and motifs are based (not all the laws have been used in the analysis). I have taken these principles as valid and relevant because all the literature that I have read about the psychology of visual perception and cognition indicates that they indeed operate in the organisation of the process of image perception. I will not expand here on the –non-crucial– criticisms that can be made to this theory (which I have written in my essay on the psychology of art, and which I will comment on when writing the final version of this section). I am also not claiming that these principles were necessarily operating in the aboriginal producers and viewers of the designs, since I do not have any information about the ways in which they segmented the overall designs (and from where I could infer which –if any– of these principles were operating beneath their creation and perception). But they are nevertheless observable in the layout of the designs.

motifs, again, identifiable as a visual unit because of their similarity, proximity and relative size. The **attached down buds** form dots with relief and a soft texture.

The **patches** can be defined as figures of restricted extension, of irregular (even careless), semi-oval shape; they mostly have the shape of the stroke of a thick brush, although this does not mean that they were painted with brushes, since it is quite likely that they were painted by hand. The **bands** are figures of more defined shape (more carefully delimited) which have different shapes and extensions: rectangular (which can be smaller or larger, in the latter case always perimetral and placed covering the lower arms and calves), and Y-shaped, which is much less common, defined because of its peculiar and distinctive shape like the letter Y.

Finally, there is another decorative element which does not act as a figure, but as the background of various of the elements named above, and that is why I have named it **ground**. It consists of an extended coat of paint over which other decorative elements of a contrasting colour have been painted. When it appears in a body design, the ground has been recorded as a decorative element, but not as forming part of a motif, because it has been considered as being on a different –“deeper”– visual plane (e.g. a common Selk’nam spirit design is a series of rows of big dots over a background, but the series of rows of big dots is considered as a motif in itself, regardless of its layout over a background. The entire composition of the motif over the ground forms the specific design of the spirit, which is still identifiable and recognisable as such. The reason why I have not recorded the ground as part of this or other motif is that I consider that it would make it much more complicated for other more complex combinations, such as the kewanix designs, in which not one but various different motifs are laid out over a ground, and then if I should add these to the ground to form yet another motif, the classification would become more complicated –it would involve motifs within motifs- without giving new information about the design. This is why I’ve kept the ground as an ‘independent’ decorative element, out of the formation of motifs.)

Except for the ground, the rest of the decorative elements form **motifs**². Motifs are visual units constructed by reiteration of one type of decorative elements or by combination of two or more of these. The motifs occupy then the next stage of complexity in the development and unfolding of the composition of the visual design. The motifs identification is also based in various of the Gestalt laws. The law of

² Not all the decorative elements form motifs in all cases; they may be part of them or they may also form part directly of the overall design, without forming part of a motif.

proximity is basic in this identification, since one of the principles that characterises a motif is that the decorative elements that form part of it are perceived as having a certain level of proximity with each other, which enables grouping them (visually) together. It is important to bear in mind that this proximity is always *proportional* to the size of the decorative elements involved, hence it can take only a few centimetres in the motifs are made of small decorative elements –e.g. the rows of dots on the cheeks of the children of photo S14– while if the motifs are made of bigger decorative elements –e.g. the rows of big dots of the spirits in photo S18– the distance that is considered as proximal is much larger.

The law of similarity is relevant for identifying the motifs that are composed by the repetition of one single decorative element (e.g. motifs A, Ap, Ax, B, Bp, D, Dp, etc.). The figure and ground principle is also valid here, particularly when the motif is indeed made against a painted ground (nevertheless, the unpainted skin itself can act as a visual ground). The principle of relative size seems to have been less helpful in the identification of motifs than in the distinction of decorative elements, because there are no designs made of motifs of very disproportioned sizes. Instead, a very interesting principle that seems to be working in the definition of the motifs is “good continuation”, which entails the perception of dissimilar elements as grouped together, when they are close enough, because “perceptual organisation will tend to preserve smooth continuity rather than yielding abrupt changes” (Bruce et al. 1996: 108). This is the case of the Cj motif identified in photo S2 (made of a combination of lines and rows of dots). Nevertheless, it is crucial to remind that in some cases some portions of the designs have been distinguished as different (i.e. identified as another motif) precisely because of the presence of dissimilar elements, so the good continuation principle is not unlimited and can be disregarded when the proximity, orientation, colour, size or other visual properties of the decorative elements indicate the existence of ‘limits’ of motif.

Although the decisions to identify the different decorative elements and motifs have been based as far as possible in explicit and consistent criteria, such as the Gestalt ‘laws’, the distinction between what is a decorative element and motif, and the identification of these, are to an extent arbitrary, since there are some cases that result ambiguous even for the criteria used. It is possible then that some of the visual units that form the designs could have been identified in a different way. But they have been recorded as consistently as possible, with the aim of finding out the

potential patterns underneath them – which are searched for in the two different levels (decorative element and motif), and which are thus likely to arise anyway.

The motifs that have been identified in the Yámana and/or Selk'nam body painting designs are described in the list below. Some of them have various features in common, either because of the decorative elements they are composed by, and/or because of their overall structure (orientation of the elements within the motif, repetition of these forming series, segmentation of a motif -one motif may look like a particular segment of another one, etc.). They have been named with letters (the naming is provisional) and they have been grouped as far as possible according to their formal similarities. This allows a) to group them in the classification to have an actual sense of the range of similarity and variety that the whole repertoire has, b) to have the chance of lumping some of them in some stages of the analysis, making broader categories that incorporate more cases.

The list of motifs that have been identified in the body painting designs of the Selk'nam and Yámana societies is presented below. Many of these motifs appear alone, over a painted ground, or directly over the skin, without having any contact with another motif. This makes their identification easier, since they show clear boundaries which, together with the figure and ground principle, help in their differentiation. Other -fewer- motifs do show contact with each other; this is mostly the case of motifs of group C, several of which appear in combination, forming very complex designs. In these cases, this identification is likely to have been to some extent more ambiguous and subjective, because it required in some cases to decide whether a decorative element belongs to one motif or to the next one. Nevertheless, the identification of the motifs has been done as consistently as possible, guiding the observation with the features of the defined types of motif. Its aim has been to record the different motifs that compose a design, which in turn takes us to the next and final level of analysis: the body.

Taking into account that we are dealing with body paintings, the broader unit of analysis is clearly the individual, since the medium in which the images are laid out is his/her body. The previous analytical levels (decorative element and motif) are ways of accessing the overall layout of the designs on the body. The **designs** are composed by one or various motifs. In very few cases, some decorative elements that do not form part of any motif also compose part of a design. These elements are nevertheless recorded at the decorative element level, so there is no loss of information about the total appearance of the design.

It is important to note that the aim of the records at different levels is to get a key towards understanding the way in which the designs are structured by smaller visual units, and the way these are inter-related forming patterns. This means that the record of these visual units does not replace the direct observation of the overall design on a photo, drawing or film. Although a series of variables are recorded per each decorative element and motif (e.g. gender of the wearer, body portion on which they are painted, orientation, colour, symmetry of the design, etc.), in some cases, when the designs are very complex, it may be difficult to reconstruct imaginary the overall design just by joining these data. But this systematic record does precisely not aim to give the same information that can be gained from the direct observation of the designs, it rather attempts to sub-divide this information consistently in relevant and sensible portions (visual units) from which the above mentioned patterns may be retrieved.

These categories (decorative element, motif, design) have been defined and selected for studying the cases under analysis because of the kind of designs they involve, that is, designs that are composed of simpler and delimited visual units, which, in turn, are composed of even simpler visual units. If the elements used for creating the plastic composition were not spatially limited, and formally describable in units, like for example some cases of the Nuba African body paintings, which consist of extended irregular/shapeless blotches of paint (in my terminology, different 'grounds' that do not have any contrasting figures painted over them), this section of the methodology would not have been useful to study them. The "digital" feature of the Fuegian designs, enables an analysis of this kind, because of the 'circumscribed' extension of its visual components.

A33. List of variables and their different states.

All the following variables have been recorded *per individual*.

The following variables are recorded in the main part of the database form (see samples in A.3.4)

- database #
- phot/dr catal #
- photo or drawing
- individual number
- individual identification: name, when known
- situation of use of body painting

everyday life = ED

VI = visit

TR = trip

CO = coquetry

HU = hunting

WA = war

FG = fight

BR = blood revenge

SI = painting while singing

special occasion = SO

FM = first menstruation

EG = engagement

WE = wedding

MO = mourning

SH = shamans

ceremonial = CE

HA = hain

KW = *kewanix*

KT = *kotaix*

KL = *kulpus*

CH = chiéjaus

KI = kina

▪ visible side of the body (according to what is seen in the photo or drawing)

- front view = FV
- rear view = RV
- profile view right = PVR
- profile view left = PVL

▪ role of the wearer

IN = initiand

MI = mother of initiand

WV = woman 'viewer'

GM = godmother

GF = godfather

GU = guide of initiand

BR = bride

GR = groom

SP = spirit (name between brackets)

SH = shaman

▪ gender of the wearer

- female = F
- male = M

- age of wearer
 - old = O (many wrinkles and grey hair)
 - adult = A (mature)
 - youth = Y (during and right after puberty)
 - child = C (pre puber)
 - baby = B (in arms of in the initial stages of walking)

 - face painting
 - yes / no

 - body painting
 - yes / no

 - portion/s of the body painted = **all** the portions of the body that have been painted
- The recording of this variable has been done in three different scales:

general:

fa = face

bo = body

intermediate:

f = face

a = arms

t = trunk

l = legs

detailed:

he = head (hair)

mh = masked head and face

mkl = masked head left

mkr = masked head right

fa = face

detail: ch = cheeks
 ns = nose
 cn = chin
 ey = eyelids
 tm = temples

fal = face left
far = face right
nk = neck
ea = entire arms
eal = entire arm left
ear = entire arm right
ua = upper arms
ual = upper arm left
uar = upper arm right
la = lower arms
lal = lower arm left
lar = lower arm right
ha = hands
hal = left hand
har = right hand
tr = trunk
ab = abdomen
hi = hips
el = entire legs
ell = entire leg left
elr = entire leg right
th = thighs
thl = left thigh
thr = right thigh
cl = calves
cll = left calf
clr = right calf
ft = feet
ftl = left feet
ftr = right feet

bk = back

bt = buttocks

eb = entire body

ebl = entire body left side

ebr = entire body right side

- technique/s of application

1 = paint rubbing or smearing by hand

2 = paint spitting and rubbing afterwards by hand

3 = finger tracing

4 = rod/spatula application

5 = application of positive lines by hand palm (having previously smeared the palm with paint and scratched out lines by fingers or nails)

6 = paint smearing and removal of paint by fingers or nails generating negative lines / dots?

7 = application of cotton buds

- visual principles involved in overall design (as defined and exemplified in chapter 1)

RT = rotation

TR = translation

RF = reflection

- symmetry³ of overall design in the face
 - no
 - yes (axial)
 - axial-vertical = ax
 - horizontal = ho
 - diagonal 1 = d1 /
 - diagonal 2 = d2 \

- symmetry of overall design in the body
 - no
 - yes (axial)
 - axial-vertical = ax
 - horizontal = ho
 - diagonal 1 = d1 /
 - diagonal 2 = d2 \

- wearing masks – yes, no

- mask decoration: type of decorative element, colour and layout in the mask
 - e.g. dark GR + light tr LI
- handling artefacts – yes (which, e.g. dancing wand), no
- artefacts decoration: type of decorative element, colour and layout in the artefact
 - e.g. dark circles with light dots inside, along dark lines, lg


- wearing clothes? – yes (which, e.g. cloak), no
- wearing ornaments? – yes (which, e.g. feather head band), no


³ Symmetry is a characteristic of the plastic composition of an image that results from the combination of form of decorative elements and/or motifs used in the design, their position, orientation and colour, in which all these visual features are laid out in consistently repetitive patterns. The systematic study of symmetry in art and archaeology has already a well established tradition (e.g. Speiser 1937 in Gombrich 1992: 67, Shepard 1985 (1956), Washburn 1989). Speiser (in Gombrich 1992: 68) studied the possible symmetrical relations that can be produced by translation and rotation of an asymmetrical figure, and found that there were 17 possibilities for its combination in symmetric patterns, while Washburn (1989: 165) seven kinds of one-dimensional designs in asymmetric motifs. The proper study of the types of symmetry in a plastic composition is rather a topic in itself, and exceeds the scope of this project. Here, symmetry will be studied in terms of the presence or absence of designs which are axially structured, actually divided or visually divisible into two equal halves, not necessarily mirror-reflecting each other. Other non-axial symmetric patterns have not been taken into account. Due to the fact that there are cases of facial painting without body painting (and vice versa), the symmetry of the facial designs has been recorded separately from the symmetry of body designs.


The following variables are recorded in the 'subform' of the database form (see samples in A.3.4). This 'subform' has been created because of the need to record the states of these variables (type of decorative element, their colour, position, orientation, and the motif they may form part of) per each different decorative element that forms part of the design of one single individual. Hence while all the variables mentioned above correspond to the individual (who is the unit of analysis), the smallest unit of analysis *within* the design worn by the individual is the decorative element, and hence such subform is required to record the information, which in most cases refers to more than one decorative element.


▪ types of **decorative elements**


◆ lines = LI 

◆ dots = DT 


◆ big dots = BD 


◆ patches = PT 

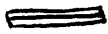
◆ irregular stripes = IS 


◆ bands = BA 

◆ ground = GR

♦ attached down buds = CB 

♦ dashes = DS 

♦ double colour lines = DCL 


♦ double colour lines with rows of dots = DCL/RD 


♦ rows of dots = RD 


♦ rows of big dots = RBD 


♦ rows of dots with lines = LI/RD

This decorative element includes two varieties. The reason why these have been lumped together is that their differentiation is recorded in the motifs they form part of.

lines parallel to rows of dots 

rows of dots over lines 

♦ rows of consecutive dashes = RCDS 

♦ rows of parallel dashes = RPDS 

The last seven decorative elements are actually ‘combinations’ of elements, but I take them as a unit since they form a single entity due to their proximity, which entails a sense of visual continuation and hence of unity of the decorative element.

It should be noted that, given that the decorative element is the unit of record, when a motif was formed by two or more decorative elements, such motif is going to appear in each decorative element record: for example, motif E is formed by lines plus dots, hence it will appear both in the record of the lines and the record of the dots that form part of it:

photo number	individual	type decorative element	colour	motif	position	orientation
S999	999	LI	dark	E	fa	TR
S999	999	DT	white	E	fa	TR

This form of recording implies that while counts of each decorative element are accurate frequencies of use of such element, counts of motifs are not direct reflections of frequency of use of such motifs, since these numbers depends on the quantity of decorative elements they are formed by. The counts of any motif can nevertheless be inferred from the ‘combination of motifs’ variable, which records the use of all the motifs that appear in the composition of the design of each individual.

▪ **colour** of decorative elements:

dark

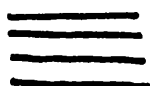
light

Colours have been recorded as light or dark since it is not possible to distinguish between red, and black, due to their poor visibility in black and white photos.

▪ combination of decorative elements, forming **motifs**

A motifs: motifs made by parallel lines

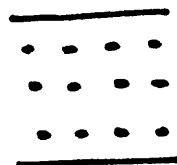
A = set of parallel lines



Ap = set of parallel rows of dots



Apl = set of parallel rows of dots between lines



AX = sets of parallel lines with different orientations, one set at 90 degrees of the other



ADS = set of rows of dashes (over background line of contrasting colour)

formed by rows of consecutive dashes over line

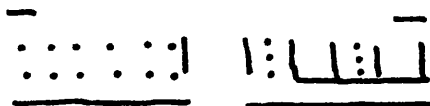


formed by rows of parallel dashes over line



Both cases use the line as a background over which the row of dashes is painted, with a contrasting colour (here the law of “figure and ground” works inside the decorative element itself). These two ways of making motif AS have not been distinguished as two different motifs because of their extremely low number, which makes it irrelevant to set a difference between the two just because of the orientation of the dashes.

APLX

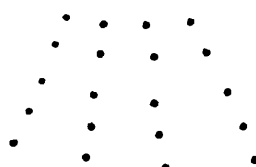


B: motifs made by radially displayed lines

B = set of lines radially displayed



Bp = set of rows of dots radially displayed



AxB = combination of motifs A & B



BA motifs: motifs made by bands only

Bar = rectangular band



Bas = series of parallel bands

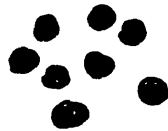


Bay = band in the shape of Y

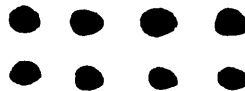


BD motifs: motifs made by big dots only

BDG = group of big dots



BDSR = series of rows of big dots

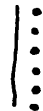


Motifs of C group are the ones that show more complexity and variety within a single motif group. Some of these motifs can be lumped together (e.g. C with C1; CK1 with CK2; CJ1 with CJ2; CJpt with CJpt(x) etc.), reducing the variety but still keeping the consistency of the classification.

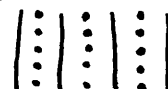
C = set of alternating parallel straight lines and rows of dots



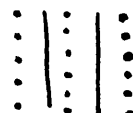
C1 = one line parallel to one row of dots





Cj = set of alternating straight lines and rows of dots, starting and ending with lines




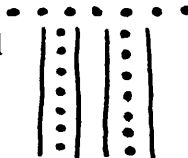
Ck = set of alternating straight lines and rows of dots, starting and ending with rows of dots





CJ1 = one row of dots framed by two parallel lines 

CJx = one row of big dots framed by two parallel lines 


CJ2 = set of two CJ motifs 


CJ2rd = set of two CJ motifs, with transversal row of dots in one end 

CK1 = one line framed by two parallel rows of dots 


CK2 = set of two CK motifs 

Motifs of CJpt group

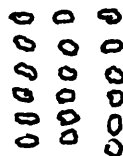
CJpt = motif CJ with patch in the middle portion and another bigger patch behind, acting as ground 

CJpt(x) = motif CJpt without lines 

CB motifs: motifs made with cotton buds

CBA = aligned cotton buds 

CBSA = series of aligned cotton buds (this motif is structurally similar to Ap – parallel rows of dots-, but given the fact that it is not made of dots but of cotton buds, and hence its texture and overall appearance results different, I have distinguished it as a different motif, and given it a separate name). It is possible that the cotton buds are attached over a very thin line of white paint, which seems visible in some portions of the design.

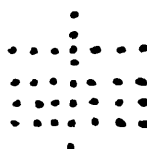


D motifs: motifs made by line criss-crossed by transversal lines

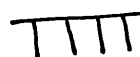
D = central line criss-crossed by transversal lines



Dp = central row of dots criss-crossed by transversal rows of dots

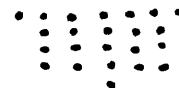


Dm = 'comb like' motif, central line with transversal lines on one side (half D)



Dmp = 'comb like' motif, central row of dots with transversal rows of dots on one side

(half Dp)



Motifs E/F/G are related to each other, in that motifs of F and G group are mostly sections or portions of motifs grouped in E. Motifs in E group are made of combinations of lines or rows of dots with dots (or a dash, in one case), while motifs in group F only have lines or rows of dots, and motifs in G group have only dots, but always laid out with the same structure/disposition. Moreover, all of these motifs always appear with the same orientation, and on the face, that is why the definitions include references to the cheeks, or to the position of a decorative element 'on top' of the other.

E = set of two lines with one dot on top of each



Ep = set of two dotted lines with one dot on top of each



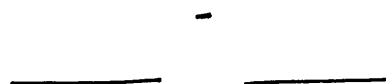
Ex = set of two lines with one dot on top of each (on cheeks) and one “extra” dot in the middle of the other two (on the nose)



Epx = set of two dotted lines with one dot on top of each (on cheeks) and one “extra” dot in the middle of the other two (on the nose)



Ed = set of two lines (on cheeks) with a dash or dot on top, on the middle of the two (on the nose)



Edp = set of rows of dots with short row of dots on the nose



F = set of two consecutive lines (one on each cheek)



Fp = set of two consecutive rows of dots



G = set of two dots (one on each cheek)

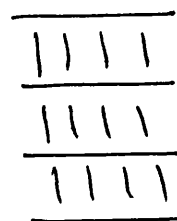


Gx = set of three dots (one on each cheek and one on the nose)



H motifs: motifs made by parallel and transversal lines

H = sets of parallel lines framed by transversal lines



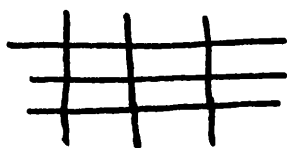
H1 = one set of parallel lines framed by transversal lines



H1d = one set of parallel lines framed by transversal line with dots between each parallel line



H2 = grid



I = set of two consecutive lines with parallel row of parallel vertical dashes on top (this motif is related to motif groups E and F, but I have separated it because of its combination with the row of dashes, and also because it is very rare and is worn only in one case)



2L = two opposed L shaped lines with a straight line in between



S motifs: motifs made of rows of dots over lines

S = row of dots over line (usually two, parallel and quite distant from each other). This is a case in which two decorative elements –the rows of dots and the line– are combined by means of a superimposition, the former are painted on top of the latter.



S mult = multiple rows of dots over lines.



S SQ = row of dots over line, one of them forming an irregular square.



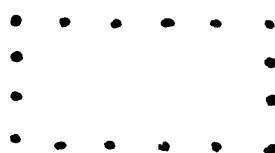
S RT = row of dots over line, one of them forming a semi-rectangular shape.



CR = 2 straight lines or thin bands, criss-crossing at 90 degrees, forming a cross.



RTd = rectangle (formed by rows of dots)



T = "T" shaped line



Ti = inverted T shape line



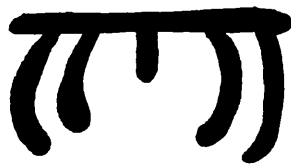
Q = set of concentric semi-curved lines (always vertical and seriated by size)



Z = set of patches or lines, horizontal on eyes/temples and nose, and vertical on cheeks and nose (the reference to position is valid because this motif always appears on face)



Z/Q = combination of Z + Q



P = patch covering lower half of face



PTse = series of elongated patches



PTsr = series of rectangular patches



PTso = series of oval patches



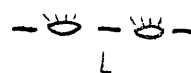
Vi = motif in inverted V shape



W = set of irregular stripes (always placed on chin, usually covering the lips too)



(yf) = 'yamana factor' = transversal short lines on temples / corner of eyes & top of nose.



This is not strictly a motif, since this combination of decorative elements never appears alone, and is only painted in combination with other decorative elements, forming different motifs. (Motif Z already includes this factor. Other motifs only include it in some cases, and this is indicated by the letters 'yf', placed next to the motif's name: e.g. A (yf); B (yf), etc.).

Note that the numbers of elements will only be included as part of the definition of the motif when this is consistently repeated throughout various cases (which does not seem to happen very often). If not, numbers of elements will not be recorded, as they do not show have any consistency, and were also said to be irrelevant in some of the texts which describe the designs.

- portion/s of the body painted = the portions of the body where each decorative element has been painted

he = head (hair)

mh = masked head and face

mkl = masked head left

mkr = masked head right

fa = face

fa (**) = (detail: cheeks, nose, chin, eyelids, temples, etc.)

fal = face left

far = face right

nk = neck

ea = entire arms

eal = entire arm left

ear = entire arm right

ua = upper arms

ual = upper arm left

uar = upper arm right

la = lower arms

lal = lower arm left

lar = lower arm right

ha = hands

hal = left hand
har = right hand
tr = trunk
ab = abdomen
hi = hips
el = entire legs
ell = entire leg left
elr = entire leg right
th = thighs
thl = left thigh
thr = right thigh
cl = calves
cll = left calf
clr = right calf
ft = feet
ftl = left feet
ftr = right feet
bk = back
bt = buttocks
eb = entire body
ebl = entire body left side
ebr = entire body right side
eb (- X) = entire body – X portion

- orientation of decorative elements
 - transversal = tr
 - longitudinal = lg
 - diagonal 1 (/) = d1
 - diagonal 2 (\) = d2
 - radial = rd

Body painting visual analysis database

society: **Selk'nam** person #: **7** Id1 **7**

datab rec # **007** phot/dr# **S005** ph/dr **ph** P/H/E **E** ind # **007** ident **Minkiol.**

situation **ED HU** vble side **FV** role **SH** gender **M** age **a**

face **no** body **yes** gral-p **bo** int-p **a - t** porti **ua + tr** techn **3/4**

symm face **nc** symm body **yes ax** visual principles d **TR + RT**

wearing masks? **no** type mask: **no** mask decoratio **no**

handling artefacts? **bow and arrow** artefacts decor **no**

wearing clothes? **cloak** observations

wearing ornaments? **kocel**

2nd copy indiv and design: **no**

visibility: **high**

comb decel **LI**

comb motifs: **A + T**

motifs (lump): **A + T**

Same # 149, 151. Same individual than photos 67 & 69.
Note that motif T looks like a Y because of his position when hunting, but it actually looks like a T when he is standing still.

Id	phot/dr	indiv	types	dec	(colour	dec el	motifs	gral	positio	position	dec elem	or mot on body	orientati	2nd pe
18	S005	007	LI		white	A	bo	ua					TR	no
19	S005	007	LI		white	T	bo	tr					TR + L	no

A.3.4. Samples of catalogue database entry form.

Sample 1

Sample 2.

Body painting visual analysis database

society: person #: Id1

datab rec # phot/dr# ph/dr P/H/E ind # ident

situation vble side role gender age

face body gral-p int-p porti tech

symm face symm body visual principles

wearing masks? type mask: mask decoratio

handling artefacts? artefacts decor

wearing clothes? observations

wearing ornaments?

2nd copy indiv and design:

visibility:

comb decel

comb motifs:

motifs (lump):

File: - 511, 500-1

Id	phot/dr	indiv	types dec	colour dec el	motifs	gral positid	position dec elem or mot on body	orientati	2nd pe
13	S003	005	LI	dark	E	fa	fa (ch)	TR	no
14	S003	005	DT	white	E	fa	fa (ch)	TR	no

Sample 3.

Body painting visual analysis database

society: **Selk'nam** person #: **2** Id1 **2**

datab rec # **002** phot/dr# **S002** ph/dr **ph** P/H/E **E** ind # **002** ident

situation **CE HA-KW** vble side **FV** role **kewanix dancer** gender **M** age **a**

face **yes** body **yes** gral-p **fa + b** int-p **f - a - t -** porti **fa + ua + la + tr + ab + th + cl** tech **1/2 & 3/4**

symm face **yes ax** symm body **yes ax** visual principles **TR + RT**

wearing masks? **no** type mask: **no** mask decoratio **no**

handling artefacts? **no** artefacts decor **no**

wearing clothes? **no** observations

wearing ornaments? **kocel**

2nd copy indiv and design: **yes**

visibility: **high**

comb decel **DS + DT + GR + LI + RD**

comb motifs: **A + Cj + G**

motifs (lump): **A + C+ E/F/G**

same #49
There is ONE RD on the ab, more precisely at the hip level, and ONE RD on the end of the th, near the knee level. Possible lower lip painting.
The dark ground is noticeable particularly because of the lack of it on the hands, ankles (feet covered by shoes), neck and face.
Genitals painted with GR. This individual also appears in photo #24.

Id	phot/dr	indiv	types dec	colour dec el	motifs	gral positid	position dec elem or mot on body	orientati	2nd	pe
392	S002	002	LI	white	A	bo	ua	LG	no	
393	S002	002	LI/RD	white	Cj	bo	tr + ab + th	LG	no	
394	S002	002	RD	white		bo	ab + th	TR	no	
395	S002	002	DT	white	G	fa	fa (ch)	TR	no	
405	S002	002	DS	white		fa	fa (lw lp)	TR	no	
2	S002	002	GR	dark		bo	ua + la + tr + ab + hi + th + cl	nc	yes	

Appendix B. From “*terra incognita*” to home land. Voyagers, missionaries and ethnographers in Tierra del Fuego.

B.1. Introduction: the construction of this history of research.

The history of research of Tierra del Fuego and its inhabitants dates back to almost 500 years ago. It is also rich, thanks to the great number of explorers and voyagers that either came to visit the regions or passed through it in the route to another place of the globe. Many of the records of these voyages include information about the Fuegian aborigines. Of these, I have selected and will present here only those that provide details about the use of body painting by the Selk’nam and/or the Yámana people.

As noted in chapter 1, primary sources have been consulted to retrieve the relevant data related to Fuegian body painting practices, while secondary sources¹ have been consulted in order to obtain background information about the circumstances in which the voyages, missions and field-works were took place. All the historical and ethnographic information has been systematically recorded following the series of variables in relation to the voyage or mission and in relation to the body paintings, listed in chapter 1.

In section B.2 I will present, in chronological order, the information related to the voyagers, missionaries and ethnographers who have made the records on which data about body painting creation and wearing can be found. The variables mentioned above help in building a contextual panorama on which to frame the information provided by the records, and in understanding, as far as possible, the way in which these were constructed. This, in turn, is a crucial point in so far it helps in unveiling the accuracy and reliability of the information found in the records. In other words, it helps in trying to distinguish the biases of the recorders from the

¹ These secondary sources are: Cooper (1917), a review of the literature that provides ethnographic data about the aboriginal societies of Tierra del Fuego until 1917 (this commented bibliography is organised per author, and also has a brief chronological history of research and a chapter summarising the data available for each Fuegian society, structured according to different topics); Gusinde (1982 and 1986), where he reviews the history of research of the area for the Selk’nam and Yámana groups respectively; Borrero (1991), a book in which he develops an analysis of the Selk’nam society, and offers a synthesis of the ethnographic data relevant for his study; Canclini (1984), who wrote two chapters dedicated to the history of the Anglican missions and the Salesian missions as a part of a book of homage for the 100 years of the city of Ushuaia (capital of Tierra del Fuego); Orquera and Piana (1995) a paper in which they reviewed in chronological order the different images of the Yámana and Alacaluf that stemmed from the historical and ethnographic records, and idem (1999), the most thorough book on the written and visual records on the Yámana, where these are not reviewed in chronological order but compiled and organised according to different topics (e.g. subsistence, technology, settlement, clothing and ornaments, etc.), which leads the reader to the relevant bibliography and visual material that should be consulted to cover each topic; McEwan et al. (1997), who present a table summarising the most important trips to the archipelago in chronological order; and Alvarez (2000) a synthetic chronological narration of the main historical sources coming from the voyages to Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego.

features of the recorded subjects. This process is of course not unproblematic and unbiased in itself. It does not attempt or claim to obtain a “purely truthful” set of data out of its “subjective wrapping”. Rather, it attempts to treat the information (both about the recorders and the social groups depicted) as critically and systematically as possible.

B.2 Records and recorders. A critical chronology of the observers and texts that mention body painting in Tierra del Fuego.

When Hernando de Magallanes discovered in 1520 the strait that today bears his name, he discovered more than a path that joined the Atlantic with the Pacific oceans. In cruising the strait, which took from October 21st. to November 28th., Magallanes saw no aborigines. But he did see, during the night, their fires lit at the south of the strait, a feature that gave the region its name: Tierra del Fuego, the land of fire (Pigafetta in Alvarez 2000: 21; Pigafetta and Albo in Gusinde 1982: 22). This fact marked the first western record of the existence of human inhabitants in the southern shores of the strait (the north shore of Isla Grande de Tierra del Fuego). At that point in time, this land was considered as “*terra australis incognita*”, that is, a great mass of land in which the Tierra del Fuego archipelago was lumped together with Antarctica². In spite of this geographical mistake, which was later solved³, the existence of persons in the region (possibly Selk’nam or Alacaluf), was for the first time noted, inferred by the fire as an index of their presence.

The first voyager that made contact with Fuegian aborigines is P. Sarmiento de Gamboa (1950), who travelled to the region twice: in 1580 he stayed about one month (February) and in 1584 for about two years (until 1586)⁴. The first trip started in October 11, 1579, in Puerto del Callao (Perú) and reached and explored the Magallanes strait from west to east, from February 6th. to February 23rd. 1580. The aim of the trip was to confirm the Spanish “guard” over the Strait, and to destroy F. Drake’s potential settlements and trying to capture kill or disarm him, fighting with him, at every cost (Sarmiento de Gamboa 1950: xxv).

The virrey’s instructions to Sarmiento de Gamboa included to document all that happened

² It is in fact for this reason that the strait was, since its discovery, so zealously guarded by the Spanish, since it was thought to be the only path leading to the Pacific (Sarmiento de Gamboa 1950: xxv; Alvarez 2000: 23).

³ When the Le Maire strait was discovered in January 1615 by the Dutch Le Maire and Schouten, they reached the southernmost island of the archipelago and named its southern point Het Kap van Hoorn (today, Cape Horn). This confirmed the observations by Drake, who reached 56° Lat. South in 1578 and discovered by that Tierra del Fuego was an archipelago and that the Antarctic continent was much further south.

⁴ According to Alvarez (2000: 36), he might have stayed for four months, from February to May.

to document all that happened during the sailing and on land, every day, then read it in front of the crew, so that its accuracy could be discussed, and everything would be certified by a notary public (Sarmiento de Gamboa 1950: xxiv-xxv).

Sarmiento de Gamboa reached the strait, named it Madre de Dios, and took possession of it for the Spanish crown in San Juan river ("Possession river", *ibid*: 104). At such latitude (52° Lat. S.), the sailors could observe that there was no 'austral' continent that included Tierra del Fuego and extended up to the South pole (called "terra australis"), but that the oceans joined their waters there.

During this trip, Sarmiento de Gamboa and the crew had various encounters with aborigines, who, given the region of Tierra del Fuego where they were seen (northern shore), and the description of their appearance, are very likely to have been Selk'nam. There is, nevertheless, a case in which Sarmiento had contact with people travelling in canoes; given the area covered by the trip (northern Tierra del Fuego), it is possible that these were Alacaluf.

Some of these contacts were violent, either because of the aborigine's attacks to the invaders or because the Spanish wanted to capture some individuals to get them as translators (Sarmiento 1950: 49, 108). The use of body painting is mentioned in some of these encounters. What seems to have made an important impact on the observers was the great size of these aborigines, since they are described as "giants" (*ibid*: 108) and the place in which they met them was named Punta de la Gente Grande (big people point). The second trip, which started in 1581, had the aim of founding some 'cities' in southern Patagonia (northern shore of Magellan strait). After several problems due to very difficult weather, Sarmiento de Gamboa reached the strait on February 1st. 1584, and landed in Cabo Vírgenes. Two cities were founded in southern Patagonia: Ciudad del Nombre de Jesús and Ciudad Rey Don Felipe. Both places had various problems because of the cold weather, and after asking for help to Spain and not receiving an answer, Sarmiento decided to leave the region in 1586 and ask for it personally. He fell prisoner twice, firstly of W. Raleigh (*ibid*: xxxvii), and then of the Viscount of Bearn (Alvarez 2000: 36) and after being set free in 1590, he still asked for help via a letter to the king of Spain. But he did not get any reply or help for the first European settlers of southern Patagonia, who, by that time, were already dead.

Given the interest in controlling the strait, the Dutch also sent various fleets to the area. Of these, it was O. Van Noort who reports to have seen a –painted– aborigine (again wearing a hide robe, this time with the fur outside) in the north shore of Isla Grande, in November 1599 (Alvarez

2000: 40; Van Noort in Broses in Gusinde 1982: 25). The trend of the expedition was quite bloody, given the various points in the records where the indians were attacked and sometimes killed by the Dutch.

Due to the Dutch presence in the region, the Spanish sent another fleet, commanded by the brothers B. and G. Nodal, who reached the strait in January 1619, and continued the trip along the eastern shore of Isla Grande, passed Bahía San Sebastián, where they met a group of indians, reaching Puerto Buen Suceso, where they met some aborigines, who belonged very likely to the Haush group, and wore body painting.

The Dutch J. Van Walbeeck wrote the diary of the L'Hermite fleet, which reached the northern shore of Navarino island in February 1624⁵. The geographical region, and, more importantly, the description of the appearance and cultural habits of the aborigines (including their use of canoes, slings, seal skins as clothing, etc.) indicates that this is the first record of the Yámana society. As with the Selk'nam case, Yámana body painting appears since the first western record about this society, showing that this habit was already in practice when the contact with the Europeans started, in the early XVII century. As it will be seen in chapter 3, Van Walbeeck even attempted to distinguish different painting designs of groups of different areas. The report also includes the description of an even in which 17 men out of 19 that stayed on shore during a storm were killed by the aborigines, and some of their bodies appeared extraordinarily dismembered. This was interpreted by the author as a sign of cannibalism, a habit attributed to the indians by many other voyagers along the history of contact with them. Finally, we owe to this source the first visual record of the Yámana appearance: a drawing or etching in which aborigines appear carrying out different everyday life tasks, in their canoes and near their huts, while in first plane a group of naked indigenous appear next to some dressed –European? – individuals, and near the horizon line five European vessels overlook the entire scene.

The following record was the first one made about the Selk'nam by a religious missionary. It is a letter written by father P. Labbe Missionarie of the Compagnie de Jesus (Gusinde 1982: 29). He stayed in Good Success bay from November 1 to November 5, 1711, where he met a party of 30 Selk'nam/Haush (Cooper 1917: 103). His short description of these includes a mention to their use of body painting.

⁵ According to Gusinde (1982: 51-52), A. Decker, an officer of this fleet, translated this diary to German and also added his own observations, so he considers Decker to be the author of this text. But Orquera and Piana (1995: 233) note that Decker was only the translator of the text, and that he only added some comments, but that the diary, which may have been a compilation of different informations, was in charge of J. Van Walbeeck and that hence this should be considered the author of the diary.

In 1769, a British expedition under the command of J. Cook reached Tierra del Fuego. Its purpose was not exclusively related to obtaining control of some regions overseas, but had also scientific (geographical, botanical, zoological) aims. The naturalist J. Banks was part of this expedition. His records of the observations made in Tierra del Fuego are quite detailed, and give information about the Haush, including their body paintings.

Cook made a second trip around the world in 1772, passing again along Tierra del Fuego in 1774 when coming from New Zealand. In this trip, two naturalists were on board: R. and G. Forster (father and son). To the latter we owe a thorough report of the encounters with the Yámana in York Minster peninsula (Waterman island), who he considered to be in a terribly bad condition when compared to the Selk'nam/Haush aborigines of Good Success bay. Forster's opinion about the state of the Yámana is clearly condensed in one of his sentences: "The whole assemblage of their features formed the most loathsome picture of misery and wretchedness to which human nature can possibly be reduced." (Forster 1777: 499). But in spite of his shock and contemptuous appreciation of their state, Forster also attempted to give an explanation about the causes of this situation:

"It is indeed very probable, that they are the miserable out-casts of some neighbouring tribe, which enjoys a more comfortable life; and that being reduced to live in this dreary inhospitable part of Tierra del Fuego, they have gradually lost every idea, but those which their most urgent wants give rise to." (Forster 1777: 504-505).

Hence, his text is not only descriptive, but also explanatory of the reasons that led, in the author's opinion, to the circumstances in which the Yámana were leading their life. Forster also made chronological inferences related to the relative dates of the habit of wearing ornaments and the sense of modesty; these will be quoted and analysed in chapter 3, since they involve the use of body painting. This is the earliest text in which this kind of reasoning is already starting to develop, which makes this source a milestone in the history of research of the region.

Fifty years later, J. Weddell (also British), reached the region with the aim of obtaining seal skins, a business that became very profitable, and indeed ended up having a deep impact in the aborigines subsistence (Orquera 1999). His report of the trip includes very detailed information about the geography of the sub-antarctic region, since, as he noted in the text, it was the first time that such a southern latitude had been reached. He contacted a group of Yámana in San Francisco bay, between Hornos island and Hermitte island, to the south of the Wollaston islands, at the end of November 1823 (Weddell 1825). His observations are very detailed and thorough, and they include, among other details, an extremely interesting mention about the

Yámana concept of sense of property. Since these aborigines used to ‘steal’ many things from the European ships, Weddell decided to whip one of them in order to ‘teach’ him that this was not a proper conduct. The nature of the contact between these western voyagers and the aborigines seems quite clear in this quotation, and besides the interest of the former in observing the latter’s widely different habits, the establishment and expansion of their own rules (particularly the economic ones) seems to have been crucial for them. Nevertheless, Weddell explicitly considered the Yámana aptitudes in a different –more positive– way than the previous voyagers, since he thought that their lack of ability did not rely on a deficient spiritual organisation. Contrarily, he considered them easy to educate, and suggested that the cause of their stagnation in their spiritual formation depended on their environment. In this way, Weddell attempted to point out a *cause* that could explain the ‘primitive’ –and hence negative– state in which the Yámana lived.

The following first hand sources that document the Tierra del Fuego aborigines habits belong to the well known P. Parker King, R. Fitz-Roy and C. Darwin. These records were generated during two voyages. The first one started in 1826 and ended in 1830. P. Parker King was the captain of the “Adventure” and Stokes of the “Beagle”, being replaced after his death by Fitz-Roy. The aim of the expedition was clearly exploratory, covering the southern coasts of the South American continent, from the southern entrance of river Plate to Chiloé (Parker King: xv). According to Parker King’s text, the British Admiralty orders included “to avail yourself of every opportunity of collecting and preserving specimens of such objects of Natural History as may be new, rare or interesting; and you are to instruct Captain Stokes and all the other Officers, to use their best dilligence in increasing the collection in each ship” (ibid.).

The fleet reached the Fuegian archipelago in January 1827. It firstly explored the Magallanes strait, its neighbouring channels, and the western Pacific archipelago. In January 1830 they reached the islands towards the west of Brecknock peninsula. Parker King states tht a whale-boat was sent to Desolation cape in Basket island, and that soon after a great storm started. The boat had been stolen by the –Yámana? or Alacaluf?– natives. After a thorough and unfruitful search, and a fight with some aborigines (which resulted in the death of one of them), Parker King took some adults and children as hostages, and kept them in the “Beagle”. According to his text, Parker King was nevertheless explicitly concerned with the way in which the aborigines should be treated: “I mention these incidents to show what our behaviour to these savages, and that no wanton cruelty was exercised towards them” (Parker King 1939: 369 in Gusinde 1986: 79).

In the following days all the adults and some children escaped by swimming, a situation about which Parker King wrote “I found myself with three young children to take care of, and no prospect whatever of recovering the boat” (ibid: 395 in Gusinde 1986: 79). Two of the children managed to escape when a boat was sent to Desolate bay to take some measurements. The third one, a girl about eight years old “was still with us: she seemed to be so happy and healthy, that I determined to detain her as a hostage for the stolen boat and try to teach her English.” (ibid: 409 in Gusinde 1986: 79). Indeed, being able to communicate verbally with the aborigines was a point of crucial importance for the expeditionaries, as Fitz-Roy noted in his diary: “I became convinced that so long as we wear ignorant of the Fuegian language, and the natives were equally ignorant of ours, we should never know much about them, of the interior of their country, nor would there be the slightest chance of their being raised one step above the low place which they then held in our estimation” (20 February 1830, Fitz-Roy in Gusinde 1986: 79). Needless to say, the effort was made in order for the aborigines to learn English, rather than vice-versa.

Having already Fuegia Basket on board (such was the name given to the little girl), Parker King took afterwards (beginning of March 1830) a young man with the hope of teaching him English and thus recovering the lost whale-boat (ibid: 409 in Gusinde 1986: 80), and named him York Minster. Another young man, named Boat Memory, was taken hostage a few days later, in retaliation for an attempt of attack made by several men (some of them wearing body painting, see chapter 3 for details on this encounter). It is important to note that in Gusinde’s opinion (1986: 80-81), these three aborigines were of Yámana origin, while, given the eastern geographical region where they were taken hostages, they are much more likely to have been Alacaluf.

After having sailed for two more months, in which many observations of the canoes-fuegians were made, the fleet discovered and penetrated the Beagle channel in may (1830), and met several canoes in Murray narrow, and bartered with their occupants. And “without any previous intention, I told one of the boys in a canoe to come into our boat, and gave the man who was with him a large shining mother-of-pearl button. The boy got into my boat directly, and sat down.” (ibid: 445 in Gusinde 1986: 86). Jemmy Button, the name given to the boy “on account of his *price*” (sic), was of Yámana origin, and although not explicitly noted in the text, the different origin of this boy with the other three Fuegians on board can be inferred from their reaction when meeting him: “they laughed at him, called him Yapoo, and told us to put more clothes on him directly” (ibid: 445 in Gusinde 1986: 86).

The four Fuegians were taken to Great Britain, where the fleet arrived in October 1830. Boat Memory died of smallpox the following month. The other three were returned to Tierra del Fuego a year later⁶, in Fitz-Roy's second trip to the region, which started in late December 1831, again sailing on the "Beagle". C. Darwin, who at that time was twenty two years old, took part in this trip. He was invited to the expedition by FitzRoy, who was "Anxious that no opportunity of collecting useful information during the voyage should be lost" (Fitz-Roy 1839: 18). The expedition reached Tierra del Fuego in December 1832, and stayed in the region until February 6 1833. During this time, the three Fuegians were left in Woolya, which was Jemmy's land. An attempt was also made by the English missionary Matthews to stay there, but the behaviour of the local aborigines (particularly their constant stealing) made the situation impossible for him to bear, and he left the place, returning with Fitz-Roy in the Beagle a week later (Darwin 1845: 239).

Darwin's opinions about the native Fuegians are clear right from the first encounter with them: in December 17, 1832 they met four aborigines (Selk'nam/Haush) at Good success Bay: "I could not have believed how wide was the difference between savage and civilised man: it is greater than between a wild and domesticated animal, inasmuch as in man there is a greater power of improvement." (Darwin 1845: 216). Nevertheless, he considered that "These Fuegians are a very different race from the stunted, miserable wretches farther westward; and they seem closely allied to the famous Patagonians of the Strait of Magellan." (ibid).

This phrase was added to the edited version of his diary for publication, since at that point he had not seen the Yámana yet. Note the comparison between the Selk'nam/Haush and Yámana, which as in many other authors is favourable towards the former. This is confirmed by his opinion about the Yámana, also written after the first encounter with them (in December 25th. 1832): "While going one day on shore near Wollaston Island, we pulled alongside a canoe with six Fuegians. These were the most abject and miserable creatures I anywhere beheld."

Darwin's language along the text shows many disdainful terms used to describe the aborigines, a point that is nothing but expectable given the Victorian socio-historical context to which he belonged. It is also noticeable that he used the terms savage and barbarian indistinctly, which seems to indicate that there was no fixed conceptual meaning for these terms yet, as the – social– evolutionist theory of H. Taylor (1871) and L. Morgan (1877) would later give to them.

⁶ I have found no information about their stay in Great Britain.

After getting supplies in Brasil, they came back for about a week, between February 28 and March 6 1834. That was the last time that Fitz-Roy and Darwin saw Jemmy. Darwin's reflections about the changes seen in Jemmy during this re-encounter are very rich and enlightening about his way of reasoning about what he observed; these will be commented in chapter 3, since they include some information about body painting too. Suffice it to say here that the "re-adaptation" that Jemmy had made to his natural and cultural environment did not please Darwin, who "instead of admiring Jemmy's survival skills Darwin, like FitzRoy, reads this as degradation" (Beer 1997: 151), a point that indicates that he was still far from conceiving the concept of evolution and adaptation to the environment, at least in what regards to the human species.

Both Fitz-Roy's and Darwin's records of the observations made during this trip have an important amount of data about the Yámana (in Shingle point, Wollaston islands, Ponsomby sound and Woolya), as well as some about the Selk'nam/Haush, who were the first Fuegians they saw, in Good Success bay (see section 2.3 for details)⁷. Some of this information, nevertheless, was not retrieved by direct observations, but rather obtained from the three Fuegians, who acted as informants. The main shortcoming of this way of obtaining data was pointed by Darwin:

"Although all three could both speak and understand a good deal of English, it was singularly difficult to obtain much information from them concerning the habits of their countrymen: this was partly owing to their apparent difficulty in understanding the simplest alternative." (Darwin 1845: 219).

Hence the reliability of Darwin's and Fitz-Roy's accounts based on these aborigines explanations seems lower than that of their interpretations of observations of their own. The age of these informants may also have influenced the quality of information they could provide, since—as Gusinde noted (1986: 86)—, being so young implied that they were unlikely to have had full knowledge about the multiple details involved in the cultures of the societies to which they belonged.

The other person that acted as an informant was W. Low, a captain of a seal-fisher vessel, who was engaged by Fitz-Roy as a pilot in February 1834, due to his expertise in pilotage and his

⁷ While Fitz-Roy's text has only one version, Darwin's book was published in two different versions: 1839 and 1845 (the latter being more complete). His manuscript of the voyage's journal was published in 1934 (N. Barlow ed.) in which the un-edited text can be read. His letters have also been published, and body painting is mentioned only in one of them, unlikely the other texts, in which it is mentioned several times (Burkharm and Smith eds 1985). All these sources have been consulted in order to search for changes in the edited versions of the text, which can be informative of changes of opinion, and/or of interest in certain points, and for new pieces of information that could have been added and can complete the panorama offered by each version. The results of these text comparisons are presented in chapter 3, where Darwin's observations related to body painting are compiled and discussed.

knowledge about the Falkland islands, Tierra del Fuego, Patagonia and the Galapagos islands (Fitz-Roy 1939: 331). Darwin quotes him in relation to issues as important as famine and cannibalism (see section 2.3), which later gave way to a very prejudiced image of the Yámana which became widespread, probably because of his renown as a scientist⁸.

Both points were, to an extent, acknowledged by Fitz-Roy, who stated that “the imperfect description here given is principally derived from the natives who went to England in the “Beagle”, and from Mr. Low, who has seen more of them in their own country than any other person” (Fitz-Roy 1939: 129). Hence, if the biases and shortcomings of these texts are properly taken into account and assessed, Darwin and Fitz-Roy’s books still represent an invaluable source of information about the inhabitants of the Fuegian archipelago.

The following first hand source in which body painting was recorded was written by W. Webster (1834). He was part of a British scientific expedition on the “Chanticleer”, under the command of Captain H. Foster, which lasted from 1828 to 1830. The aim of the expedition was “to ascertain the true figure of the earth” (Webster 1834 in Gusinde 1986: 107) by making some pendulum experiments. The observations concerning the Yámana society are mostly presented as a text organised in the style of a thorough report, but with the lack of chronological or geographical detail about each event in particular. Nevertheless, this text is introduced by mentioning that in march 25th. 1829, the “Chanticleer” entered in San Francisco bay, to the west of Cape Horn, and reached St. Martin’s cove, where some aborigines visited them in a canoe (Webster 1834: 173). This first encounter was followed by many others, including episodes in which the British visited the aborigine’s wigwams. So this introduction to the observations serves as a guide to the time and place in which at least some of them seem to have been made.

Ten years later, in 1839, the US fleet commanded by C. Wilkes with the aim of circumnavigating the earth (1838-1842), reached Orange bay in February. His account of the trip (Wilkes 1844 in Gusinde 1986: 111-116), and that by G. Colvocoresses (1852 in Gusinde 1986: 116-119), who also took part of the expedition (as lieutenant), include a short description about the Yámana. Colvocoresses reported the encounters with aborigines in Relief harbour, which they visited from January 24 to around January 31 1839, and in Orange bay, which they reached in

⁸ Gusinde quotes, nevertheless, various letters in which Darwin shows his change of mind about the ‘inferior’ condition of the Fuegians, in the light of the ‘improvements’ achieved by the Patagonian South American Mission (Gusinde 1986: 106-107).

late February and visited until late March. Wilke's text refers to aborigines from Orange bay and Nassau bay⁹.

Also in a circumnavigation trip, the British captain J. Ross stopped for some days at St. Martin's cove (in Dumas peninsula, south-east of Hoste island¹⁰) in September-October 1842. There he made contact with the Yámana, and made various detailed observations about them (Ross 1847), including a description of their types of spears (see section 2.3). He also recorded his impressions on the effects –that he valued as positive– that the influence made by the visit must have had on the aborigines, by way of them acquiring new tools or getting a hair cut (Ross 1847: 306-307). Officer R. M'Cormick (1884), who took part on the trip, also made a series of observations about the Yámana, which include three brief mentions about the use of body painting.

In July 1844, the Anglican Patagonian Missionary Society¹¹ was created with the aim of transforming the aborigines lives through the incorporation of western habits, particularly those related to work and religion. After a series of frustrated attempts of starting a fruitful missionary work with the Patagonian and Fuegian aborigines, A. Gardiner, the first secretary of the society, landed in Banner Cove, at Picton island, with other six men, in 1850. They were taken there by the "Ocean Queen", which, after leaving them in Banner cove (Picton island) with two boats, continued its way to the Pacific (Alvarez 2000: 84). But, with an amazing lack of good luck, the missionaries did not realise that they had left their ammunition reserve supplies on board of the "Ocean Queen", until the ship was already far away (Bridges 1951: 38). Their life in the region became very difficult almost immediately because of the hostile attitude of the Yámana, and the lack of food¹². After some failed attempts by the British businessman S. Fisher Lafone, the North American captain W. Smiley came to the missionaries rescue in October 1851. But it was too late: all of them had already died.

⁹ Both texts have been consulted from Gusinde's review, since the originals are not available in Buenos Aires (According to Gusinde, Colvocoresses text is entirely reproduced in its complete version).

¹⁰ But Gusinde says it is located in the oriental shore of isla Hermitte, near Cape Horn.

¹¹ The society published a journal in which letters, fragments of diaries and reports written by the missionaries were published. This journal was initially called Voice of Pitty for South America, later it was changed to A Voice for South America, and later it was renamed South American Missionary Magazine; the titles themselves seem to be an indication of the tone and perspective through which the mission's tasks were faced, ranging from a most affective claim of pity and need of help for the aborigines, to a need to speak out for them, and finally a more 'neutral' attempt which presented information related to the mission's activities.

¹² The stay in Banner cove was very hard, due to the constant plundering of the aborigines. The missionaries decided to leave the island, after burying some of their supplies there. They went to Aguirre bay, in Isla Grande, and disembarked in Port Spaniard, losing one of the boats in the arrival. After some time they returned to Banner cove, to fetch the supplies, and before returning to Port Spaniard they left a note painted on a rock asking to a possible visitor to rescue them there.

Among the remains of the disastrous experience, the diary of R. Williams, one of the members of the mission, was recovered¹³. In this text (not mentioned in Gusinde's review), published by H. Hamilton in 1854, he narrates many events of the trip and stay in Tierra del Fuego, and records various observations about the Yámana and their interaction with the missionaries. The text shows both very negative comments about the aborigines character – particularly when these became aggressive or mistrusted¹⁴ – but also 'positive' comments such as that "they are not without a taste for ornament, nor are they entirely devoid of ingenuity" (Williams in Hamilton 1854: 111).

In a clear evolutionist fashion, Williams saw in them a group in a similar state than the European ancestors, who lived in a hut without windows, with a fire in the centre of the floor, and with a pile of mussel-shells at the threshold: "True, they are not an inviting race; but they are none the less a fac-simile of our British forefathers." (ibid: 117). Finally, the text has plenty of references to Williams religious thoughts and feelings, and to the glorification of God.

After this disastrous experience, the Patagonian Missionary Society sent another team of missionaries in a ship named "Allen Gardiner", after the deceased captain. The trip, under the command of W. Parker Snow, started in 1854, and reached Cape Horn in October 1855, after a long stay in the Falklands, where Cranmer, the first Anglican mission, was settled in Keppel island, in front of West Falkland island. The purpose of the mission was "the instruction and civilisation of the natives of South America ... visiting the natives, and to aid them in intercourse with such [the missionaries]; and to bring back to the station whatever people they may induce to accompany them." (Gusinde 1986: 125, footnote 146). It was also intended that Parker Snow should search for J. Button in Woollya, in Navarino island, since he could help in the evangelisation of his countrymen by acting as an interpreter. Incredibly, Parker Snow found Jemmy immediately, but Jemmy did not want to move to Keppel island (see below). In the strict sense, the mission was not successful in terms of teaching the aborigines due to its short stay in Tierra del Fuego, and to the lack of knowledge of the native's language (Parker Snow 1866: 79). Nevertheless, it generated a series of brief contacts on which future missions would later base their plans, creating at the same time a short "ethnographic" record about the Yámana.

¹³ Other letters and diaries were recovered, but there is no indication that these provide information about body painting.

¹⁴ "That the Fuegians were not to be trusted, and that our property was a great excitement to their cupidity, and that they would go to any length to gain possession of it, we were now well assured. The art of dissimulation is very perfect among them ... " (Williams in Hamilton 1854: 158-159).

Parker Snow went to Banner cove, where he saw the first Yámana group. Although his interaction with them in that place was short (the ship stayed there for about a week), his observations are quite detailed, yet his mentions about body painting are brief. The overall trend of Snow's text, though inevitably full of ethnocentric terms, shows a certain positive view towards the aborigines intelligence and appearance:

“They were fine, powerful-looking men, each in a state of savage nudity, and though shaggy as regards their uncombed hair, and otherwise repulsive, I could not help being greatly surprised at finding them so superior to what I had been led to expect the Fuegians really were.” (Parker Snow 1866: 324-325)

These seem to have been seen, nevertheless, as points of contact with –desirable– western features or habits, and as assets towards their potential transformation.

But what is more surprising is Snow's declaration of respect towards the will of the aborigines to determine their own lives: after visiting Banner Cove, the “Allen Gardiner” went to Woollya in search of J. Button, and, incredibly, they met him at Murray Narrows, near Button island, thirty years after he had been left in the area by Fitz-Roy and Darwin. Snow tried to convince Jemmy and his family to accompany him to the mission in Keppel island, and instead of resenting their absolute refusal, he accepted their decision showing an unusual respect for their choice –though again, full of ethnocentric adjectives–: “Savages they may be: degraded, miserable, wretched beings! But they have hearts as well as we, and their way of thinking may not be the same as ours on the question. Let us then go to them, not inveigle them to us.” (Snow 1857 II: 42).

Perhaps his positive view and respect for the aborigines stemmed from his idea of the cause of their ‘primitive’ state, which he found in their environment (as many other authors did): “In speaking of these savages, I cannot help saying that I do not consider them so degraded as many persons do. I look from effect to cause, and thus trace their present condition to the nature of circumstances” (conference at the Ethnological Society of London in 1861, in Gusinde 1986: 134).

Snow also showed a sensible perception of the situation in relation to the Keppel mission, which he criticised because of its location, too apart from the area in which the Yámana life developed: “here, amongst them, ought to have been the mission station, not in the Falkland islands” (Snow 1857 I: 351). His opinion was certainly right, and another mission was to be founded later in Ushuaia, but by that time he had left the Patagonian Missionary Society precisely due to his discrepancy of criteria about this point.

In August 1855, Rev. G. Packenham Despard arrived at the Keppel island mission with his family, including his adoptive son Thomas Bridges, who would later become one of the most prominent figures in Tierra del Fuego both due to his missionary work and his ethnographic observations (see below). Despard was in charge of this mission station, and while living there, convinced for the first time a group of Yámana aborigines to move to the mission in 1858. Most importantly for my topic, he made the first observations of these Fuegians while travelling in the region and living in Keppel island, hence having more frequent and lasting contact with them. This is clearly shown in the information found in his texts (his diary –fragments published by VPSA between 1857 and 1861– and an article for the general public, published in 1863), where several aspects of the Yámana society were described for the first time. The existence of a “law of retaliation for murder” (Despard 1859: 9), of mourning processes (1859: 129), of “yacomoshes” or wizard/doctors (1861: 179), and of the belief in “spirits” that should not be named (1860: 51) –body painting was worn in the first three occasions– are core pieces of information about the Yámana socio-cultural life described –briefly– for the first time by Despard. His texts also confirm many of the observations made by other voyagers, on more practical matters.

Despard also compiled the first Yámana-English dictionary, of about 1,000 words, which entails that he could communicate –to an extent– with them in their own language. His opinion about the state of the Yámana is, as in other previous authors, related to their environmental conditions. But in this case he also sees the opportunity to help them change their situation – which was, in his view, undesirable–, by the exploitation of some resources of such environment:

“The Fuegians in themselves *cannot* be other than they are. Suppose they desired a more genial climate, whither could they go to find it? They dare not cross the Beagle Channel, because of the Oens men, so much dreaded. But suppose they reached, and crossed it unobstructed, and then made on *overland* to Admiralty Inlet, and then over-ed the Straits, they would find a climate more humid than their own, and with no more food and clothing. What could they do in Patagonia, supposing the giants allowed them there? They must starve, for want of horses to secure guanaco. Suppose they desired clothing, what can they make it of? Limpets and muscle shells? Fish skins, porpoise skins, bark? – what else? For other material in sufficient quantity they have none. Their few otter and guanaco skins would form *back* coats for hardly a tithe of them. Suppose they wanted to be *clean*, where are soap and towels? Suppose vegetable food, where are seeds? Their only hope for a rise, rests on the benevolence and liberality of Christians. We could, with advantage to them and to ourselves, give them both materials and instruction. Their forests of good wood are inexhaustible. (Darwin’s report, that the timber in rotten at heart, we have not found true in some hundreds we have cut and split up.) We get them to fell, square, and saw this, and we can afford in return to clothe and feed them; for this stuff would sell well in Stanley, and would be worth freight even to England, in vessels so lightly laden as

some from Stanley. And the colonists there could make vessels, boats, houses, fence, and furniture of it.” (Despard 1859: 83-84, written on September 17th.)

This, and other quotations related to his opinion about the habit of wearing body painting, show that, beyond his comprehension of the contextual reasons that for him accounted for some of the features of Yámana life, his aim was clearly to transform it according to his own values. When Despard left the mission, and returned to Great Britain with his family in 1861, he left T. Bridges (who was about 19 years old) in charge of the instruction of the indians, while another person (W. Bartlett) took care of the farm.

In January 1863, W.H. Stirling arrived as the new superintendent of the Keppel island mission, sent by the South American Missionary Society (the new name of the former Patagonian Missionary Society). That same year he made a trip to Tierra del Fuego with T. Bridges, who already had a good knowledge of the Yámana language due to his contact with the aborigines in the Keppel island mission and his tenacious interest in completing the Yámana-English dictionary started by his father. The effect that this way of communication had on the aborigines seems to have been very positive, generating in them a sense of trust on the newcomers (Martial 1888: 219).

Stirling stayed as superintendent of the mission until 1869, when he moved to Ushuaia, but made only some remarks about the Yámana aborigines in his letters (published in the VSA), a point also noted by Gusinde (1986: 139). Yet, a brief mention to body painting is found in one of them (Stirling 1864, see chapter 3).

A new mission station was founded in 1869 in Ushuaia, and T. Bridges became its superintendent. The interaction between Bridges and the Fuegian aborigines (firstly with the Yámana, but then also with the Haush and Selk’nam) resulted in the richest records of the Yámana cultural habits generated by a missionary. Besides the already mentioned Yámana-English dictionary (published in 1933), which reached more than 30,000 terms, he wrote other texts of great ethnographic value. This is the case of his letters, the fragments of his journal (e.g. Bridges 1872, 1875, 1876) and a text in the style of a short but thorough report about the Fuegian aborigines (Bridges 1869). A lecture (published in 1886), and an unpublished manuscript written

in 1897¹⁵, giving an account of his observations and opinions about the Fuegians, complete the vast list of sources written by T. Bridges in which he described body paintings¹⁶.

In these texts he collected numerous observations (some in the shape of generalisations, and others as retellings of specific events) that cover more aspects than previously known about the Yámana. Of these, the brief descriptions –in many of his texts– of the existence of the kina ceremony (and of the body painting related to it) are some of the most relevant points for the topic of this project. This male initiation ceremony was thus recorded for the first time by a western observer (see section 2.3)¹⁷.

T. Bridges' aim was to transform the Fuegian's lives, a point that is clear, for example, if taking into account that he translated portions of the Bible to teach the Yámana in their own language (hence trying to ensure its effectiveness). But his descriptions of their habits and beliefs is nevertheless done without using contemptuous adjectives, showing a much less ethnocentric perspective than almost all of his predecessors, and also than some other observers that were still to come to the region. Moreover, Bridges took the issue of the fast ongoing process of deaths of the Selk'nam and Yámana due to the "white" people's presence as an unavoidable problem and got involved personally in denouncing¹⁸ the problem and in giving them protection firstly in the mission and then in Harberton, his "estancia" (country house and farm), which he obtained from the Argentinean government when he resigned his position as a missionary.

Finally, Bridges explicitly refuted some negative and unjustified versions about the Yámana conduct, particularly in relation to their supposed cannibalism (Bridges 1897: 85) while acknowledging other actions, such as killing individuals who were suffering long agonies (ibid:

¹⁵ This document is currently held in the Royal Geographical Society, I consulted a copy held by Rae Natalie Prosser – Goodall in Tierra del Fuego.

¹⁶ In all these works, body painting was described (Bridges 1869, 1872, 1875, 1876, 1885, 1886, 1897, 1933). More texts were published, containing other sorts of ethnographic information.

¹⁷ It is noticeable that the references to the religious 'institutions' of the Yámana, particularly their initiation ceremonies, are mentioned in few occasions in comparison to the relative abundance of information about other customs of their everyday life. The reason for this may be that the religious nature of the initiation ceremonies was perceived as clashing with the religion that Bridges was trying to impose, and/or that the 'secret' character of the ceremonies (in which different portions of the group - but not all- were included) implied their celebration in a secluded way; in both cases, the result seems to have been that Bridges had less access to this sort of information. There is also the possibility that Bridges himself was not interested in reporting this kind of Yámana custom, but this seems less likely.

¹⁸ "The Ona have been good people ... [But] Before than taking any trouble in relation to them, they are maintained as far away as possible by means of the gun. I sincerely hope that the Argentinean Government, by means of a noble and efficient act will save and use in a Christian way this beautiful race, and will not allow that the debris of society go to Onaisin (the land of the Ona) to do what they have done in other fields of gold. Can the Government exercise a fraternal action in an adequate way for benefit of the Ona!" (Bridges 1886: 204).

68-69), showing an intention of being as balanced as possible in the presentation of information about these sensitive areas of their culture.

A final note to be taken into account is that, in spite of the language that he used in the description of his observations and of the information he retrieved from talking to the aborigines, which was much less contemptuous than many other authors, Bridges was considered by Gusinde as enormously biased, in that “he judged everything that was native as inferior or lacking value or as pernicious and immoral” (Gusinde 1986: 142). It is true that, in one text, when referring to the kina ceremony – which he also called “dramatic orgies” (Bridges 1897: 58) – he pointed out that the rites were “occasion of disorder and licentious scenes” (with no other explanation about their nature; Bridges 1886: 09), but this expression, or the use of the term ‘heathen’ to refer to the aborigines, do not seem enough to consider that his biases – which of course did exist – were so extreme.

In January 1879, R. Serrano made an expedition to the north of the island commissioned by the Chilean government, with the aim of exploring the region (and meeting the Selk’nam), and thus enabling the colonisers to establish in the area. The voyage covered the northern portion of Isla Grande: it started from the south of Grande bay, reached San Sebastian bay and went back to the starting point in February (Gusinde 1982: 51). A few ethnographic observations were made, since the aborigines kept their distance from the Westerners. Body painting is briefly mentioned among the Selk’nam habits recorded by Serrano.

The following group of authors that recorded the existence of body painting in the region belongs to the expedition of Captain Piedrabuena, in charge of the ship named “Cabo de Hornos”, which started in the end of December 1881 and ended in May 1882. The expedition had the main aim of exploring the Beagle channel region, and was ordered by the Argentinean government. Three members of the expedition made records of its visit to the region, in which information about the Yámana and the Selk’nam aborigines is published: officer G. Bove (1883), the geologist D. Lovisato (1884) and the botanist C. Spegazzini (1882).

The members of the expedition split in groups to explore different sections of the region. On May 31 1882, the boat in which Bove was visiting the eastern portion of the Beagle channel sunk at Sloggett bay, where he met a group of Haush. To Bove we owe the first visual records of these aborigines wearing body painting: two drawings in which they appear dressed with their typical cloak, and head band (in the males case), wearing facial paintings. Bove made a second

trip to the region between february and april 1884, in which he had more contact with the Yámana.

The information retrieved by Bove, Lovisato and Spegazzini comes both from their short interaction with the aborigines, as well as from the data they obtained from the Anglican mission in Ushuaia. They explained that the short time in which they had actual contact with the aborigines did not allow them to describe them in detail (Bove 1883 a: 124; Spegazzini 1882: 160 and 173). Lovisato pointed that the lack of knowledge of the aboriginal language hindered their communication (Lovisato 1884: 132). Spegazzini also acknowledged that part of the information that he was publishing had not been observed by him directly, and had been conveyed to him by “persons worthy of trust” (Spegazzini: 160).

In spite of these considerations which point towards the acknowledgement of the authors of the limitations of their observations, there are some details that need to be taken into account in assessing their contributions. The similarity of their texts seems to indicate that the three authors copied information from each other (a point noted by Orquera and Piana 1999, who also suggest that the most reliable of the three is Lovisato). Moreover, Gusinde criticised Bove for the lack of accuracy of the comments added to the information that he was told, which make his papers not very trustworthy (Gusinde 1986: 145), an opinion also shared by Orquera and Piana (*ibid*). Finally, the texts also share in common the fact that their authors usually do not indicate which portions of information come from their own observations, and which were instead conveyed by the missionaries (most likely Bridges). The types and variety of data that they handle would have required a longer stay and a fluent communication with the aborigines, hence it is quite likely that most of them did not result from their direct observations, but were actually provided by Bridges.

An entirely different approach to the ethnographic observation was shown by the French “Mission Scientifique du Cap Horn”, under the command of L. Martial. The expedition, whose main aim was to make meteorological, geographical and geological observations, lasted for one year (from September 1882 to September 1883). An observation station was established in Orange bay, and while the scientists did their work, the “La Romanche” ship travelled over the Beagle channel, exploring thousands of kilometres of its shores. Martial dedicated to the hydrography of the region, while P. Hyades, the doctor of the expedition focused on the ethnographic observations, which occupied an entire volume (n° VII, written with J. Deniker) of the many in which the results of the expedition were recorded.

Although Martial's task was not specifically the ethnographic observation, he did write about the aborigines, and briefly mentioned the use of body paintings, including various details about their production and meanings (Martial 1888: 188). Hyades centred his observations on the physical¹⁹ and cultural aspects of the people, mainly their material creations and their habits²⁰. This information is published in Hyades and Deniker (1891) volume in a series of very organised chapters, structured according to different topics, such as physiological features, psychological features, language, conduct and customs, etc. (all of these include information about body painting practices). This chapter structure makes of this volume the first book about the Yámana that was written in a scientific fashion in terms of its systematic way of treating the information. This way of displaying the data had also been followed by Hyades in his previous publications, which consist of very organised papers that show a similar structure, and in which the information about body painting is found under topic titles related to clothing (Hyades 1884: 562), or personal ornament - aesthetics (Hyades 1887: 329). In another, more informal paper for the general public there is only one mention, within an anecdote of an encounter with a group in a canoe (Hyades 1885: 405).

The way in which the authors present the data to reinforce each of their assertions, and discriminate their own observations from those made by others (e.g. when using an unpublished work by Bridges they clearly quote that the information comes from this source (Hyades and Deniker 1891: 376)), together with the important amount of time taken in their observations, makes their work both well grounded and reliable.

We also owe to the mission the first visual records of Yámana aborigines wearing body painting (facial paintings), in four photographs which form part of an immense and excellent collection (taken by two officers of the expedition), some of which were published in the expedition's volumes, while Chapman et al (1995) published the whole collection currently housed in the Musée du L'Homme (Paris).

Finally, respect of the general tone in which the works generated by this expedition are written, it can be noted that due to the mostly descriptive fashion in which the texts are

¹⁹ The physical information is very thorough and indeed a milestone for the research of this topic, but not quoted here because of its lack of direct relation with the topic of this project.

²⁰ In relation to the abundant references to observations of these aspects, the religious aspects were not greatly recorded. This can be related to their lack of sufficient knowledge of the aborigines language (although they did command a certain amount of their vocabulary, which they recorded in the book), or to the lack of will of these to show them and/or explain them their rituals and beliefs. This point was noted by Gusinde (1986: 149), most likely not only to characterise the contribution of these authors, but also to enhance his own – which was indeed full of references to the religious life of the Fuegians.

developed, the tendency is mainly to use ‘neutral’²¹ language, that is, to use terms that do not imply a positive or negative value of the subject being described. This, together with their lack of speculation about the possible causes of the state in which the aborigines were found, or the reasons that led them to act in a certain way, can be attributed to the authors classical Positivist attitude towards their observations (Orquera and Piana 1995: 201-202). Hyades and Deniker were concentrated on presenting data, mostly first hand data, in a clear and systematic way and without making any inferences about them, if these could be avoided²².

While the Mission Scientifique focused exclusively on the Yámana aborigines, the following expedition whose records include data about the use of body painting, provides information exclusively about the Selk’nam, although unfortunately not with the aims or the quality of the former. The expedition, of Argentinean origin and under the command of captain J. Marzano, was not scientific but militar, and had the purpose of inspecting the eastern shore of Tierra del Fuego, from Espíritu Santo cape to Aguirre bay. Among the members of the expedition were R. Lista, P. Segers (the doctor of the crew), and G. Fagnano (the Salesian missionary, who was the chaplain of the expedition), all of whom wrote about the events of the voyage, also generating observations about the Selk’nam they encountered along their way (Lista 1887, Segers 1891, and Fagnano 1887).

The expedition, which lasted from november 1886 to january 1887, had a quite violent start, since in San Sebastian bay the captain attempted –by force– to get some Selk’nam individuals to act as guides. The refusal of these resulted in the death of twenty eight aborigines (Gusinde 1982: 52), and in the capture of some prisoners, mostly women, who were taken to Buenos Aires (Gusinde, *ibid*)²³. Strangely enough, I have not found in Lista’s text a description of this event, but only an indirect reference to it when, in another encounter, he states that

“I wanted to avoid another combat, and since the Argentinean soldier is naturally bellicose and very difficult to hold in front of the enemy, I made the troop to lay on the

²¹ This should of course not be confused with any claim of neutrality about the authors, their views or intentions, which were obviously influencing the making of the records, both in the ways these were made (e.g. as in the systematic organisation of the text, noted above), and in what was to be recorded.

²² This does not mean that their perspective lacked entirely of evaluative adjectives and biases: Gusinde noted, for example, that Hyades considered, in coincidence with FitzRoy, Darwin, Wilkes, and others, that the Yámana were “the most miserable, the lowest inhabitants of the globe.” (Hyades in Gusinde 1986: 147). But this kind of adjectives is not at all frequent or dominant in these texts.

²³ Gusinde noted that Lista does not mention what happened to the women afterwards (Gusinde 1982: 53).

ground and ordered to the captain that nobody should move or charge their weapons” (Lista 1887: 71).²⁴

He then sent Segers and Fagnano to “try to convince those indians that we are their friends and that they should not be afraid of us” (ibid). After a successful (non-violent) encounter with the aborigines, Lista “congratulated myself [himself] for having avoided a new combat. How much blood would have been shed in vain!” (ibid: 73, my emphasis).

As a result of that encounter, Lista wrote that “The meeting with the Onas has been very cordial, and I have to protest against their qualification as ‘degraded race’ that is applied by extension and erroneously, considering them identical to the skinny and miserable canoe people of the Beagle Channel and islands of Cape Horn.” (ibid: 72, note again the comparison between Selk’nam and Yámana, which is frequent in many authors). This ‘positive’ sentence, together with another one that emphatically denies the Fuegians cannibalism due to the lack of “irrefutable demonstration, that is, observed facts” (ibid), greatly contrast the actual treatment that the aborigines received from the members of this expedition (excepting Segers and Fagnano, who do not seem to have been involved in any violent act, and, according to Gusinde (1982: 52), protested against such kinds of actions). Hence Lista’s comments are at least ambivalent, if placed in the context of the expedition’s practice²⁵. They may either have been made by him as a sort of compensation for the destructive actions carried out against the aborigines, or as a way of separating himself from these military’s actions.

The overall structure of the text is developed as a chronological description of the places visited and the events that happened there with the aborigines. In this context, the mentions of body painting are interesting in that they can be related to actual everyday life situations, and are not generalisations of various observations lumped together. There are, nevertheless, some interpretations about its uses made by Lista which are not well grounded in data and seem more like speculations (see chapter 3).

Segers’ text is partly written as a chronological presentation of the observations made in Tierra del Fuego, and mostly as a group of descriptions of the Selk’nam, without a fixed date. His

²⁴ The tone of this sentence seems like an excuse both for the Argentinean military groups attitude and for his own limitation in handling them.

²⁵ Lista mentions at least one more incident with the aborigines, which happened in December 10th. in Peñas cape, in which two men were killed and prisoners were taken again (two women and several children) (ibid: 81). The prisoners could run away. Lista does not give much explanation about how this happened, nor does he regret it. He sent a group of soldiers to look for them, but this was not effective, since they must have been far away already. This indifference about the whole matter is at least surprising, and makes one wonder why he got the prisoners in the first place, if they were not important.

text does include the retelling of the attack of the Argentinean crew to the aborigines near Cape Peñas (he does not mention Lista in any part of it), which Segers totally disapproved (Segers 1891: 73-74). Nevertheless, and despite his sympathetic attitude towards the dead man, who Segers and Fagnano wanted to bury (hence showing a sensitive attitude, of course in their own terms), his scientific interest went beyond his initial consternation for the diseased individual: Segers took samples of his body and desiccated them to take them to Buenos Aires, where “they excited [people’s] curiosity very much”. (ibid: 74).

Segers spent in Tierra del Fuego almost three years (ibid: 58), and although his paper is not very long, it is quite wide in the amount of topics that he covered, from diet to mourning habits to a short Selk’nam vocabulary, and including points such as the rivalry between the northern and the southern Selk’nam groups, which were not reported by many other authors. His mentions to body painting are, again, brief, but include about the same information than other – longer– sources (e.g. Dabbene 1911, Gallardo 1910, see below and chapter 3).

If Lista’s expedition was characterised by its violence towards the aborigines, J. Popper’s scaled to the summit of this violent trend. His visits to Tierra del Fuego, which started in 1886, were related to the exploitation of gold, which was a “fever” that had started in Virgenes cape (south east of Santa Cruz province) a year before when this mineral had been found by chance (Alvarez 2000: 120). Popper asked the Argentinean government to finance a “scientific expedition” to Tierra del Fuego, in search of this precious metal. He took with him “fifteen men armed in prevision of attacks from hostile indians” (Popper in Alvarez 2000: 21), and indeed had many encounters in which Selk’nam aborigines were killed. Moreover, according to Gusinde, when the gold business was not very profitable anymore, Popper was hired by the owners of some ‘estancias’ (large farm estates) to ‘hunt’ the indians (Gusinde 1982: 54). In fact, this activity has been recorded in a series of photographs in which Popper and other men are shown shooting with guns, killing Selk’nam men. The copies of these photographs held in the Royal Geographical Society show printed captions (included within the picture). These range from very self-indulgent texts, such as “Arrows were coming from everywhere”, to outright twisted ironic ones such as “Dead in the field of honour” (referring to a Selk’nam dead man). One of these (published by Brüggemann 1989), shows Popper and two other men shooting with guns, next to the dead body of a Selk’nam man lying on the ground, still holding his bow.



Plate B.1. Popper and two other armed men next to a Selk'nam dead man (Brüggeman 1989).

In 1890 he obtained from the Argentinean government 80,000 hectares in the area of Grande river, in which he was supposed to “civilise the Onas, teach them to work, convert them to the catholic religion, convey them the property of their land, etc.” (Alvarez 2000: 122-123). Needless to say, the treatment of the aborigines did not improve at all. When the Argentinean government confronted him for his actions against the Fuegians, he spoke in favour of them with a verbosity that Gusinde rightly qualifies as hypocritical (ibid) at a lecture given at the Instituto Geográfico Argentino in Buenos Aires, in whose journal he published (1887, 1891) his observations about the geography, climate and ethnology. His observations of the aborigines are detailed, though obviously biased, and he includes recommendations of ways to incorporate them to the ‘civilised’ world.

The “Belgica” expedition to the pole made a visit to the Fuegians, when visiting Dawson island, and when, after circumnavigating Isla Grande, they run aground near Harberton (in the Beagle channel north shore). F.A. Cook, an explorer of dubious reputation that was called by Barclay “the most amazing impostor of his generation” (Barclay 1926: 208), spent one day (11th. December 1897) there with other members of the crew (Gusinde 1982: 56). His observations are qualified by Gusinde as superficial and lacking content (ibid). Moreover, Cook took T. Bridges manuscript of the Yámana-English dictionary to Europe with the supposed purpose of getting it published, but instead it was handed in to the Liège University archives with other “Belgica” records, as Cook’s own contribution to scientific research (Barclay 1926: 209, L. Bridges 1951).

In relation to this research project, his potential contribution was a set of photographs that he took of a Selk’nam group that was living in Harberton, and who was introduced to him by L. Bridges (T. Bridges son). It is not clear whether the individuals depicted were wearing body paintings, though this is suggested by Bridges (1951: 227); and I have not been able to determine if these photographs have ever been published, or to establish where they have been filed, although one possibility is that they are in the archives mentioned above. The events in which these photographs were taken – which I quote below – are nevertheless illustrative of both Cook’s attitude towards the aborigines and these latter’s attitude towards being photographed, as well as of L. Bridge’s reaction to the situation.

“Dr. Cook and the other scientists on board the Belgica, though their way to explore the regions of the South Pole, were nevertheless interested in everything they encountered *en route*. I mentioned to them that a party of Ona, real forest warriors with long hair, skin-robes and paint, were encamped less than a mile from Cambaceres. Our visitors were immediately anxious to take photographs of them. On the following morning I escorted them to the camp. Knowing that the Ona would be nervous, I went on ahead of the

scientists to allay the Indians' fears. I found them on the point of departure, but managed to persuade them to stay for another hour.

The Ona of both sexes did not like the little magic eye of the camera winking in their direction. I did my best to reassure them; and Dr. Cook was thus able to take some fine photographs, particularly of the women, with their huge loads done up in the orthodox, cigar-shaped fashion and a child or two stowed on top.

With his exposures made, Dr. Cook produced from his capacious pocket a sock containing about two pounds of small, hard sweets of many colours, each with a little seed in its centre. He handed a pinch to each of the numerous natives, then put the remainder, perhaps half a pound, back into his pocket with the remark:

'I think they have all had a taste.'

The indians did not know what to do with these queer little beads, so I took a few from Dr. Cook, put them in my mouth and started to crunch them up, despite the risk to my teeth. The natives followed my example. Feeling that this reckless hospitality of the anthropologist might not seem adequate recompense for what they had done at my request, I took a couple of the Ona to the house and gave them a sack of flour. This was always a welcome gift; with it they made a kind of damper." (Bridges 1951: 227-228).

The derisive attitude of Cook towards the aborigines and the sympathetic reaction of L. Bridges, who sought to compensate their unpaid exposition to the disliked "eye of the camera" are quite clear in this quotation. Unfortunately, the photographs seem not to have been published so it has been impossible for me to search in them for information in relation to body painting and to assess their contents.

The first Salesian missionary to produce a record about Selk'nam body painting remains anonymous to this day. He seems to have witnessed (or was told about) the *hain* ceremony, and recorded in his notes several details about some of the spirits' appearance. The tone of his text is, amazingly (particularly for a religious man), very neutral and mostly descriptive, and does not include comments valuing the aborigines actions or comparisons with the Catholic religion. Most of his text has been published by Belza (1974).

The second Salesian missionary to mention body painting in his records is J.M. Beauvoir (1915), who was one of the founders of the mission in Río Grande in 1893, called "La Candelaria", together with J. Fagnano. The date in which Beauvoir reached the region is not clear, since it varies according to the consulted sources (1887 according to Canclini 1984: 157; 1892 according to Cooper 1917: 69; and 1898 according to Gusinde 1982: 56. Of these, the first date seems the better documented²⁶).

²⁶ Canclini (1984: 157) comments that Beauvoir reached Ushuaia on August 12th. 1887 in the "Mercurio" ship, after that the ship that was bringing him from Buenos Aires to Punta Arenas sunk in Puerto Deseado.

In relation to his ethnographic work, he mainly focused on the study of the Selk'nam language. This can be noticed in his two books (1901 and 1915), which are mainly dictionaries of the Yámana, Alacaluf and Selk'nam (1901), and of the Selk'nam (1915), with notes on their grammar, phonetics and a list of phrases translated to Spanish. In his first work, the details about the aborigines customs and beliefs are very brief. His second and most thorough work is also basically a dictionary and phrase book, but contains an entire chapter on ethnological notes about the customs of the Selk'nam (Beauvoir 1915: 201-225). These are organised under different subtitles that refer to very specific topics or even anecdotes (e.g. first care of the newly born, how the dead are buried, cannibalism, and so on). The information contained in this chapter shows that Beauvoir, and possibly other Salesian missionaries too²⁷, had clear knowledge about the myths on which the Selk'nam initiation ceremony was based, which contradicts to an extent the claims by Gusinde (see below).

Finally, his religious background had an important influence in Beauvoir's observations. The most noticeable point that shows this is that he asserted that he could trace back a Selk'nam work (Jhow'n) to the name of Jehowá, which then implied their belief in a supreme being – a point that would later be further developed by Gusinde, although arguing over different 'evidences' and mentioning other names – (ibid: 219). With this as evidence, he opposed to T. Bridge's description about the lack of this notion among the Fuegians, and accused him of not really having known them. His religious and missionary interests are also visible in the photographs and drawings that illustrate his book, some of which show the aborigines in western clothing and the mission buildings, while the last one of the book shows two Selk'nam girls inside a drawing with the shape of a heart, with the following caption: "From the heart of Tierra del Fuego-Río Grande. Two Selk'nam girls of 10 years one and 6 the other one, sheltered in the Río Grande Salesian mission [which] The charity of our contributors maintains. They greet you and thank you from their hearts" (ibid: 236). The photographs in which the aborigines appear in their typical clothing do not show any of them wearing body painting, which is nevertheless mentioned in the text.

When, by the end of 1886, T. Bridges decided to retire from the South American Missionary Society, E. Aspinall, missionary and doctor, came to replace him in the Ushuaia mission, where he stayed for a year and a half. From 1886 onwards, his letters were published in

²⁷ Beauvoir acknowledged in his work the influence of father P. Zenone, who had an ample experience with the Selk'nam since 1894 and had some knowledge of their language.

the SAMM. In these, he described his work as a missionary and gave some details about the Yámana way of life. Body painting is mentioned only in one of them (Aspinall 1888).

Another Anglican missionary, H. Burleigh²⁸, carried out his work firstly at the Wollaston mission, on Bayly island (which is one of the Wollaston islands), which was founded in 1888 and closed on 1892 (Canclini 1984: 78). He then moved to Tekenika Mission, on Hoste island - founded in 1892 and closed in 1906 - (ibid), where he died. His letters, written from 1888 to 1894, were published in the SAMM. Again, only one of them contains one mention related to the use of body painting. The tone of the letter is of surprise and dismay when seeing the state in which the aborigines lived in Wollaston:

“I think it impossible that they could have been in a worse state than we found them in; the frantic outbursts of savagery and passion have certainly subsided much since we came, but we almost daily witness scenes of cruelty which make one shudder; what they must have been in the far past is almost too terrible to think of; indeed, some of them seem to bear upon them the impress of many a horrible deed.” (Burleigh 1889: 267).

In spite of the ethnocentric vocabulary used, the tone of the paragraph –and in general of the text– reflects more the concern for the wellbeing of the aborigines (in terms of their physical integrity) than a contemptuous assessment of their habits. Nevertheless, the aim of transforming them and the negative connotations attached to them when refusing or being indifferent to change, are also very visible in the text. Thus, Burleigh complained that his – transformational – work was difficult due to the “disinclination of the people to conform to what is good and right, and their stubbornness and bad temper when reproved” (ibid).

A very special book was written by L. Bridges, one of the sons of Rev. T. Bridges, who was born in Tierra del Fuego on December 31 1874. This book was published in 1947 (the version I consulted was published in 1951), but it is reviewed at this point of the chapter since his own experiences with the aborigines in the area (and those which he might recall) must have started around the 1890s. This is the only first hand source written by an observer of European origin who was born in the region and lived for many years in it, which, maybe with the exception of L. Bridge’s father, who lived in the region since he was a child, sets it apart from the rest of the texts included in this review.

The book reviews the story of the Bridges family in Tierra del Fuego, retelling how the Anglican missions started and was developed by T. Bridges, how the family was contacted by – and usually helped– numerous expeditions, and the interaction it had with the Selk’nam and the

Yámana. In doing so, L. Bridges not only quotes his father texts and experiences, but includes his own first hand anecdotes with these aborigines, explaining with detail and care the attitudes and habits related to each story. The book follows a chronological order from the moving of T. Bridges to the mission as the son of J.P. Despard, his later establishment as mission superintendent, his founding of Harberton estancia (on the Beagle channel shore) and later of Viamonte estancia (near Fuego river). Hence the information about the aborigines is not systematically organised or lumped together in a chapter, but rather scattered throughout the entire text.

L. Bridges had fluent contact with both the Yámana and the Selk'nam groups; with the former because the mission and Harberton estancia were located in the Beagle channel shore, their territory, and with the latter, firstly because some of them went to the Ushuaia mission and to Harberton²⁹, and then because L. Bridges made trips to northern Tierra del Fuego, the Selk'nam territory. Bridges information about these societies mostly confirms what had been said before about them, but this confirmation is made in a much more vivid and specific, not generalised way, in which each individual event adds details to an otherwise non-organised corpus of data.

What is entirely new in his book is that his author participated for a few days in the Selk'nam hain initiation ceremony, an episode that he retells in one of his chapters (Bridges 1951: 405-429). This converted him in the first western man not to just to have reported, but to have participated in this ceremony, which in turn both provides first hand data about it and dismisses Gusinde's claim about him being the first western man that had done this (see below), although this does not neglect the importance of his own contributions.

Regarding body painting L. Bridges explained its use by both Selk'nam and Yámana in a long paragraph, while the rest of his observations are scattered along the text, as is all the ethnographic information. He also illustrated his book with a series of photographs of his family and of the aborigines, some of which had been taken by him, while others are republished from other authors. Of these, 7 show Selk'nam individuals wearing body painting, 1 of which is republished from Gallardo 1910 (S110), so actually 6 are counted in the photographs catalogue. Of these, 3 are surely of Bridges authorship (S118, S119, S120), 1 is not acknowledged, possibly

²⁸ The texts written by Aspinall and Burleigh do not appear in Gusinde's bibliographical review.

²⁹ These aborigines started going to the south due to the increasing pressure on the north by the new western settlers, who pushed the Selk'nam from their own territory or directly killed them either as a punishment for their stealing 'white guanacos' (sheep) or systematically, to wipe them out of an area they wanted to keep free of aborigines (ibid: 272, 274).

of Bridges too (S26), 1 was taken by Furlong (S122) and 1 by Ms. Goodall (his married daughter?, and the only photograph of the catalogue taken by a woman, S121).

Bridges was very thoughtful and judicious in the way he treated these visual records. He always added explanatory captions to them, which sometimes even included critical opinions about how the photos looked like or were made. Two examples of this are quoted later: one in relation to a photograph (S54) also published by Gusinde with a different framing leaving out an individual wearing a western hat, possibly not to spoil the 'typicality' of the picture, a situation that Bridges preferred to acknowledge in the caption instead of re-framing the photo; and another one related to the photograph taken from Gallardo (S110), in which Bridges stated that he had never seen an aborigine painted in such a manner, and openly adverted the reader about the fact that some of Gallardo photographs may have been repainted (see details about both cases below).

The overall tone of Bridges book is of great respect for the Selk'nam and Yámana aborigines, and for their traditional way of life. He did not see many of the changes introduced in their habits as positive, although he seemed comfortable with the idea that they could work in the estancias or in similar ventures, if they were respected by the western employers, and indeed he did not object the missionaries attempts to change their religion, a process in which his father had been a crucial part of. He was nevertheless outright opposed to their killing by the Europeans or their descendants, since he considered them as the real owners of the land (ibid: 270).

At the beginning of 1891, J. Spears arrived at Tierra del Fuego as a newspaper correspondent from the United States. He went to the north of the island and then spent two days at Ushuaia. Although his main interest was the economic exploitation of the region, particularly in relation to the extraction of gold, his book also contains an account of the Yámana, and shorter one about the Selk'nam. The use of body painting is described in the former society, but not in the latter.

It is quite likely that the information about the aborigines provided in his book is not first hand, since he seems not to have had direct contact with them. Cooper (1917: 129) suggests that his descriptions must have been based on "good written sources". This is inferable from the accuracy and scope of the information, which confirms what had already been observed by others but does not include new details. The overall perspective from which the text is written is very positive towards the aborigines habits and aptitudes, and critical against the action of the missionaries, for changing these habits:

"This is the story in part of one of the most interesting and most unfortunate tribes of Indians known in the history of American aborigines – interesting because of their

remarkable qualities of mind and body, and unfortunate because they have been almost exterminated by changes in their habits, wrought by Christian missionaries. It begins with what was said of them and their country by the early explorers, and it ends where the missionaries began what was intended to be the work of civilizing them.” (Spears 1895: 47).

Spears is one of the first authors to clearly point out to the relation between the missionaries activity and the lowering numbers of Fuegians. Although this does not invalidate the honest claims and efforts that the missionaries themselves made to protect the Fuegians against Western aggressors, it remarks that the transformations they achieved in the aborigines did also have a negative effect in their survival³⁰.

Around the late 1890s, the journalist R. Payró made a trip to Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego with the aim of writing a series of articles for the traditional Argentinean journal “La Nación”. These articles were then collected in a book, in which he dedicates three chapters to the Fuegian societies. In this book Payró offers an account of some of the habits of the Selk’nam, Yámana and Alakaluf based on his own observations as well as consulting “the best authorities in the subject ... which lived a long time among the indians” (Payró 1898: 178). His descriptions of the aborigines societies are in general coincident with the information offered by many other sources, although he also includes references to some supposed habits, such as the existence of idolatry among the Yámana, which are not confirmed by other sources and should not be considered without criticism. Although the text is written in an attractive style that could engage the reader, its tone is mainly mild in relation to the terms used to describe the Fuegians, with not many condescending adjectives. Moreover, there is even an open statement about the fact that these aborigines have a higher intellectual level than it is usually attributed to them, and that they are neither an abject race nor a link between man and ape (Payró 1898: 188), although the author considers that their moral values are not high (ibid: 194).

In 1902, the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Argentina commissioned C. Gallardo to carry out a political mission to the national territories of Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego (Dabbene 1904: 4). R. Dabbene was the naturalist of the mission, J. Ojeda was the photographer, and W. Barclay (an English man who solicited to the Ministry to join the mission), was also on board. This expedition, which lasted from mid January to the end of February, stayed in the Beagle Channel region for about 13 days (from January 30 to February 12). There, in Port Harborton, the

³⁰ A classical example of this is the effect that wearing Western clothing had on the Yámana, who frequently got ill because the clothes got wet when riding their canoes.

members of the expedition met a group of Selk'nam aborigines (Dabbene 1904: 78); they also made a visit to the Tekenika mission (Barclay 1926: 225) in order to meet the Yámana.

As a result of this trip, as well as of a second one in which he went to estancia Viamonte (also belonging to the Bridges family), Gallardo wrote a thorough book about the Selk'nam (Gallardo 1910), covering most of the aspects of their culture, except their mythology and rites, which are only briefly described³¹. There he includes information about the use of body painting by these aborigines, although no new details are conveyed. Moreover, given the amount and scope of the information that he handles, it is very likely that he has added to his own observations various data given to him by the Bridges brothers (the sons of T. Bridges, particularly Lucas). But Gallardo only acknowledges their contribution once (ibid: 364)³², and he does not distinguish in the text which information comes from his own experience and which is quoted from them. This is the case, for example, of the initiation ceremonies, which although briefly treated in the book, are extremely unlikely to have been witnessed by Gallardo. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that the existence of these ceremonies were already known, to an extent, by –a few–Western persons (the implications of this will be clear when focusing on the contribution of Gusinde to the knowledge of the Fuegian aborigines culture).

Gallardo's book is illustrated with a great number of photographs and drawings, 23 of them showing individuals wearing body painting. This makes it a very important source of visual information. Nevertheless, there are a series of points to be taken into account when using this information, related to the way in which these images have been constructed, and hence to what they actually reflect. In the first place, many of the photographs are a bit blurred, and some actually look re-painted, since portions of the human figure, the clothing and even the body painting seem to have been added to an underlying photograph. Nevertheless, I have compared the texture and visual quality of these photos to others taken at about the same chronological period (e.g. those published by L. Bridges 1951), and many of them show the same 'drawing-

³¹ It is most likely that Gallardo got this information from Bridges and that he did not gather it himself, being a particularly sensitive topic that required a certain amount of interaction and trust with the aborigines. Nevertheless, Gallardo (1910: 329) published a photograph of a Selk'nam 'spirit'. At first sight, this could lead to think that he had witnessed at least part of an initiation ceremony. It is very difficult to perceive the spirit's features (body painting is not visible in it), since this is one of the most blur photographs in Gallardo's book, but it does not seem to be similar to those photographed by Bridges and Gusinde. Moreover, some of the photographs published by Gallardo are questioned by L Bridges are not being original records (see below). Duet to its very low visibility, this photograph has not been included in this thesis catalogue and database.

³² In the same sentence he also acknowledges the help received from an aborigine called Pedro, "who died out of his mountains and his woods; I have learnt much from him."

like' quality, so this general feature may be attributed to the photographic techniques used in the early 20th. century.

Still, one of the photographs has clearly been retouched with paint on top of the original image (Gallardo 1910: 195; also published by McEwan et al. 1997: 75, fig 55; photo S101 of catalogue). The fur cloak, the kocel (triangular head band), and at least part of the face painting of the individual in the copy of this photograph published by McEwan et al. appear to have been repainted over the original photo. Moreover, the face painting design in the copy published by Gallardo shows a whitish dot instead of the dark dot that appears in the former copy (this might nevertheless be a problem with the printing of the photograph in the book). In addition to this, Bridges noted in an appendix of his book that

“many of the illustrations are not at all like any Ona I have seen. The paint in some cases has, in my opinion, been put on after the pictures were taken. The picture of Yonolpe [S110 in the catalogue, see plate below] that appears in plate XXXI is reproduced from Los Onas [Gallardo 1910], I knew this proud hunter well and never saw him with his face painted in that manner.” (Bridges 1951: 526).



Plate B.2. Selk'nam male individual (Yonolpe) wearing facial paintings (S110).

It is absolutely true that the face painting design worn by this individual in that photo is not exactly the same than any of the other designs seen in the rest of the collected photographs. But it should be noticed that, in this case in particular and in all the photos published by Gallardo in general, designs are similar to those seen in other well documented collections (such as the photos by Gusinde), but coarser in their overall layout, again reinforcing the idea that they might have been painted or re-painted over the photo, in which case these should be considered as a kind of drawn visual record more than as photographs.

In the second place, Gallardo (or the publisher) used the images as vignettes of the text, with almost a decorative function, which had a repercussion on the way the images were treated. His illustrations, many of which are tidily framed with drawings of art Deco style, include not only entire images (both photos and drawings), but also portions of a photo (S89) that was taken by Ojeda and published by Barclay (1926: 216-217), segmented and scattered along different pages of the text. The photo, which original depicts a family group, has been cut into several pieces in which one or more individuals appear (their entire body or only their faces)³³. The captions of some of these photo fragments indicate only the name of the persons depicted, while no reference to the place or to the person who took the photograph is made. This information was indeed available, and appears in Barclay's book (see below). The segmentation of the photograph (parts of which appear more than once in the text), the lack of acknowledgements or picture credit (which is also lacking for the rest of the photos/drawings), and most importantly, the lack of indication and of explanation of the reason that led Gallardo (or his publisher) to segment the photograph, indicates that it was not considered as a source of information but mainly as a way of illustrating the book with exotic images, regardless of their lack of context, which in turn altered their content.

³³ These portions of the photo have not been considered in the catalogue of body painting visual records; instead, the 'original' (uncut) photo published by Barclay does form part of the catalogue.



Plate B.3. Selk'nam group of painted persons. "Kaushel family", according to Barclay (1926; S89). Note the fragments of the photograph reproduced by Gallardo (1910).

In the third place, the way in which the photographs were taken is also crucial in assessing the information they may provide. In relation to this, L. Bridges published a very relevant comment on Gallardo's book in which he explains that Teorati, a Selk'nam aborigine (renamed Pedro, whom Gallardo acknowledges in his book – see footnote), lived in Buenos Aires for a considerable time and gave information to Gallardo, and that "Many of the photographs of the Ona were taken in a garden of that city." (Bridges 1951: 526).

What is difficult to ascertain is, if L. Bridges comments are correct, the reason why some of the photographs of this book were faked in a different setting than the one they claimed to portray. It is possible that the concern for showing an abundant set of images to make the book more attractive led the author and/or the publisher to do this; if this was the case, their interest in documenting the actual mode of life of the Selk'nam was little, or, as suggested above, they did not consider these illustrations as part of the information provided by the book. Unfortunately, without more information about the circumstances in which these images were produced, what can be said about this issue is little³⁴. Nevertheless, this problem shows the importance of not assuming that the photographs or drawings are a direct reflex of reality, without implying that they are not at all informative, as already discussed in chapter 1.

As a final point in relation to this, it should be noted that at least some of the photographs in Gallardo's book were not retouched or faked enough to distort the photographed individual's identity: when Gusinde showed these pictures to the Selk'nam, they recognised themselves and other known persons in these images (Gusinde 1982: 82, see below).

The 1902 expedition also resulted in two publications by Dabbene (1904 and 1911). In the first one, he gave an account of the Yámana and the Selk'nam societies, based on his observations during his visit to the region, as well as quoting information from Barclay, who in turn had obtained it by L. Bridges (Dabbene 1904: 78). In this first publication, Dabbene provides information about the Yámana body paintings, but states that the Selk'nam "do not use to paint themselves as the Yahgan and the Alacaluf" (ibid: 70), an opinion that he would change in his second paper (Dabbene 1911: 260). This suggests that during his stay he did not observe any Selk'nam wearing body paintings, and that the information that he does provide about these paintings in his second publication is quoted later from other sources. In fact, his 1911

³⁴ A special study of the details depicted in the photographs, such as the vegetation on the background or other features of the surroundings, could shed light on which are the photographs not taken in Tierra del Fuego, but this is out of the scope and possibilities of this research project.

publication is a much longer and more thorough monograph about the aborigines cultures, in which he used many sources, according to its comprehensive bibliography. (Cooper (1917: 81) considered that it detailed all that was known until that moment about the Fuegians).

Both works are written in quite a descriptive way, using some contemptuous terms such as 'inferior race' (1904: 33), and mostly not offering explanations for the customs of the aborigines. The author's concern for the disappearance of the inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego is briefly expressed in a couple of sentences along the texts (e.g. Dabbene 1904: 37). He also noted that the Yámana of the eastern side of the Beagle channel region spoke English well, but did not understand Spanish (ibid: 30). This shows the deep influence that the Anglican missions were having on the aborigines.

A final relevant detail is the comment made by Dabbene in relation to situation in which the Yámanas got photographed, and their attitude towards this:

"With the promise of a bag of cookies, they decided to let themselves be pictured. They went into their huts to change their current clothing for the indigenous one, and armed with their harpoons, with the face and the chest painted, with black, white or red lines, they showed themselves in front of the lens." (Dabbene 1904: 33).

This clearly suggests that the photographs were taken with the aim of illustrating the 'natural' state of the aborigines, unpolluted by 'civilisation', when their actual situation was that the Yámana were wearing Western clothes due to the influence of the missions, where they got 'paid' with food and clothes for their work (ibid). Unfortunately, among the photographs that were published, none shows painted persons, and it is not known if there are other unpublished ones, and where these might be. The fact that Yámana got 'paid' for letting themselves being photographed, even if with a small payment, suggests that they were not comfortable with the procedure – it is not clear in this quotation if their changing into traditional clothing was perceived by them as positive or negative. On the other hand, their changing into their aboriginal outfits, which must have been requested by the photographer and/or by some members of the expedition, warns the reader and viewer that this may have been the case when other photographs were taken, and that by no means it should be considered that they are a direct reflect of how the aborigines looked like in their everyday life when these photos were taken (unless relevant, reliable and preferably independent data can confirm otherwise). The photographs are nevertheless always informative of how the aborigines handled their traditional clothing, ornaments, body painting, etc. in the moment in which they were taken, i.e. how much they remembered about their traditions, the variety of items and designs that they could make and

wear and that they chose to show in front of the observers, etc. Further implications of this for the case commented by Dabenne will be developed in chapter 3.

Finally, W. Barclay also published four works in which he gave accounts of the modes of life developed by the Fuegians. As with Dabenne's case, the information provided in these publications partly comes from his own –short– observations of the Selk'nam and Yámana, while most of it was provided by the Bridges brothers and by Lawrence (Barclay 1926: 208). This includes the extremely brief mentions of Selk'nam body painting that appear in two of his works (Barclay 1904 and 1926), which according to the type of circumstance in which these paintings were worn (e.g. when hunting), do not seem likely to have been observed by Barclay directly, but to have been quoted by him from what he was told.

Barclay's book (1926) includes a number of excellent photos (possibly taken by Ojeda, who was the photographer of the expedition, and whom he mentions in the text), one of them being the photograph of the Caushel family group (mentioned above in relation to the peculiar use that Gallardo did of this picture), who were in Harberton, and belonged to the "southern Ona" group (Barclay 1926: 215). In this photograph (*ibid*: 216-217) the eight individuals are wearing the typical Selk'nam clothes, the men are holding their bows, and five are wearing body painting. Barclay includes in the text a thorough review of the composition of this family, including their names, their genealogical relations, and some features of their individual personalities (*ibid*: 215-216)³⁵. This accompanying text indicates that Barclay interacted with this family, while the photo denotes that he did observe, at least this time, the use of body painting, although he does not mention it in the text in relation to this particular situation.

Finally, another visual record possibly made by Barclay is a photograph of a group of Selk'nam men wearing face paintings. This photograph has been published by McEwan et al. (1991: 121 fig. 85) is attributed to Barclay by the authors. The possible dates in which it was taken vary in their book -c. 1926 in caption; and c. 1901-1903 in photo credits-, and the latter would coincide with Barclay's trip to Tierra del Fuego. This photograph has also been attributed to Furlong by Prieto and Cárdenas (1997: 61, see below), so its author is still not confirmed.

Another photographic contribution is made by the recent publication of A. Cojazzi's book, originally published in Italian (Cojazzi 1911) and then as a set of two long articles in a Chilean journal (Cojazzi 1914). Cojazzi, who belonged to the Salesian order, produced this

³⁵ This photograph was also published by L. Bridges (1951: plate XLI) but in the caption he states that it was taken by governor Godoy.

publication by organising the information retrieved by his fellow A. Tonelli³⁶, who had visited Isla Grande in 1910, and had made his own observations and gathered information from the Bridges brothers. In this book Cojazzi covers a series of aspects of the socio-cultural life of the Selk'nam, although body painting is not mentioned among them. The new issue of the book (1997) includes a photograph that did not belong to the original version, nor was it taken by him or by Tonelli, but by A. De Agostini (see below), showing a Selk'nam man wearing body painting³⁷.

The following author that provides information about body painting in the region is C. Furlong, a North American colonel that visited the region in the summer of 1907-1908. His venture was individual, not commissioned by his government. His aim was mainly exploratory, and he seems to have been particularly interested in the Fuegian aborigines. He published a number of articles on the Selk'nam and the Yámana, mostly reproducing information he had obtained from the Bridges brothers, as well as from rev. Lawrence, and also including anecdotes and observations from his own experience in Tierra del Fuego. In many of them he dedicated to publish information about their language and their physical appearance (Cooper 1917: 89), and in those in which he wrote about the Fuegians socio-cultural practices, he does not mention body painting in the text (Furlong 1917 a, b, c). However, Furlong's contribution to the core of data about body painting consists of six photographs, three of which show Yámana individuals wearing face paintings (published in Furlong 1917: 173, fig. 3; Stambuk 1986: 103; and Chapman 1997: 97 fig. 69), and three showing Selk'nam men wearing face paintings (Bridges 1951: plate XLI; McEwan et al. 1997: 75 fig. 55, this photo was also published by Gallardo 1910: 195, as noted above; Prieto and Cárdenas 1997: 61 – this photo was published by McEwan et al. 1997: 121 fig. 85 as attributed to Barclay, as noted above). The captions of the Selk'nam photos indicate, respectively, the names of the individuals, the name of the individual and the action he is carrying out (hunting), and the geographical situation of the group of men (in southern Tierra del Fuego) (see details in catalogue).

In the Yámana cases, the photographs have captions that identify the situation (and hence the reason) for wearing the paintings: in two cases it is a woman wearing a mourning facial

³⁶ A text by Tonelli (1926, quoted in Manzi 1991: xx) appears to have information about Selk'nam body painting; I could not consult this text since it was not available in any of the libraries I visited in Argentina and the UK.

³⁷ This man appears in two other photos published by De Agostini wearing the same body painting design and in the same place, but only in another physical position, as if the three photos had been taken one shortly after the other (see photos S5, S67 and S69 in catalogue). This man was a 'shaman-wizard', according to one of the captions of these photos.

painting due to the “tragic death of her husband” (not specified), and in another case it is a young man wearing facial paintings for the *chiéjaus* ceremony. This latter case is very peculiar for at least two reasons. In the first place, this photo, published by Chapman in McEwan et al. (1997: 97, fig. 69), is attributed to Furlong in the photo credits, stating that he must have taken it between 1906-1907 (precisely the dates of his trip). But the same photograph appears as an illustration right before an article published by R. Morton Middleton in 1900 in the SAMM (Morton Middleton 1900: 111), hence it seems to have been taken at least in that year, which makes it impossible for Furlong to be its author. Morton Middleton’s article does not refer to the photo in his text –the photo is not included in the article, but is placed just above it– nor does it have a caption referring to its author or theme. The face painting design looks similar to other *chiéjaus* designs, although it is not exactly the same than any of them. This, plus the fact the young man is wearing the *chiéjaus* head band suggests that in fact this was a facial designs worn for that occasion, as stated in the photo’s caption of Chapman’s article. But its author and date still remains blur, so I have decided to consider it as ‘attributed to Furlong’ in the catalogue.

In the second place, regardless of its two possible dates (before 1900 or between 1906-1907), this is the oldest known visual record of a *chiéjaus* painting, which implies that a Western observer could witness at least part of this initiation ceremony and could take the photograph of one of its participants. This in turn contradicts Gusinde’s claim to have been the first occidental observer to have taken part of the ceremony (see below), although it does not diminish in any way the contribution made with his observations, which were the most thoroughly recorded.

M. Borgatello was another of the Salesian missionaries that made ethnographic records about the Fuegians, particularly of the *Selk’nam*. It is not clear for how long Borgatello stayed in Tierra del Fuego, and in how many places he visited. He did stay and work in the Dawson island mission (Borgatello 1929) and both Gusinde (1982: 58) and Cooper (1917: 71) coincide in that he spent many years among the Fuegians.

He published two books (Borgatello 1924 and 1929); in the first one he presented a compilation of almost all the reports on the topic written by other Salesian missionaries, together with his own observations (Gusinde 1982: 58). In the second book (Borgatello 1929) he presented a very thorough description of the southern Tehuelches of Patagonia and the *Selk’nam* and *Alacaluf* of Tierra del Fuego. This book is structured in different parts for each indigenous society, and the information is presented under headings indicating the several topics that are treated (e.g. hunting methods, weapons, ornaments, etc.). Hence the text style is mainly

descriptive and conveys the data as general features of each culture, not as specific observations related to a certain time and place. Nevertheless, some anecdotes are scattered along the text. The terminology used in the descriptions is quite uninvolved, as if the text was conceived as a collection of facts more than explanations or opinions. This of course does not mean that the “facts” are exact, free of mistake or unbiased, but Borgatello used for their exposition less value-laden adjectives than other authors.

The section related to the Selk’nam ornaments (which includes a description of their body paintings) is illustrated with a drawing of their necklaces, bracelets and heads bands³⁸ and with the photograph in which an adult woman is painting a younger woman, already described and commented above. The caption indicates “Two Ona indians while they are doing the toilette (photo De Agostini)”. It seems that Borgatello reproduced De Agostini’s photo together with his –erroneous/faked– attribution of Selk’nam origin to these Yámana aborigines.

The Salesian missionary A. De Agostini made various geographical explorations in Tierra del Fuego, climbing many summits and taking photographs of great artistic quality, since he was an excellent photographer. He stayed in the region from 1910 to 1918, developing his missionary activity and carrying out his observations. He firstly worked for a few months in Ushuaia and in Punta Arenas (in the continent, Chile), where he could observe the Yámana groups. In 1910 and 1913 he went to Selk’nam territory, and indeed his observations about this society are much more thorough than those about the Yámana. He came back to the region in a trip in 1922-1923, where he interacted with the Selk’nam again (Gusinde 1982: 58; Schwarz 1985).

His most important publication, in which all his ethnographic observations are presented, was published in 1924. However, the book mainly focuses on his geographical explorations and descriptions, and the information about the Fuegians is concentrated in one chapter. This chapter is written as a compound of the data about the Yámana, Selk’nam and Alacaluf societies, in which he integrates his own observations with quotations from Borgatello, Zenone and Beauvoir, as well as from L. Bridges and from Gusinde (see below). This makes it possible, in some paragraphs, to distinguish what he saw from what he was told or what he read in written sources.

The chapter is written mainly in a descriptive way, with not many attempts to give explanations about the possible reasons for their habits. He nevertheless considered the weather conditions as the cause that determined the need of the Fuegians to concentrate all their physical

³⁸ The illustration shows in the typical distribution as specimens of a scientific collection, with numbered elements and a descriptive list in its caption.

and intellectual faculties in the hunting activities. And he pointed to the contact with the white people as the cause of their “rapid extinction” (De Agostini 1924: 262).

The style of the text is that of a retelling written on a simple, non academic way. Still, when writing about the aborigines, particularly Yámana, he continuously uses very condescending and ethnocentric terms, which obviously fit with his missionary interest to change these Fuegians:

“Maybe no savage race in the world offers such a degrading and miserable aspect as the Alacaluf and the Yagan. Hence the dark descriptions from the sailors who had a first contact with them do not lack a basis.” (De Agostini 1924: 265).

Nevertheless, his opinion about the Yámana was not entirely negative, as evidenced by the following quotation. But, again, this opinion shows –and justifies– the missionary actions towards these aborigines, and mainly focuses on their ability to incorporate the western ‘positive’ influences:

“a race that possesses such a rich language, that shows amazing easiness to learn foreign languages, that learns in a short time how to read and write, and shows an inclination and ability for the arts and crafts, could deserve a better compliment than that emitted by the famous naturalist Darwin and from other voyagers of low scruples. In conclusion, more than the despise with which they have always been seen by the civilised, they were deserving of commiseration and help.” (ibid: 269).

His opinion about the Selk’nam was still ethnocentric, since he considered that their social organisation was completely rudimentary and that they did not understand the rules of courtesy and of urbanity, but was it more positive than that of the Yámana and Alacaluf. Hence, De Agostini considered that the expedition by Lista showed

“the superiority of the Ona race over their Yámana and Alacaluf neighbours, contradicting once and for all the erroneous belief that it was a brute and barbarous race” (ibid: 30).

De Agostini’s contribution to the study of the Fuegians societies (and their body painting) does not end with his written observations. He also made very important visual records in the shape of a series of photographs and of a silent film, the only motion visual source in which the actions of self-painting and painting another individual have been recorded.

The photographs showing body painting are 17, 13 are of Selk’nam and 4 of Yámana individuals. Eight have been published by De Agostini in his book, while the rest have been published by other authors³⁹. The dates in which these photos were taken is not well known; Prieto and Cárdenas state that many of them were produced in 1910 (Prieto and Cárdenas 1997: 30).

³⁹ De Agostini (1924: 284 –S69–, 268 –S5–, 269 –S85–, 255 –S117–, 266 –S105–, 276 –S106–, 286 –S1–, 256 –S104–); Canclini (1984: 149 –S82–); Stambuk (1986: 104 –Y45 and Y46–); McEwan et al. (1997: frontispiece–

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Although De Agostini was an outstanding photographer in terms of the visual quality of the images he obtained, particularly of landscapes, his handling of the ethnographic photographs shows that he manipulated the making and/or the printing of at least some of them. In doing so, we find two tendencies: on the one hand, he made certain changes in order to fit his sense of Christian morality or decency; on the other hand he also introduced changes with the aim of conveying the idea that the Fuegians had been untouched by the western influences (*ibid*). Although contradictory in principle, both of these tendencies are present in the photographs made by De Agostini⁴⁰.

An example of the changes introduced in the photographs in order to make them look as 'pure' ethnographic records of unpolluted cultures has been pointed out by Prieto and Cárdenas (1997: 30), who noted that a photograph presented in its caption as an image of an Alacaluf individual (De Agostini 1924: 267) is in fact a composition made with the face of this individual cut out of a photo that shows him wearing western clothes, and pasted on to the photograph of a Selk'nam individual (whose picture does also appear in the book, in page 265). The result is a photo that joins the face of an Alacaluf with the body –and principally, the clothing– of a Selk'nam individual. A fake record of "ethnographic purity".

The other changes do not involve the editing of the photographs, but still involve the changing of the aborigines clothing. This is the case of De Agostini's photo of the typical Selk'nam fights (a kind of 'sport'), which had been documented by Furlong and Gusinde as carried out by naked men; instead, De Agostini pictured them with fully dressed men in their fur cloaks (Prieto and Cárdenas 1997: 32). In this case, the Christian sense of morality seems to have led him to the conclusion that it was not appropriate to present the naked men, and hence he must have made them get dressed (with their typical clothing) for the picture.

This seems to have been the case of four photographs of Yámana individuals (Y45, Y46, Y65, Y66), in which they are shown dressed with Selk'nam cloaks⁴¹. There are two possible reasons for this preparation of the individuals' look. The first one is that they could be wearing Western clothes, hence De Agostini would have wanted them to wear typical clothing to comply

S86); Coiazzi (1997: 18 –S67–, already quoted above); Prieto and Cárdenas (1997: fig. 70 –S87–, fig. 164 –S83–; fig. 15 –Y65–); unpublished (?) photograph in Piana-CADIC archive (Y66).

⁴⁰ It is possible that these tendencies were in fact not entirely contradictory, if what led De Agostini was to show the "savage" state of the aborigines in order to mark the importance of the Salesian missionaries work, which he did record, for example, by taking photographs of the Christian mass given to groups of aborigines, and of aborigines doing European tasks such as knitting, sawing wood, etc.). Still, his portrait of what was the 'pure' state of the Fuegians was biased.

with the ethnographic aims of the photos, as in the first case above. The second one is that the typical Yámana clothes (a small cloak tied to the neck and hanging on the back, together with a loin-cloth worn by the women) did not cover the entire body and actually often left the individual almost naked anyway. So even if these were being usually worn by the Yámana groups that he visited, these clothes may have not satisfied De Agostini as adequate to present the aborigines, and hence must have asked them to wear guanaco fur cloaks which were typically Selk'nam, and which do not appear recorded as worn by the Yámana in almost any other record.

But in spite of these changes to the clothing of the photographed individuals, which indeed shows that the photos are a mixed record of ethnographic reality and recorder's interest, the face painting designs worn by most of these individuals are typically Yámana: they are very similar to various designs recorded by other observers in different moments, from Hyades and Deniker to Gusinde (see chapter 3). So the fact that the observer may do –and indeed in this case has done– many changes in the making and editing of the visual records according to his own aims, does not entirely shut the possibility of finding relevant and non-transformed data about the aborigines socio-cultural reality. The search for these requires both a critical approach to and thorough scrutiny of the records, and independent sources of information with which to contrast them. Both procedures can help in disentangling to which extent the recorder's construction of the records has shown and transformed the information about the recorded subjects. Seen from the point of view of body painting, it seems that, in this case, tradition was stronger than fake.

Besides showing body painting designs, one of the photos (Y45) also shows the action of one adult woman painting the face of a young woman (identified respectively as Yahosh, and Lautaiá le Kipa –or Rosa Yagán, as she was lately known-).

⁴¹ [since these photographs have not been obtained from De Agostini's book, the captions given by him are not

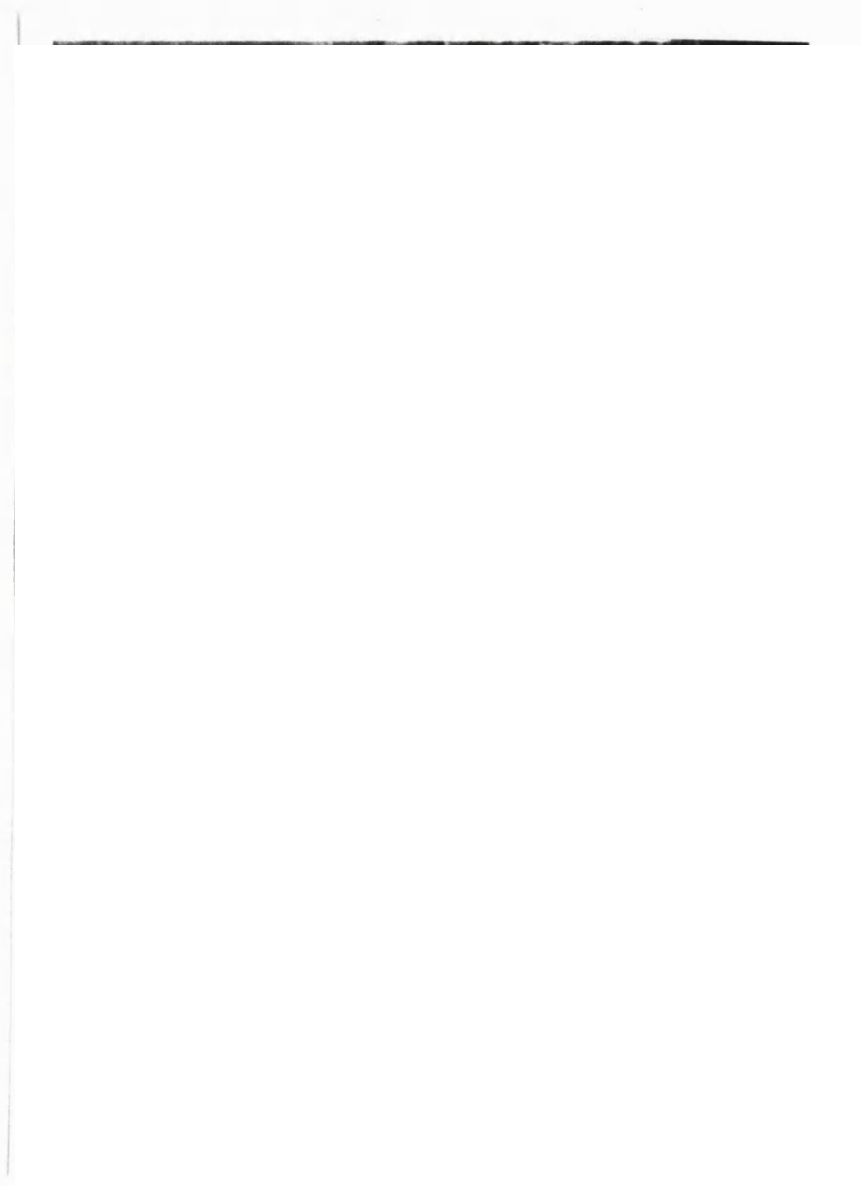


Plate B.4. Yayosh painting Lakutaia Le Kipa (or Rosa Yagán). Note the Selk'nam costumes, and the Yámana facial painting design (Y45).

This turns out to be one of the scenes of De Agostini's film in which the action of painting the body (actually the face) is documented. The film lasts for about 60 minutes (according to the copy held in the Museo Etnográfico J.B. Ambrosetti), I have not found data about the date in which it was made, or its purpose, and where and it was edited who did the editing. It takes an important amount of time in showing Patagonian landscapes, including some fiords that have been discovered by De Agostini himself, and introduces the Tehuelches from Patagonia, and the Yámana, Selk'nam and Alacaluf from Tierra del Fuego.

A map of the region is shown each time that a group is introduced, and a moving arrow points to the geographical area where they live, marked with their name written on the map. Some of the scenes are introduced by captions, containing an explanation of the content of the scene or a reflection about it by De Agostini.

The Tehuelches are shown when being visited by De Agostini, talking with him. The Fuegians are presented by a caption that states (in Spanish) "In immemorial time, the mysterious archipelago of Tierra del Fuego was inhabited by three indigenous groups. Ona, Yahgan and Alacaluf." The Selk'nam are presented at first, then the Yámana and finally the Alacaluf.

The following information comes from a compilation of notes taken when watching the film twice, in different days. In terms of the amount of time allocated to cover each society, the Selk'nam occupy most of it, while the Yámana and the Alacaluf are covered in shorter portions of the film. The Selk'nam are shown carrying out different "typical" tasks, such as pointing with their bows and arrows as when hunting (wearing face paintings), making a bow (preparing both the arch and the string), and making and hafting an arrow. The scenes are clearly posed for the camera - e.g. they are not filmed in the actual moment of hunting, but just showing how they aim with the bows and arrows, and when a man is are filmed making the bow and arrow he is sitting facing the camera, starting the action when the scene starts, which gives the feeling that he was not 'caught' making it and then filmed, but rather was asked to make it so that he could be filmed. In some cases the individuals not only face the camera but also talk to the person behind the camera (possibly De Agostini himself).

After the hunting scene and before the bow making scene, there is a scene where a man is presented as a Kon (a shaman-wizard), and is wearing face paintings. In the following scene, he is shown in the process of getting painted with a different designs than the one he was wearing previously (he paints himself, see chapter 3). He afterwards proceeds to cure a patient. The cure

consists of stroking the patient with his hands and with another implement (?) while speaking (the film is silent and the words are not written in any caption).

After the bow and arrow making scene, the film shows a scene presented by a caption stating “Careful ‘toilette’ with mud decoration”, in which an adult woman paints a younger woman. This is the scene of which two photographs were taken (Y45 and Y46; probably two photograms of the film), already commented above, in which Yámana women are dressed like Selk’nam, but showing Yámana face painting designs. There is no indication in this film of their Yámana origin, and they are implicitly presented as Selk’nam, since the scene is shown within the block corresponding to this society.

Then the Yámana group is presented. The time spent in showing these aborigines is shorter, and no body painting is worn in any of the scenes. In one of the scenes there is a Yámana man in a canoe, and he seems to be dressed like a Selk’nam. The reasons for this may be the same two that have already been explained in the case of the photographs. Finally, the Alacalufare presented. A scene shows them in a canoe, looking very dirty and untidy, eating soup from a big pot and biscuits. This scene is accompanied with a caption that states “The Salesian missions of Don Bosco, in charge of the intrepid missionary Monsignor Fagnano have appeared to protect and comfort these miserable populations.”

The final block of the film presents what could be called the results of the Salesian missionary work: a Selk’nam praying close to a cross of a church; a group of Selk’nam women dressed in western clothing, learning to spin and to knit (very likely in the Dawson island mission); Selk’nam men “transformed into skillful sheep-ranchers and horse-riders”, according to the caption. And another caption states that in less than 50 years the Tierra del Fuego lands have been transformed into productive fields where sheep can be fed. The sheepshearing process is then shown. After this scene, a set of photos is displayed; some are from the Tierra del Fuego jail, and others from the aborigines (a few of these show Selk’nam men wearing body painting). It is not clear whether these have been later added to the documentary film or whether they were included in its original version.

From this brief account of De Agostini’s film it is clear again that this visual record is not unbiased. However, it still seems useful in the study of the Selk’nam and Yámana body paintings, since beyond contributing with more images of their designs to those already known, it records in a visual (and motional) way, for the first and last time, two production processes of different face paintings. It is therefore crucial to assess the reliability and representativity of this information. It

is possible, for example, that De Agostini could have decided the portions of the body that he would allow the individual to paint/show, according to his moral standards already commented above. Even if this was the case, it is still unlikely that he would have made changes in the techniques used to get the faces painted, since according to the available information (from him and other authors) these techniques do not seem to have involved any circumstance that would have defied De Agostini's standards (e.g. one of them involves spitting on the mouth to mix the paint, and he showed it without any trouble). Hence this visual motion record of the production processes of the designs seem reliable and quite useful in the study of our topic, though still always taking into account the context in which the record was constructed. The information retrieved about body painting from this film will be presented and discussed in chapter 3.

The following author to be reviewed in this chapter is the most prolific and thorough in terms of the amount of information he generated about the inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego. M. Gusinde, of Austrian origin, belonged to the *Societas Verbi Divini*. He nevertheless did not visit the region to carry out missionary work, but to make ethnographic observations. Being at the Museo de Etnología and Antropología de Chile (in the continent), he made four trips to Tierra del Fuego: his first trip was between December 1918 and March 1919; second trip, between December 1920 and March 1921; third trip, from December 1921 to March (1st) 1922; and fourth trip, the longest one, between December 1922 and April 1924.

After each trip he wrote and handed in a report to the Museum, which were published in its journal (Gusinde 1919, 1920, 1922, 1924). During the first trip he visited Dawson island (12 days), where the former Salesian mission had been established (1888 to 1912), the Salesian mission of Río Grande (in northern Tierra del Fuego, for about a week), the Selk'nam camp in Fuego river (near estancia Viamonte, for 15 days), the Selk'nam camp in the south east of the Fagnano lake (for about 6 days), estancia Harberton, Ushuaia and estancia Remolino (Gusinde 1919)⁴². He made there the first observations of the Selk'nam aborigines (in Río Grande, Fuego river and Fagnano lake), through which he added up a total number of 279 individuals⁴³, while he

⁴² The first trip itinerary is as follows: 12 days in Dawson island, 18/1/1919 trip to Isla Grande, 19/1/1919 Río Grande Salesian mission, 26/1/1919 arrived at the Río Grande Ona camp, 11/2/1919 left the camp, Fagnano lake camp. 18/2/1919 left the camp, visits to Harberton, Ushuaia and Punta Remolino, with no dates.

⁴³ The total number of 279 Selk'nam individuals that Gusinde refers to, results from adding up the partial numbers obtained by him in each camp or mission: 216 individuals in Río del Fuego camp, 32 individuals in Fagnano lake camp, 9 individuals in Río Grande mission, 1 woman married to an oriental in Río Grande port, 1 woman married to a Chilean, in port Harberton, in the Beagle channel, all these in Argentinean territory, plus 20 individuals in Chilean territory, scattered in different estancias (Gusinde 1919: 27). The demography of the 216 individuals in Río Fuego camp is as follows: 66 men over 17 years old, 58 women over 17 years old, 49 children of 8 to 17 years old, 43

could only see a few Yámana (six in total, an old man and five women of different ages) in Punta Remolino, because “all the other Yámana had left, three weeks before, to fish near the Wollaston islands. They use to take a few months in such excursions, so I should content myself with taking anthropological measurements only to those present.” (Gusinde 1919: 39)⁴⁴.

At Fuego river camp he met father Zenone, the Salesian missionary, who helped Gusinde with the phonetic sounds, the vocabulary and grammar of the Selk’nam language and also in convincing the aborigines to let Gusinde take them anthropological measurements, since these people were “extremely fearful and inaccessible.” (ibid: 20).

In this trip, Gusinde also unearthed a series of aboriginal human remains in Dawson island (ibid: 14), and another one in Harberton (ibid: 33), and made physical measurements of at least some of the Selk’nam and the six Yámana individuals he visited. He also gathered “an abundant collection of ethnological and anthropological objects” (ibid: 41) which he handed to the Museo de Etnología y Antropología de Chile, as well as “valuable literary, linguistic and photographic material” (ibid).

In his report, Gusinde briefly states a number of observations that account for the state in which Selk’nam life was at that moment, including their clothing, their employment in the estancias, their use of body painting, the existence of the shaman-wizards (*jon*), the existence of a religion (a crucial point for Gusinde’s research interests – see below) and their celebration of the klóketen or hain initiation ceremony, which they were about to celebrate, and which is mentioned here for the first time, although he did not witness it in this first trip (ibid: 22-23).

The data provided about the Yámana are minimal in comparison, and only refer to a couple of sentences about their subsistence system (ibid: 36), which are likely to have been told

children below 8 years old, These persons were grouped in 27 families (ibid:21). Gusinde explains that this list includes those indians which are in the ‘estancia posts’ [puestos], who come to the camp on Saturdays to purchase things and see their relatives (ibid: 21). Note that at least some of the aborigines were already employed in the estancias as paid workers.

⁴⁴ At that point in time, the Yámana were not living in the Anglican mission of Douglas river bay in western Navarino island anymore, since it was closed in 1916 because the Chilean government wanted to sell these lands. They were allowed to stay –when not in fishing trips– in the Rev. Lawrence’s land, in Punta Remolino (northern shore of Beagle channel), and in Mejillones bay, in the north of Navarino island (southern shore of the Beagle channel, in front of Punta Remolino), since the government gave this land to Rev. Lawrence and his sons in order to take care of the aborigines. Gusinde states that, given the low number of Yámanas and their nomadic way of life, there is no need for the government to give a special land to re-open the Anglican mission, and that as long as the Lawrence family has the concession of the land in Navarino, the indians will be comfortable there. “On the other hand, a compulsory stay in the mission would not satisfy their wishes and idiosyncrasy, so due to this and various other reasons, ... they judge the closure of the English Mission as a real relief.” (Gusinde 1919: 38). The reasons for this relief are not explained in the report.

to him by Lawrence and/or his sons in Punta Remolino, since as noted above Gusinde only met very few of these aborigines. In fact, he acknowledges rev. Lawrence's help in providing many details about the life and customs of the Yámana (ibid: 35, 37).

Gusinde found in the Fagnano lake camp one Haush indian, and made a series of considerations about their relations with the Selk'nam 'tribe' (see chapter 3). Nevertheless, to study the Haush separately from the Selk'nam was impossible, since only three individuals of this group were alive (ibid: 31). Finally, he did not visit the Alacaluf in this trip due to lack of funding (ibid: 41).

In this report, Gusinde acknowledged part of the transformations suffered by the Selk'nam in relation to the Western presence in the region: "As a consequence of the distribution of all the lands available in Tierra del Fuego, the Onas had to leave their nomadic way of life; but by the guanaco hunting they achieve today, as they did before, the necessary means for subsisting." (1919: 22). In spite of this acknowledgement, in many other portions of his work he greatly insisted in that the Fuegian societies had not changed and lived exactly the same as in the past (see below).

He also explained that the reason for the great decrease of Selk'nam individuals was to be found in the acquisition of the land by force and theft, which was invaded and occupied by the civilised, who thus took from the aborigines every means of subsistence (ibid: 29). He states that this persecution was the cause of the Selk'nam extinction, more than the diseases.

His second trip also lasted about three months, of which about one and a half were effectively spent in Tierra del Fuego. In this trip, Gusinde visited the Douglas river estancia (Navarino island), Punta Remolino, Harberton estancia and the Selk'nam camp in Fagnano lake, Río Fuego camp and Río Grande Salesian mission (Gusinde 1920)⁴⁵. The main aim of this trip was to study the Yámana, whom he had almost no chance to observe during the first trip. Gusinde explained that the Yámana sub-divide themselves in numerous reduced groups when fishing in their canoes, hence trying to follow and study them becomes extremely difficult. For this reason he decided to do his research on land (Gusinde 1920: 135). Both Punta Remolino and Douglas river estancia were two known places where the Yámana gathered to work in the sheepshearing, Gusinde visited both places, and also Woolya (in Navarino island) and found no aborigines in

⁴⁵ The itinerary of the second trip is as follows: 7/12/1919 reached Punta Arenas; 22/12/1919 in Douglas river estancia; 26/12/1919 went to Punta Remolino; 22/1/1920 left Remolino and went to Harberton; 24/1/1920 went to Río Fuego camp; 28/1/1920 went to Río Grande; 30/1/1920 left Río Grande.

Douglas river or in Woolya, but he had already carried out a series of observations in Remolino (ibid:138, 143, 144).

In Punta Remolino Gusinde could get in touch with the Yámana aborigines daily. There he gathered information about some of their mythical beliefs (ibid: 147), and, most importantly, took part of their *chiéjaus* initiation ceremony (see chapter 3). For doing so, Gusinde had to use the Lawrence family's influence, and he had to insist himself repeatedly before the Yámana agreed to accept him (ibid: 149). He states that he was also favoured by the fact that the last time that the *chiéjaus* had been celebrated was 9 years before, so the aborigines needed to celebrate it again. Gusinde was accepted not just as an observer, but as one of the three initiands; the number of individuals involved in the ceremony was about 74 and its duration was of 10 days. Since the initiands were subject to a very strict series of tests of physical and mental endurance, including fasting, Gusinde ended up being extremely tired (ibid: 150). For this reason, according to a later report, he could not take many notes of the events that happened during the ceremony (Gusinde 1922: 425). In this report he offers a brief description of the ceremony, which has then later been thoroughly described in his book on the Yámana (Gusinde 1986, see below).

During this second trip he also collected pieces of Yámana material culture, including a canoe made of bark, which was the old way of constructing these (ibid: 153)⁴⁶. In this trip Gusinde did not make observations about the Selk'nam, since although he visited the Selk'nam camp near Fagnano lake, he did not find anybody but "empty huts, since the aborigines had gone to hunt guanacos" (ibid: 154). He also went to the Salesian mission in Río Grande, but does not mention to have encountered any aborigines there.

The third trip lasted for three months, and its aim was to continue the studies among the Yámana (Gusinde 1922: 417). W. Koppers, a friend and colleague of Gusinde's accompanied him in this trip, and also recorded his ethnographic observations (see below). Gusinde went to Navarino island, where "he gathered in a few weeks almost all the survivors of this tribe" (ibid: 421). There (more precisely in Mejillones bay, though he does not indicate this in this report), he could observe the *chiéjaus* ceremony for the second time, this time taking notes, since he was not required to follow such strict rules as in his first *chiéjaus* (ibid: 425).

After this second *chiéjaus*, he also could observe the *kina* ceremony, which had not been celebrated for thirty years. The observation of this ceremony was the main aim of Gusinde's third

⁴⁶ Such canoe was constructed by an old man at Gusinde's request (Gusinde 1986: 178). Gusinde stated that this old model had been replaced by new model made of a hollow trunk, which meant "a progress in their material culture" and that "we cannot find even one of this [old] fragile type" (ibid: 145-146).

trip (ibid: 426-427), and he describes it briefly in his report. He could also observe the *yamalashemoina*, a collective mourning ceremony, which he also described in a paragraph (see details in chapter 3). In all these cases, he emphasises that he has been the first and only Western observer of these customs, which were not known, not even by name, and that until his findings the Yámana had been believed to lack religious beliefs (ibid: 425, 430)⁴⁷. He also remarks that he has found proof of their being monotheists, Watawinaeua being their supreme being, a point of crucial importance for Gusinde's theoretical aims (ibid; see below).

In this report, Gusinde makes a couple of classifications of the Yámana, stating that they are "according to the culture-history classification, original cultures due to their cultural and racial features" (ibid: 419), and that they form "a people of archaic or original culture, which, together with the alakalufes, form the most ancient peoples of South America." (ibid: 431). He also tries to establish the order of arrival of the Fuegian societies to the region (ibid: 433, see chapter 3), and states that the Yámana are monogamous and have four linguistic dialects (ibid: 431).

During Gusinde's stay in the region he found two Alakaluf women within the Yámana, so he "Took advantage of this circumstance to study their language and gather some news about their material and intellectual culture." (ibid: 433). This is the only source of information about the Alakaluf in this report, so until his third trip he had not visited the members of this Fuegian society. Finally, Gusinde –and Koppers– made a short trip to Fuego river, in northern Isla Grande, where there were some Ona indians, with the aim of checking the observations made in previous trips in relation to their language, sociology, mythology and religion (ibid: 433).

Gusinde also made a methodological comment in this report, stating the importance of doing an individual work of observation, not forming part of a big team, which would put the aborigines in an uncomfortable position:

"only one explorer almost does not stick among the indians and does not call any attention. It does not hinder the customary manifestations of their mentality and in the routine development of their everyday life tasks and jobs. In this way the researcher also gets the trust of the indigenous, which he so much needs to make his work fruitful." (1922: 422).

Besides claiming that the presence of one researcher was neutral towards the development of aboriginal life, Gusinde was emphasising the relevance of carrying out field work, in a veiled

⁴⁷ As Gusinde himself acknowledged (ibid: 435), he still needed the help of the Lawrence brothers, who had to influence the Yámana to give him the information he wanted.

critique to the evolutionist scientists, who usually used second hand data. This critique would become much more open in his following report.

The fourth and last of Gusinde's trips to Tierra del Fuego was the longest, since his stay with the Yámana lasted for about 2 months (January and February 1923), and he spent with the Selk'nam about 3 months (April to July 1923), after which he returned to the Beagle channel region for about two months (but in this case he gives no indication of having carried out many more observations).

He went to Puerto Mejillones, in Navarino island, where 50 Yámana gathered at his request – Gusinde states that “they went voluntarily after my call” (Gusinde 1924: 9). The main aim of his visit to the Yámana group was to attend to the *laimayékamush*, which was the “wizards school or school of indigenous doctors” (ibid: 9, between inverted commas in the original). Gusinde had to insist and give them various presents to make them gather and celebrate the ‘school’ ceremony.

He also states that he had the chance of amplifying and deepening the observations previously recorded about the kina (ibid: 14), and that he could take various photos of the ‘spirits’ and record in phonograph cylinders more than 20 chants sang by the Yaganes during these meetings (ibid: 15). But he does not explain if he saw it for the second time –which is very unlikely–, or if he just noted verbal explanations by the Yámana.

Besides, he noted the existence of five linguistic dialects (he had recorded four in his previous report), corresponding to different Yámana groups (ibid: 17), and explained that the language is frequently mixed with English and Spanish (which is expectable, given the influence of persons from Great Britain, Chile and Argentina). He also could attend to another mourning ceremony (ibid: 15), and repeated his explanations about the monotheism of the Yámana (ibid: 16) and their elemental or arcaic culture (ibid: 13).

Finally, his count of the Yámana population added up to 70 individuals, since five had died of a flue epidemic, including an old man who knew most of the ancient customs (ibid: 20). According to Gusinde, the diminishing of the Yámana population is not so much related to the persecution of the aborigines as to the diseases and the consumption of alcohol (1924: 18)⁴⁸.

In April 1923 he went to the Selk'nam camp on the shore of Fagnano lake, where the aborigines already knew him, and offered him accommodation expecting a compensation for it (ibid: 20). He decided to stay with an elderly person (a man named Tenenesk), since he notes that

they usually have influence over the other individuals of the tribe, and they have more knowledge about the customs and traditions of their society –hence these would be the ideal informants–, a point repeatedly marked by Gusinde along his published works (ibid: 20).

In this camp he observed the *klóketen* (or *hain*) ceremony of male initiation, which he describes very briefly, establishing comparisons with the Yámana kina, and making inferences about the passing of this ceremony from the Selk'nam to the Yámana and from these to the Alacaluf (ibid: 26-27, 31). He also explains his findings of concepts of personal property, of a system of commerce and of territorial familiar land properties (ibid: 28-30). And he observed the existence of a female instruction from mother to daughter when reaching puberty (ibid: 31), of a doctor-wizard named *jon*, which he compares to the Yámana *yékamush* (ibid: 31), and of monogamic marriages (ibid: 30). Finally, he also asserted that the Selk'nam were also monotheist, since they believed in a supreme god named Temáukl (ibid: 31). (The results of all these observations are presented in chapter 3).

When Gusinde finished his three month long field-work with the Selk'nam, he had symptoms of scurvy and of anaemia. He decided to go to Harberton, where he stayed only for a week, and went then to Punta Remolino, but he does not explain whether he did more research about the Yámana there. He finished his field trip in September 1923.

What sticks out in his report of this fourth trip, which had not appeared in the previous ones, is a couple of very emphatic theoretical phrases that deeply criticise the evolutionist theory, in favour of the “scientific method of culture-history” (ibid: 25). Evolutionism is considered by Gusinde as based on “fantastic descriptions of the customs and traditions of the primitive inhabitants of the globe [which] were invented” (ibid: 24), and were described in different phases. As opposed to this, Gusinde states that

“our science is about observing and contrasting facts and real institutions, but not about writing hypotheses and theories, much less to imagine or fake how the idiosyncrasy of a people could have been; hence, the real researcher should be in touch with the aborigines to comply, in this way, with the demands of the new method, perfected and introduced in ethnology by eminent German specialists, the first masters in this branch of human knowledge. This research method has already been adopted by the most notable American and English ethnologists; and it has also been adopted by our Museo de Etnología y Antropología in Santiago.” (ibid: 25)

⁴⁸ This is the reverse case than for the Selk'nam. In the 1919 report he stated that, for this case, the main cause of their disappearance was precisely their prosecution, and not so much the diseases (pp 29-30).

Being against the “old-fashioned evolutionist method” (Gusinde 1924: 28), Gusinde openly adheres in this report to the culture-history theory, a school of thought that will also be present in his later works, although with very different degrees of depth and intensity. Gusinde published the results of his research in a collection organised in four big tomes (in the Spanish version): two volumes dedicated to the Selk’nam (1931) adding about 1100 pages; three volumes about the Yámana (1937), about 1500 pages; two volumes about the physical anthropology of the Fuegians (1939), about 670 pages, which include a long appendix with photographs of the Fuegians in various situations; and two volumes about the Alacaluf (1974, published posthumously), about 660 pages⁴⁹. He also published a book summing up his research in Tierra del Fuego (1951), which did not form part of the collection.

One of the most noticeable features of Gusinde’s work is that he viewed the Fuegian societies mainly as unchanged peoples frozen in time, which were examples of the most archaic type of culture found in the present (the early XX century). His work has innumerable phrases in which he openly remarks that these societies had remained the same for many centuries.

Gusinde nevertheless gave a certain room for the possibility of adaptation of the Fuegians to their environment, hence implying the possibility of change (Orquera and Piana 1995: 208-210), which in his different works ranged from specific conditions to which the Yámana had to adapt (Gusinde 1986: 1461), to the adverse matter over which the Fuegian spirit had won (Gusinde 1951: 193), to limiting conditions that restricted the aborigines cultural existence (Gusinde 1974). However, the most prominent point of view about the Fuegians along his work is that of an a-historic, eternal present: “[the Yámana] have kept the customs of a perfect nomadic life, invariable until our days” (Gusinde 1924: 135). He mainly offered a synchronic explanation of these cultures, with some diachronic projections of the present observations to the past, without actually proving that past and present been similar.

Adding more complexity to this point, it is important to take into account that his descriptions of the present (which he then sometimes projected to the past) were a conjunction between his own observations and the information he was told by his informants and by the Anglican and Salesian missionaries about the old habits and customs of the Fuegians, as well as the data he gathered from the literature. In his attempt to see unchanged cultures, he not only had projected the present to the past, but also the past to the present. This is clear, for example, when

⁴⁹ The dates of publication of the Spanish version of these works (translated from German) are as follows; Selk’nam 1931 (1982), Yámana 1937 (1986), physical anthropology 1939 (1989), Alacaluf 1974 (1991). The quotations in this thesis are made from the Spanish versions.

he describes the typical aboriginal clothing as if it was the type of garment worn in the time of his observations, when clearly many of these aborigines had left their typical clothing and were wearing Western clothes, mostly because of the missions influence (Gusinde 1982: xxx, 1986: xxx). In spite of these descriptions, Gusinde took many photographs in which the Yámana and the Selk'nam were wearing western clothes; moreover, he also commented that the Yámana body painting used to cover the whole body in some occasions, and that now it only decorated the lower arms and calves, for which the men rolled up their sleeves and trousers (Gusinde 1986: xxx), hence showing that he was quoting information about the typical –and past– aboriginal clothing as if it were worn in the present. In this and many other points, Gusinde contradicts himself, giving either contradictory information or opposed opinions, which makes his work less reliable to an extent. When relating to body painting practices, these contradictions will be marked and analysed.

Gusinde's a-historic point of view stems from his theoretical background: having a historic-cultural perspective by influence of the Mödling ethnologists, and a deep religious commitment, he was openly against evolutionism (as noted above). This implied that he did not agree with the idea that the societies had changed through time and had evolved from simpler to more complex 'systems'⁵⁰, passing through different stages (savage, barbarian, civilised), as L. Morgan (1877) and H. Taylor (1871) had asserted.

From the historic-cultural point of view, cultures were not conceived as having undergone internal changes but rather as responding to the existence of cultural circles/cycles, which were nodes constituted by cultural traits, and to the dispersion of these traits from one area to the other/s. This perspective was basically essentialist, since the cultural cycles were conceived as discrete units which could only suffer abrupt (not gradual) and absolute (not interactive) changes by the replacement of one trait by another one. And it was idealist (as opposed to evolutionism, which focused on the material conditions of the existence of society), since it conceived that the cultural traits were manifestations of ideal concepts or notions, materialised in the physical world.

Being a member of the *Societas Verbi Divini*, Gusinde was influenced by Wilhelm Schmidt, a priest whose ethnological studies were undertaken from this theoretical perspective, usually called "Vienna school". Gusinde's own ethnological work was nevertheless not entirely orthodox in terms of the application of this theory. Hence he did not, for example, attempt to identify cultural circles/cycles in Tierra del Fuego (a point already noted by Orquera and Piana

⁵⁰ The term system is not original from the evolutionist theory.

1995: 206). But he nevertheless had a very idealist concept of culture, which is visible in his opinion about the primacy of the thought and beliefs realm over the material realm of society (Gusinde 1951: 20 and 27). He also did seek for the diffusion of cultural traits, as many portions of his work show (e.g. Gusinde 1924: 13, 31). This could also be seen as a search for inter-societies interaction, but it is not explained in such a way.

His work is also essentialist, for example in its historic-cultural classification of the Fuegians in elemental, originary or arcaic cultures (which were more ancient), as opposed to primary cultures (which were relatively more modern) (Gusinde 1924: 13, 26), where the traits considered more modern within the arcaic cultures necessarily appear as borrowed from the primary cultures, and not as their own creations or at least the results of interaction of new influences with their own cultural background. Although this latter point shows a diachronic perspective, the analysis does not consider the possibility of an internal evolution and always explains these changes by successive replacements of cultural traits or re-locations in space of entire cultures. An example of this is when Gusinde (1924: 36) states that the Haush were the first to inhabit the island, and that the Selk'nam constituted a second invasion and slowly absorbed the Haush language - in this case he nevertheless conveys a sense of process with this notion of slow absorption of the language, which again shows the elasticity of Gusinde's application of the theory.

Making the theoretical panorama even more complex, and to an extent, contradictory, Gusinde also made some interpretations that could be related to the cultural-relativist or "particularist" framework (Orquera and Piana 1995: 207). This is clearly visible in his way of presenting and analysing the Fuegian habits as understandable and explainable within their own cultural and environmental context, which in turn led Gusinde to show a deep respect for these societies, entirely different to those in his native Europe, and to suggest the idea of environmental adaptation in a few points of his work.

Gusinde's main interest was focused on the 'spiritual' or religious life of the Fuegians. For this reason, some of the most thorough sections of his work are those related to the myths, beliefs and ceremonies of these aborigines. In reading his texts, it is very noticeable that he was particularly interested in demonstrating that the Fuegians were monotheists and monogamous (e.g. Gusinde 1922: 425; 1924: 31). The reasons for this great interest are rooted in his culture-historic theoretical background, given its focus on the cultural realm of ideas, and also in his religious beliefs. His search for monotheism and monogamy among the Fuegians stemmed both

from the historic-cultural framework, and from his religious background. In relation to the former, W. Schmidt had proposed that the ancient hunter-gatherer societies believed in a supreme being that held a dominant position over the rest of their spirits in which they believed, and that, with the new socio-economic forms, this monotheism had degenerated into the polytheism that was typical of the agricultural societies (Cárdenas, introduction to Koppers 1997: 10-11). Gusinde (and Koppers) wanted to prove the existence of this monotheism among the Fuegian hunter-gatherers.

This theoretical claim about monotheism was coincident with a religious concept generated by Eusebius of Cesarea (Palestine)⁵¹, which stated that the first societies had been necessarily Christian, since they had been created by God (Orquera, pers. com.). Hence, the 'archaic' societies (in Gusinde's terms) that existed in the present –i.e. the Fuegians– should be monogamic and monotheist as the original ones, and also as the 'civilised' Catholic Western society of Gusinde was. According to this concept, human society had degenerated from these first societies, and after a long process, not of evolution but of qualitative substitution, it had returned towards its original state, hence the monogamy and monotheism in the 'civilised' society. It is for these theoretical and religious reasons that Gusinde states once and again in his work that he has found proof of the monotheism of the Yámana and the Selk'nam (e.g. Gusinde 1922: 425 and 1924: 31 respectively).

It is actually unlikely that these societies had a supreme being among all the spirits in which they believed; although these seem to have been indeed hierarchically organised, this does not mean that they believed that one of them had created the rest. Moreover, it is also likely that at the time in which Gusinde had met these aborigines, they were influenced by the Catholic and Anglican religions, so what he was observing –if at all correct– may have been a product of this interaction with them.

Gusinde repeatedly remarked that no other white man had been in touch with these aborigines in such a close manner (e.g. 1920: 147). He also insisted in the fact that he was the first Western/European observer of many of the Fuegians habits, particularly the ceremonies.

⁵¹ Eusebius of Cesarea lived in Palestine in the 4th. century AD. He was a bishop, exegete and historian. His *Historia Ecclesiastica* "is a landmark in Christian historiography" (*Enciclopedia Britannica* 1981, III: 1003). This text was "designed to show how, through a series of acts of Divine providence, a Christian empire was finally brought into existence by Constantine." (ibid, 8: 948). The aim behind this history was to write a universal chronology that would account for the existence of the world since its creation to the writer's own time, in which Jewish and Christian events were to be recorded in detriment of other events of pagan history (which were fit into the universal scheme just in defence of the religion against adverse critics). "Thus Eusebius stated that the Christians were, in fact, born

This is certainly true in that he was the first one to observe/participate in the ceremonies during their entire duration. Nevertheless, their existence was already known, as some of the written records chronologically previous to his arrival to the island indicate (already reviewed above). It is not certain whether these other authors actually saw these ceremonies or were told by the aborigines about them, but the knowledge of their existence does precede Gusinde's fieldwork. At least in T. Bridges case it is certain that he saw them, even if for a brief lapse of time (Bridges 1897 MS describes part of the kina). As stated above, this claim does not diminish in any way the thorough contribution that Gusinde made to the knowledge of these ceremonies, but it seems that to an extent in his texts we were carrying out some kind of propaganda in favour of the importance of his own work.

Not only did Gusinde point that he was the first observer of these Fuegian habits, he also indicated in various points of his texts that he was the last. The reason for this is that the aborigines, particularly the elderly people who knew most about the traditions, were dying very fast, and hence it would soon not be possible to carry out any other ethnographic research (e.g. Gusinde 1924: 40). Again, although true, this may have been a way to create more interest in his work.

So in spite of the fact that in many cases he disregarded change and usually did not acknowledge the transformations that the societies had undergone in the recent past and present, he did acknowledge, and indeed even protested and made claims to the Argentinean and Chilean governments, about the fact that these aborigines were dying and that soon the entire societies would disappear⁵². His concern about the fate of these aborigines was constant, open and honest. In fact, his work is full of compliments and praises for the Fuegians character and good will, and he emphatically opposed to the ideas of their practising cannibalism or to other contemptuous concepts about them which were so usual in the literature about them.

Finally, his books (not so much his reports) are mostly written in a very pompous style, which sometimes makes it difficult to distinguish fact from opinion. They are nevertheless structured in thematic sections as any modern scientific work – being scientific was in fact was one of his main interests – and are still very informative and contain an enormous amount of data.

with the world" (ibid). The support of Gusinde to this concept is not explicit in his texts, although the outcome of its application in his ethnographic inferences is extremely open and clear.

⁵² There is an exception to this, when he states in his second trip report, that the Yámana had kept their nomadic life and that "they surely will keep it with no alteration in view of the life conditions of those secluded and inhospitable regions of the continent" (1920: 135). This probably was a way to emphasise the far and secluded position of the Yámana territory in the planet, and he contradicts this idea in many other phrases of his works.

As with many other areas of the Fuegians socio-cultural life, the information about body painting provided by Gusinde's work is the most thorough and detailed of all the records ever done in the region. Body painting is briefly mentioned in three of the four reports (Gusinde 1919, 1922, 1924), with little description of the designs worn. But the information is indeed thoroughly developed in his books (Gusinde 1982, 1986), where it is concentrated in certain specific chapters, related either to the uses of body ornament or to the ceremonies in which body painting was worn⁵³, although much is scattered along many other sections too. Besides showing the portions in which the core of the information related to our topic is found, this is an example of the way in which Gusinde chose to structure his main works, with inclusive parts, chapters, sections and points. It is particularly interesting to note that in one section body ornaments are closely related by the author to personal hygiene (a point that Hyades had also developed in the same way). But body painting is described by Gusinde in very dissimilar sections that span through the different instances of the Fuegians life, from their economic to their spiritual life. This seems to indicate that Gusinde saw many levels of implications in the creation and display of body painting, which in my opinion implicitly suggests a quite dynamic perspective towards the topic, in which these visual productions are not framed only in one category (e.g. aesthetic sense) but seen as pervasive of many instances of socio-economic life. Although in his work this is only a subtle and implicit stance, it is still a relevant point of the structure of Gusinde's ethnographic description, which I will try to show and account for more deeply and explicitly, from the theoretical perspective elaborated in chapter 1.

Gusinde's records do not end in his lengthy texts, but are also constituted by one of the biggest photographic collections of the area, which contains the highest number of body painting visual records (total of 110 photos and drawings). Many of these photographs (81) have been published by Gusinde as an appendix in his tomes on biological anthropology (1939, 1989 in

⁵³ The chapters that contain more information about body painting are, in the case of the Yámana, Second part: the economic life, chapter c: personal hygiene and body ornament, point 3: the body painting; Third part: social order and tribal customs, chapter d: the ceremony of initiation to puberty, section c: the development of the ceremony, point 3: the order of the day for the examinees and point 4: the order of the day for the adults; Fourth part: the spiritual world of the Yámana, chapter E: the kina ceremony, section c: development of the ceremony, point 5, the spirits acts, and chapter G: the spiritual faculties, section c: the aesthetic sense (Gusinde 1986). In the case of the Selk'nam, the information about body painting is concentrated in the following chapters: Second part: the economic life, chapter C: personal hygiene and body ornament, point 3: the body painting; Fourth part: the spiritual world of the Selk'nam, chapter E: the Klóketen ceremony, section c: development of the ceremony, point 3: apparitions of the spirits and games (plays), chapter F: the spiritual aptitude, section 3: the sense of beauty and artistic activity. He also describes body painting, with much less detail, in his 1951 book, but in this case the information is mostly scattered along the different sections and not concentrated in any particular one.

Spanish), while others (26) have been published by Brüggemann (1989; she has republished many others which had already been published by Gusinde). McEwan et al. (1997), Köppers (1924) and Olivares and Quiroz (1987-1988) have published one each⁵⁴.

The circumstances in which the photographs were taken are not entirely known, but some relevant information about them can be gathered in some portions of Gusinde's texts. Other details can also be derived directly by looking at the photographs. First of all, the Selk'nam did not always agree with being taken photographs. The best example of this is found in a long paragraph where Gusinde acknowledges the situation, in which he also explains the various strategies he followed in order for the Selk'nam to get acquainted with the technique and let him photograph them:

"Taking photos resulted more complicated. I had already seen in the Río Fuego camp the fear that these indians had of the little black box; such fear was bigger when the person was older. Here my camera was directly an object of terror for adults and children: when showing it, the meeting would go into chaos. I was later explained that they were convinced that if captured with that little box their souls or their vital spirits and that these would perish inside of it, hence they would also have to die. In spite of the fact that I continuously took photographs of the country landscape to make them slowly accustomed to that dangerous black thing. One night I took the book by Gallardo "Los Onas" and showed them one portrait after another. Then their eyes were illuminated and they started to chat because they recognised all the persons, and Tenenesk and Inxiol saw themselves. By the attitudes and the surroundings that the portraits revealed, they remembered the circumstances in which these photos were taken and admitted that Lucas Bridges had used the same little box as me. Next I ridiculed their old fear, since in spite of the photographs none of them had died, but, on the contrary, all enjoyed the beautiful portraits done in an occasion that dated to so many years ago. Now I also wanted to take photos of them for my friends and to send them copies to them too, so that they could later enjoy them. Finally I unpacked a small collection of photographs, partly of my family and mine, and partly of Araucanos indians. I had to accompany each one of them with diverse explanations, that, generally, were invented, but always indicated clearly that these persons were still alive. Then I allowed some of the children to look through the polished glass. This originated great laughter when they saw the people in front of the glass upside down, following exactly their movements. During this game I put unnoticeably some photographic plaques and exposed them to the light. I had brought with me the essentials for developing the photographs and the next morning I let the curious see the negatives. They saw themselves very strange due to the dark and light change, which funny in itself

⁵⁴ Photos and drawings of catalogue published by Gusinde (1989): S2, S3, S4, S6, S7, S8, S10, S11, S13, S14, S15, S16, S18, S20, S21, S22, S23, S27, S28, S29, S30, S31, S32, S33, S34, S35, S36, S37, S38, S39, S40, S41, S42, S43, S44, S45, S46, S47, S48, S49, S50, S51, S52, S53, S55, S56, S57, S58, S59, S60, S61, S62, S63, S64, S66, S68, S70, S71, S74, S75, S76, S80, S81, S84, S88, Y2, Y3, Y4, Y5, Y6, Y7, Y8, Y9, Y10, Y12, Y14, Y18, Y19, Y21, Y56; published by Brüggemann (1989): S9, S12, S17, S19, S24, S72, S73, S77, Y11, Y15, Y16, Y17, Y20, Y22, Y23, Y24, Y25Y28, Y29, Y47, Y48, Y49, Y50, Y51, Y52, Y53; published by McEwan et al (1997): S65; published by Köppers (1924): Y26; published by Olivares and Quiroz (1988-1989): Y57. Gusinde also published one photo S54 taken by L. Bridges and edited (see below). Of these, all show one or more individuals wearing body painting, except Y2, Y3, Y4, Y14, Y57, which show ceremonial decorated plaques, wands and masks.

and amused them. With this at least I had broken their fear to the ghosts, and, in the following days, they were more accessible. With the elderly people I had to develop great persuasive eloquence, but they only decided to pose when I explained to them that the commission that was there would need these photographs to find help for the Selk'nam. Yet, some of them still showed a shy reservation, and, being prudent, I did not insist more. They soon called me Mink'en and from that time I never lost that name. This name derives from min = image, figure, shadow and k'wen = hold, take, gather. Which gives the sense of 'the shadow hunter or the image hunter' as a paraphrase of photographer." (Gusinde 1982: 82)

The photographing technique was clearly not neutral for the Selk'nam, who had to be accustomed to it by seeing photographs, negatives and looking through the camera in order to get more at ease with it and let Gusinde picture them. This is an interesting example of the fact that not only the recorder, but also the recorded subjects, are active in the process of ethnographic photography (and photography in general), a point already argued in the theory chapter.

Moreover, as Prieto and Cárdenas point out, Gusinde offered recompenses to the indigenous groups for letting him photograph them, which ranged from money and goods to copies of the photographs. In this latter case, some of the photographs that the aborigines had, were purchased from them by other observers (it is not stated in the text who these observers were, but it is likely that it was Rodríguez and Reynolds, according to Gusinde 1986: 156), and were published by them without acknowledgement of Gusinde's authorship (Prieto and Cárdenas 1997: xx). So, in some cases, these photographs represented a double economic value for the Selk'nam, since they got paid by one observer to take them, and by others to buy these from them.

The non-neutrality of the photographic technique raised its peak in the Selk'nam case when Gusinde wanted to take a photograph of the men getting painted as hain spirits, still without putting their masks on. This situation was acknowledged by Gusinde in two portions of his work. Firstly it was briefly described in his 1924 report:

"I have also gathered a precious photographic material; even the klóketen 'spirits' have been printed in my photographic plates. I almost had to pay with my life the tentative of taking a shot of one of these 'spirits' who was precisely painting himself; only with the use of all my cunning could I calm down the irritated souls of these men, but *I could never picture any of them in the moment of painting.*" (Gusinde 1924: 36-37, my emphasis).

Gusinde may have been exaggerating about the seriousness of the threat which he was subject to, but indeed he got a very violent response from the Selk'nam men, who hit and choked

him when they saw his attempt of shooting the photograph at that point of the hain spirits painting process. He describes this situation with much more detail in his book about the Selk'nam (Gusinde 1982: 867-869). This is quoted and analysed in chapters 4, due to its direct relation to the implications of ceremonial body painting production.

Besides these situations, which involve the interaction between the photographer and the subjects during the photographic process of taking the picture, there are also other procedures made exclusively by the photographer, that also influence the final result of the printed –and sometimes published– photograph, namely the developing and editing. In relation to this latter process, there are a couple of examples that show how Gusinde's editing and publishing selection of photographs was possibly guided by his intention of presenting the image of a present equal to an unchanged past.

Gusinde published the photograph of a scene (of the hain) in which two naked and painted men were scaring the women by pulling unpleasant faces and making gestures with their hands (photo S54). This photograph had been taken by L. Bridges, and in its original frame it also contained the figure of a third man, standing a bit behind (like watching the scene), wearing a typical fur cloak and a Western cloth hat. In his book, Bridges says in the caption to this photo that he regrets that Pahchik, the ceremony master, was wearing this hat instead of the *goöchilh* (the typical triangular head band made of guanaco fur, also written *kocel*). In spite of this sign of 'cultural pollution', Bridges still published the entire photo, with the clarifying caption, while Gusinde cut out Pahchik's image and left only the other two in it. This re-framing of the photograph may have been done with the aim of centring the topic of the photograph on the man's attitude towards the women, and not to distract the viewer with a third person who is not engaged in this same action. But still this re-framing involved not only leaving this third man out, but fixing part of the background of the photo to cover his absence, which suggests that he was intending to eliminate the man wearing a piece of clothing which did not correspond to the typical outfit of a Selk'nam (particularly on a ceremonial circumstance).

Having a different attitude than De Agostini, who did not depict scenes with naked individuals, as commented above, Gusinde photographed the fight of Selk'nam men as it seems it was traditionally fought (S 71), with the two men entirely naked and only wearing face and body painting, their *kocel* and their fur shoes. Although Gusinde implicitly acknowledged that they had mostly changed their clothing due to the European influence and stated that they still had their traditional clothing for the celebration of the hain (Gusinde 1919: 22-23), he chose to show this

typical outfit in the photos, and not the transformed, European clothing. Indeed, not only in these particular fight scenes, but in most of the photographs, the Selk'nam individuals are shown wearing their typical clothing, which does not at all mean that this is what they wore daily. In fact, Koppers (1924) explains openly that the Selk'nam had to be induced by Gusinde to wear these typical clothes, and that this was not a straightforward process (see below). A similar comment is made by Chapman (1982) about one case of use of face painting for a photograph which was the result of Gusinde's influence (see below).

This seems not to have been the case of the Yámana, who appear in all of Gusinde's photographs wearing Western clothes. Unfortunately, there seems to be no record of the process of taking the photographs and the reactions of the Yámana groups, so the information about this can only come from the visual records themselves. At the time of Gusinde's trips, the Yámana culture was already deeply transformed by the Anglican missionaries influence, the result of which can be seen both in the fact that the photographs show them always wearing Western clothes, and that in most cases the body painting is located in the lower arms and legs, after rolling up the shirts sleeves or legs of the trousers (a point noted by Gusinde in his text (1986: 884). The complete data and implications of the portions of the body shown in the photographs and decorated with paintings for both Selk'nam and Yámana cases are analysed in chapter 5.

In spite of the lack of traditional clothing, Gusinde did practice another type of selection in the Yámana photographs he published. He seems to have preferred to publish the photographs showing more organised, posed situations, rather than others which showed more relaxed and spontaneous attitudes. This is evidenced, for example, in his choice of photographs of the *chiéjaus* ceremony, in which the individuals are sitting alone or in lines, facing the camera, holding their dancing wands very still (e.g. photos Y18, Y19), while other of his photos, which document more dynamic situations, such as the process of one man painting another man (Y24), or the process of two men painting a mask (Y17), or of a large group gathered to have a meal, where a few individuals are painted and many are not (Y53), or of the tasks that the initiands carried out during the *chiéjaus* (Y51) were not published by him, but much later, by Brüggemann (1989). So the intention of documenting the variety of these actions did exist, and was indeed put in practice, but when selecting the images for publication, Gusinde (or his publisher) selected the less spontaneous ones, and preferred those that seem more controlled. These, in turn, tend to show less of the context and to mainly focus on the visual information carried by the individuals

themselves (their outfits, their paintings, their physical posture⁵⁵), which seems contradictory with the attention that Gusinde wanted to pay to the typical traditional Fuegian activities. Here, the author's own concept of a proper record appears to have imposed over his interest in tradition.

As noted above, W. Koppers accompanied Gusinde in his third trip (December 1921 to March (1st.) 1922) to Tierra del Fuego. Koppers was, as Gusinde, a member of the *Societas Verbi Divini*, as well as a priest. Both of them were fellows in the seminar in Mödling and were influenced by the ideas of W. Schmidt. Koppers studied theology and philosophy in Rome, and got his PhD in Vienna. In 1924 he became lecturer in the Vienna University, where some years later he taught ethnology. He was also president of the Institut für Völkerkunde from 1929 to 1957, with an interruption between 1938 and 1945 (Cárdenas introduction to Koppers 1997: 8).

It was before working at the Vienna University when Koppers made the ethnographic observations in Tierra del Fuego. Gusinde had firstly invited their master W. Schmidt to this trip, but since he could not attend, it was decided that Koppers should go. In this way, Koppers had the chance to make a series of observations of the Yámana society in the Beagle channel region, particularly in Navarino island, and also to stay for about a week among the Selk'nam in Estancia Viamonte, and for a few days in Fagnano lake, where they interviewed a man that was half (half-breed?) Haush, which he published in a book in 1924 (published in Spanish in 1997).

In this field-trip, Koppers observed and participated in the Yámana *chiéjaus* and *kina* ceremonies, which makes him the second and last professional ethnographer to have recorded them. In fact, he was also able to observe some of their every day life habits, but his record of these is minimum in comparison, given his open interest in the mythical and religious beliefs of these aborigines.

The fact that Gusinde and Koppers observed and recorded the same events gives Koppers book a special relevance in that not only it contains information about these aborigines, but his information is comparable to that provided by Gusinde. This generates a unique opportunity of assessing the ways in which both observers recorded a given event, which can shed light on their interests, biases, and writing styles. This comparison shows that both Koppers and Gusinde shared a religious and historic-cultural theoretical background, and a specific interest in showing that the Fuegians were monotheist, for the reasons explained above (Koppers 1997: 123, 126). But the way in which they report the observations is radically different. As opposed to Gusinde's

⁵⁵ As noted above, the physical positions seem to have been altered to an extent to fit the photographer's requirements, since the description of the physical position of the *chiéjaus* participants does not include any kind of alignment in rows all facing the same point.

grandiloquent, tangled and pompous style, which in some cases makes it difficult to distinguish what he saw from what he was told, Koppers style is much more clear, straightforward and narrative, making a chronicle of what he saw and heard and differentiating it from what he was told or what he interpreted.

His book is illustrated with a series of photographs, 16 of which show Yámana individuals wearing body painting. Of these, 15 were taken by Koppers (Y13, Y27, Y30, Y34, Y35, Y36, Y37, Y38, Y39, Y40, Y41, Y42, Y43, Y44, and Y67), and 1 by Gusinde (Y26); Koppers also published 4 black and white drawings (Y68, Y69, Y70, Y71) showing decorated dancing wands, plaques and masks. In comparison to Gusinde's visual records or the Yámana body paintings, Koppers photographs show more variety of situations in which these were worn, including both posed and more relaxed or spontaneous scenes (his contributions with these records, and the comparison to the visual records by other authors are presented in detail in chapter 3).

Some of these photographs were also published by Gusinde. It is interesting to note a different editing of the background of one of them (Y44), which shows a candidate to become a *yekamush* (shaman-wizard). Gusinde published this photograph of the candidate standing in front of what seems to be a big black piece of cloth, which constitutes the background of the picture, and standing on the grass, which is visible under and behind his naked feet. Koppers, instead, published the same image with a black 'solid' background (like a painted wall or cardboard panel) which is not the soft and wrinkled cloth or Gusinde's picture, and with what seems to be a painted floor, imitating the grass. In this case, it seems that Gusinde did not find this background as contradictory with his illustrative aims (e.g. not indicative of a lack of primitive 'original' cultural features), while Koppers must have decided to edit the photo by removing and changing the background and floor of the picture for a prepared one, maybe because it was tidier?. Koppers used this same painted background and floor in the photo of a *kina* spirit (Y42), which Gusinde did not publish.

Although Koppers published (and seems to have taken) photographs of Yámana aborigines only, he made a very interesting remark about the photographing process of a Selk'nam group that they met in estancia Viamonte. Given that some of the families that Gusinde and Koppers met there had never been seen by Gusinde before, he decided to take photographs of them. Koppers noticed that

"In many cases we missed the very usual good disposition of the Yámana. Some elderly women completely refused to pose in front of the camera. With special anger they rejected

our pretension that they should let themselves get pictured with the cloak (or guanaco fur). They are not savages anymore. They wore the cloak in ancient times, but this is not worn anymore. They told us with an interesting verbosity, that we should wear it ourselves, if we wanted to. Yes, an old woman, Saipottens wife (australoid), was firm even when we tried to conquer her with money. “No”, she said, “not even for money will I allow you to get me photographed”. But her husband had another opinion. He did not oppose to be photographed with a big cloak, although his wife scolded him for being very impulsive [“como un energúmeno”, it could be a translating problem and maybe it meant that she scolded him very impulsively]. We have never lived such a scene among the Yámana.” (Koppers 1997: 38)

A series of points about how the visual –and written– records were constructed are confirmed with this quotation. First of all, the transformation that this Selk’nam group had undergone with their interaction with western colonisers was already so deep that they themselves did not want to wear their traditional clothing (at least not in order to get photographed). This contradicts the numerous claims by Gusinde about the unpolluted nature of the Fuegian cultures and their being the unchanged present representatives of a past culture (the fact that he contradicted himself in this point has also been pointed out above, and should be borne in mind). Nevertheless, it is also important to note that the Selk’nam still had their traditional cloaks or the knowledge to make them, which in turn shows that their transformation might have been deep, but nevertheless some old cultural features existed synchronically with new ones.

A second point that Koppers confirms is that the aborigines got paid to do certain things, such as getting photographed (other events that involved payment are acknowledged by Gusinde, see section 2.3). This obviously questions to an extent the representativity of a record that, though not forced, had at least to be negotiated, and hence seems likely to have depicted situations which were not spontaneous or ‘authentic’. This leads to a third point, which is that the refusal and negotiation of the Selk’nam to get photographed wearing these clothes, transformed the typicality of what wanted to be recorded into a more simulated content, but, at the same time, is informative about their attitude towards the clothing and towards the visual recording technique. So what to an extent is not a representative record of their appearance becomes a representative record of some of their thoughts about their looks and the others (western) views and documentation of it. This is an example of how the interplay between the analysis of visual and written records can shed light on issues that only one of them seem less likely to generate. The written texts provide context and meaning, without which the photographs would lose much of their informative –still

biased— power, and the visual techniques precisely generate information made visible, which would otherwise be not perceptible.

Finally, a fourth point raised by Koppers quotation is that related to the non-neutrality of the photographic technique, both from the point of view of the recorder, and of the recorded subjects. Gusinde was manipulating the photographic technique to produce an ethnographic visual record of what he considered to be typical. But the Selk'nám and the Yámana were not passive in relation to this technical process. In fact, they even had different of attitudes towards being photographed, and while the Selk'nám did oppose and finally negotiated a 'solution' to the conflict, the Yámana seem not to have been bothered by this technique, a point that can be inferred from this quotation. It is even possible that the lack of other paragraphs (in this and other texts) that document their attitude towards being photographed is due to their 'positive'/permissive attitude, although this of course cannot go beyond a suggestion.

After Gusinde left Tierra del Fuego, a North American ethnologist, S.K. Lothrop, visited the region in November 1924, where he stayed for three months. There he went to the estancia in Fuego river and visited two camps of Selk'nám aborigines near the Fagnano lake, while, from Harberton, he visited Ushuaia, Remolino, Navarino island, Gable island, Picton island and Cambaceres bay (in Isla Grande, northern Beagle channel shore), hence getting acquainted with many of the Yámana aborigines living in or near these places (Gusinde 1986: 157).

Lothrop managed to collect an important series of objects that belonged to the material culture of these aborigines, some of which appear in his photographs, which he gathered according to a list given by Dr. Cooper⁵⁶, also including other objects previously unknown. He inspected about 80 archaeological sites, of which he also took a small artefact sample (Lothrop 1928: 110, 178). Lothrop's book is an excellent synthesis of the ethnographic information about the Selk'nám and the Yámana, in which he wrote his own observations and quoted written sources and information that he got from the Bridges brothers. He covers all the aspects of these societies habits, from subsistence and technology to language, myths and ceremonies. These latter were covered with less detail, since he stated that Gusinde and Koppers had already made a thorough research on these areas (ibid: 11). Nevertheless, he adds brief but important information about certain points of the uses of the masks in the Yámana kina ceremony, which will be quoted in chapter 3 and analysed in chapter 5, since they are directly relevant for this research project.

⁵⁶ Dr. J. Cooper had already compiled the analytical bibliography of Tierra del Fuego (Cooper 1917). Much later, he published the chapters on the Ona and the Yámana in the Handbook of South American Indians (Cooper 1946, Steward ed.)

Lothrop's text is presented in a very organised way, and written in a concise style, with no contemptuous terms towards the aborigines look or behaviour, although some object descriptions include evolutionist language used in an ethnocentric sense (quoted in chapter 3). The text is nevertheless mainly descriptive, lacking explanatory reasoning and focused mainly on the thorough and detailed account of the habits observed, and particularly of the objects retrieved.

The book is illustrated with many photographs and drawings, most of which have a measurement scale, which again indicates the author's interest in the rigorous presentation of the data, and a reference number, possibly the accession number of his ethnographic collection. Four of these illustrations show Yámana painted objects: a drawing of the patterns of the painted decoration of ceremonial plaques (Y1), a drawing of three painted ceremonial wands (Y58), and two photographs showing two painted masks each (Y59 and Y60). No photographs showing painted individuals are included, although body painting is described in the text.

A very unusual written record was generated by B. Spencer, an Australian researcher, who travelled to Tierra del Fuego together with his secretary, Miss Hamilton, in may 1929. During his trip he visited the Douglas estancia, in Navarino island, where he interviewed some Yámana aborigines, from whom he found it difficult to get information. His secretary noted that "The Professor has no faith in these half-civilised young Yahgans, and will accept nothing until he has talked with some of the old men." (Miss Hamilton in Gusinde 1986: 157, footnote 193). He also visited the eastern shore of Hoste island (ibid: 158). But his health was already in a delicate state and he died in the night of July 13th. 1929.

His observations were recorded in his travel diary, and are mainly written as brief sketches, sometimes even not completing the sentences with articles and verbs. His diary was published more than twenty years after his death (Marett and Penniman eds. 1951). In relation to body painting, it is curious to note that Spencer's description of the functions of the paintings and the materials sources used to make the paint are not at all the usual ones (see chapter 3).

The following written record dates to a very recent time. It was published in 1986 by P. Stambuk, who interviewed Lauktaia le kipa, or Rosa Yagán, as she was also known. Stambuk met Lauktaia when she was a patient at the Hospital de Punta Arenas (Chile). She interviewed her daily, during eight months (Stambuk 1986: 11). Lauktaia had participated in "the last spontaneous rite of initiation to puberty of the Yaganes" (ibid), the *chiéjaus*, in 1910; she also remembers that she participated in the 1922 *chiéjaus* (ibid: 83), although, strangely enough, she was not mentioned neither by Gusinde nor by Koppers.

Stambuk's text, considered by herself as a "testimonial nove" (ibid: 11) is written in a very plain style, using many direct quotations of Lauktaia's testimony. The short book gives an account of many of her memories about her old habits, and also how these were transformed with time. These include various mentions and descriptions of body painting designs, its uses and its meanings.

Each chapter of the book is illustrated with drawings made after photographs, hence these have not been counted as visual records. But it also includes an appendix with photographs, three of which have not been found published in other sources, and show individuals wearing body painting. Two of these were taken by De Agostini (Y45 and Y46), and one by Furlong (Y55), and all of them have been commented above in the sections related to these authors.

The last text that I have reviewed that contains first hand information about body painting was written by A. Chapman. Chapman made a series of field-trips to Tierra del Fuego to interview the last survivors of the Selk'nam people: Lola Kiepja, Angela Loij, Federico Echeuline, Luis Garibaldi Honte, Esteban Ichton, Francisco Minkiol, Leticia Ferrando and Segundo Arteaga (Chapman 1982: acknowledgements). Her field-trips started in 1966 and ended in 1976: she spent in Tierra del Fuego three months in 1966, three months in 1967, two years 1968-1970, two years 1972-1974, and three months in 1976 (ibid: 185)⁵⁷. With this great amount of experience in the region, she collected a very important set of data including oral information conveyed to her by her informants, 55 tapes in which she recorded the chants of Lola Kiepja and gathered a Selk'nam lexicon (ibid: 185), and an ethnographic documentary about the tragic end of this people (ibid: 6)⁵⁸. She also made a fundamental contribution in studying the Selk'nam genealogies, having achieved the grouping of 79 of them, which added up to the amazing amount of 3,386 individuals (ibid: 185).

This information was used in various articles, and in a book in which she analysed the Selk'nam social structure, focusing particularly on the hain ceremony. This ceremony is analysed by Chapman as a multipurpose event of the Selk'nam social life, which played a crucial ideological function in this society, using concepts of historical-materialism and social theory (see details in section 2.3). Her interpretation of the ceremony as the re-enactment of a staged drama in which these purposes and functions are carried out is very original, and well grounded in the information retrieved by herself as well as in many bibliographical data.

⁵⁷ Before 1966 she worked in the region as an archaeologist with Dr. A. Laming Emperaire.

⁵⁸ This film, entitled "*The Ona people: life and death in Tierra del Fuego*" was made together with A. Montés de González, J. Prelorán, and O. Gamardo.

Chapman illustrates her book with graphic schemes to aid her hain ceremony explanation, with photographs taken by her of the informants, and with photographs taken by Gusinde to depict the way in which the Selk'nam looked in their typical clothing, and particularly, the way in which the hain 'spirits' looked like. All these photographs had already been published by Gusinde, so they do not constitute a new incorporation to our catalogue. But what does bring a curious and interesting 'negative visual' information is a photograph of Angela Loij, also by Gusinde (S68), published by Chapman with the following caption: "Angela Loij, 1923. At her request, this photograph was retouched to remove her face paint, which was only applied for the photographer." This is the only direct information available that indicates that the Selk'nam may have been asked by Gusinde to get painted for his photographs⁵⁹. Again, what is interesting, is that even if Angela was asked to paint herself/get painted, her face painting shows a design that is very consistent with the rest of the Selk'nam designs: an imposed or semi-faked ethnographic visual record seems still partly informative of an aboriginal artistic tradition.

⁵⁹ It is also possible that, years later, Angela did not feel comfortable with the idea of getting her picture printed wearing face painting (as other people did not want to be pictured wearing their traditional clothing, as noted above), but of course this is only a suggestion and there is no evidence to confirm it.

In relation to the creation and use of body painting, Chapman quotes profusely many of the sources reviewed in this chapter, but in these quotations she sometimes includes some information provided by her informants, which makes her book the last first hand source of ethnographic material on the topic.

The review of all the written and visual sources that provide information about the creation and uses of body painting in Tierra del Fuego includes the work of 55 authors that published their observations in a total 75 papers/books and 228 images (photos and drawings). It is clear that the records were created according to the observer's interests and background, written from their points of view. In next section the synthetic presentation of the data about the Yámana and Selk'nam societies will show if these records confirm, complete or contradict each other. This, in turn, will show to which extent they actually offer information that characterises these societies, besides being an expression of the theoretical and ideological interests of the authors.

The historical and ethnographic records of body painting in the uttermost part of the earth started with the contact process between the European colonisers and the aborigines. Paradoxically, the agents that created these records were, simultaneously, part of the main cause that generated the disappearance of the Fuegians. As the contact proceeded, what was being recorded was fading in front of the recorders eyes for ever.

Appendix C. Visual records catalogue.

Visual records catalogue, organised per situation. List of photos and drawings per page.

ph/dr	page	ph/dr	page	ph/dr	page	ph/dr	page	ph/dr	page
Y001	655	Y051	645	S001	595	S051	603	S101	625
Y002	655	Y052	645	S002	052	S052	605	S102	625
Y003	655	Y053	645	S003	123	S056	605	S103	620
Y004	639	Y054	650	S004	606	S054	608	S104	625
Y005	634	Y055	650	S005	623	S055	607	S105	620
Y006	654	Y056	648	S006	604	S056	607	S106	620
Y007	644	Y057	639	S007	626	S057	596	S107	620
Y008	641	Y058	656	S008	612	S058	596	S108	621
Y009	647	Y059	639	S009	623	S059	597	S109	629
Y010	647	Y060	639	S010	623	S060	597	S110	621
Y011	634	Y061	646	S011	613	S061	597	S111	621
Y012	647	Y062	633	S012	613	S062	599	S112	599
Y013	631	Y063	651	S013	626	S063	599	S113	621
Y014	655	Y064	651	S014	613	S064	600	S114	622
Y015	634	Y065	635	S015	604	S065	609	S115	622
Y016	642	Y066	653	S016	598	S066	601	S116	629
Y017	637	Y067	653	S017	606	S067	610	S117	622
Y018	642	Y068	656	S018	601	S068	627	S118	604
Y019	642	Y069	640	S019	600	S069	610	S119	608
Y020	647	Y070	640	S020	607	S070	628	S120	608
Y021	648	Y071	656	S021	600	S071	628	S121	614
Y022	648	Y072	633	S022	605	S072	622	S122	619
Y023	643	Y073	641	S023	595	S073	610	S123	611
Y024	646	Y074	641	S024	596	S074	604	S124	611
Y025	641	Y075	636	S025	609	S075	606	S125	611
Y026	642	Y076	636	S026	627	S076	600	S126	612
Y027	644	Y077	637	S027	598	S077	598	S127	628
Y028	645	Y078	638	S028	609	S078	610	S128	612
Y029	643	Y079	638	S029	614	S079	611	S129	629
Y030	643	Y080	638	S030	614	S080	627	S130	630
Y031	652	Y081	649	S031	614	S081	627		
Y032	631	Y082	649	S032	615	S082	615		
Y033	631	Y083	650	S033	615	S083	616		
Y034	632	Y084	651	S034	613	S084	616		
Y035	648	Y085	652	S035	623	S085	616		
Y036	632	Y086	653	S036	624	S086	616		
Y037	632	Y087	634	S037	624	S087	595		
Y038	649	Y088	652	S038	624	S088	688		
Y039	633	Y089	631	S039	599	S089	617		
Y040	637	Y090	652	S040	598	S090	617		
Y041	649	Y091	640	S041	601	S091	626		
Y042	636	Y092	640	S042	602	S092	617		
Y043	636	Y093	635	S043	602	S093	617		
Y044	654	Y094	656	S044	602	S094	618		
Y045	654	Y095	633	S045	602	S095	618		
Y046	653	Y096	635	S046	603	S096	618		
Y047	637	Y097	646	S047	603	S097	618		
Y048	650	Y098	646	S048	607	S098	619		
Y049	644			S049	603	S099	619		
Y050	644			S050	605	S100	619		

The number of the record corresponds to that of the image stored in the Cdrom and in the databases. The first name that appears in the caption is that of the photographer or draftsman (when known); the second name corresponds to the author of the publication of the photo or drawing

Selk'nam.

Everyday life, trip.

S001 De Agostini - De Agostini 1924: 286

S087 De Agostini - Prieto and Cárdenas
1997: 70

Initiation ceremony, hain. Tanu spirit.

S023 Gusinde – Gusinde 1989: 653

Initiation ceremony, hain. Kewanix dancers.

Initiation ceremony, hain. Kewanix dancers.

S061 Gusinde – Gusinde 1989: 649

Initiation ceremony, hain. Initiands.

Initiation ceremony, hain. Mother of initiand Initiand/‘kloketen’

S039 Gusinde – Gusinde 1989: 625

S112 Gallardo – Gallardo 1910: 331

Initiation ceremony, hain. Matan spirits.

S062 Gusinde – Gusinde 1989: 651

S063 Gusinde – Gusinde 1989: 651

Initiation ceremony, hain. Matan spirits.

S076 Gusinde – Gusinde 1989: 659

S021 Gusinde – Gusinde 1989: 651

Initiation ceremony, hain. Keternen baby.

S064 Gusinde – Gusinde 1989: 653

S019 Gusinde – Brüggemann 1989: 185

Initiation ceremony, hain. Kulpus dancers.

S066 Gusinde – Gusinde 1989: 657

Initiation ceremony, hain. So'ort spirits.

S018 Gusinde – Gusinde 1989: 627

S041 Gusinde – Gusinde 1989: 627

Initiation ceremony, hain. So'ort spirits.

S042 Gusinde – Gusinde 1989: 629

S043 Gusinde – Gusinde 1989: 629

S044 Gusinde – Gusinde 1989: 629

S045 Gusinde – Gusinde 1989: 631

Initiation ceremony, hain. So'ort spirits.

S046 Gusinde – Gusinde 1989: 631

S047 Gusinde – Gusinde 1989: 633

S049 Gusinde – Gusinde 1989: 635

S051 Gusinde – Gusinde 1989: 635

Initiation ceremony, hain. So'ort spirits.

S074 Gusinde – Gusinde 1989: 659

S118 Bridges – Bridges 1951: 402-403

Initiation ceremony, hain (c hain). Kosmenk spirits.

S006 Gusinde – Gusinde 1982: 888

S015 Gusinde – Gusinde 1989: 639

Initiation ceremony, hain (c hain). Kosmenk spirits.

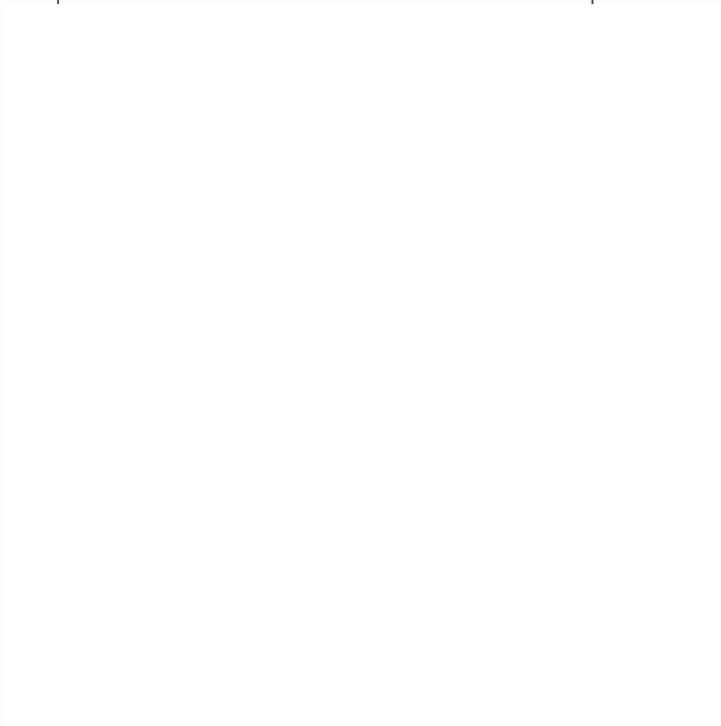
S022 Gusinde – Gusinde 1989: 633

S050 Gusinde – Gusinde 1989: 635

S052 Gusinde – Gusinde 1989: 637

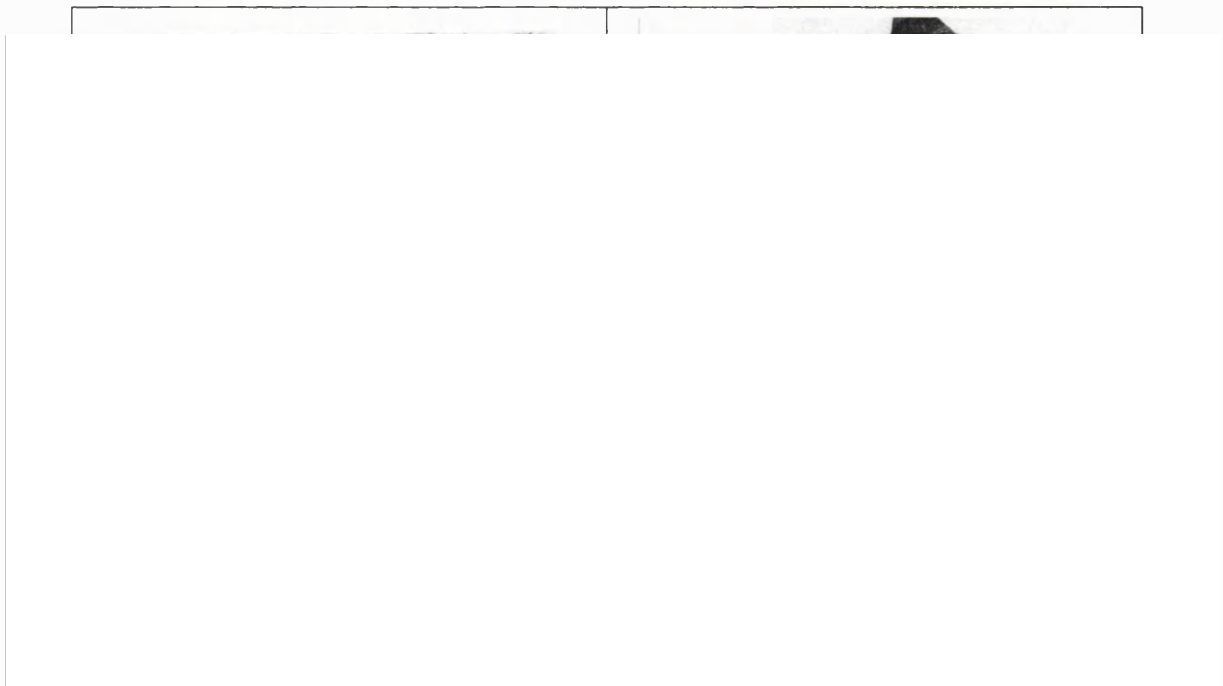
S053 Gusinde – Gusinde 1989: 637

Initiation ceremony, hain (c hain). Kosmenk spirits.



S075 Gusinde – Gusinde 1989: 659

Initiation ceremony, hain (c hain). Ulen spirit. So'ort spirit.



S004 Gusinde – Gusinde 1989: 653



S017 Gusinde – Brüggemann 1989: 182

Initiation ceremony, hain (c hain). Kotaix spirits. Initiands painted for Kotaix.



S020 Gusinde – Gusinde 1989: 655	S048 Gusinde – Gusinde 1989: 655
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Initiation ceremony, hain (c hain). Oskonhaninh dancers.



S055 Gusinde – Gusinde 1989: 641	S056 Gusinde – Gusinde 1989: 641
----------------------------------	----------------------------------

Initiation ceremony, hain (c hain). Men scaring women. Men killed by Kotaix.

S054 Gusinde – Gusinde 1989: 639

S120 Bridges – Bridges 1951: 402-403

Initiation ceremony, hain (c hain). Hostan dance/game.

S119 Bridges – Bridges 1951: 402-403

S054b Bridges 1951: XL

Posing for the camera; unknown situation.

S025 unknown - Prieto and Cárdenas 1997 fig.
68

S028 Gusinde – Gusinde 1989: 581

S065 Gusinde - McEwan et al. (eds.) 1997: 74

Posing for the camera; unknown situation.

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S069 De Agostini - De Agostini 1924: 284

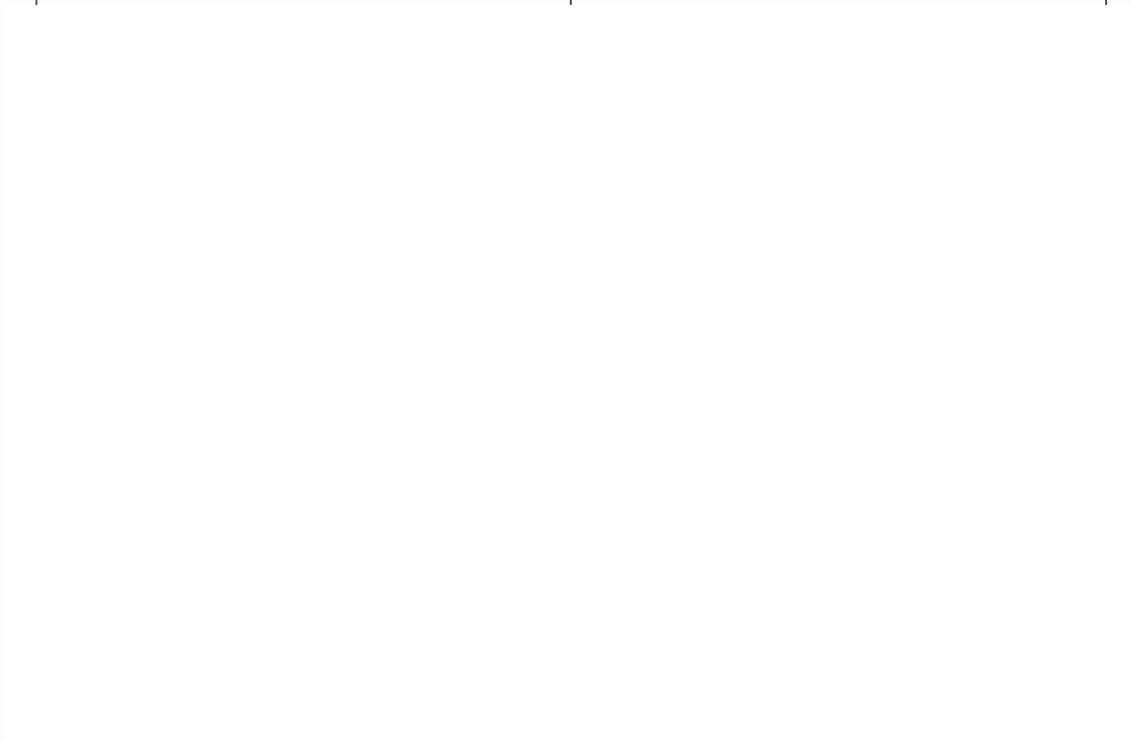
S067 De Agostini – Coiazzi 1997: 18

S073 Gusinde – Brüggemann 1989: 124

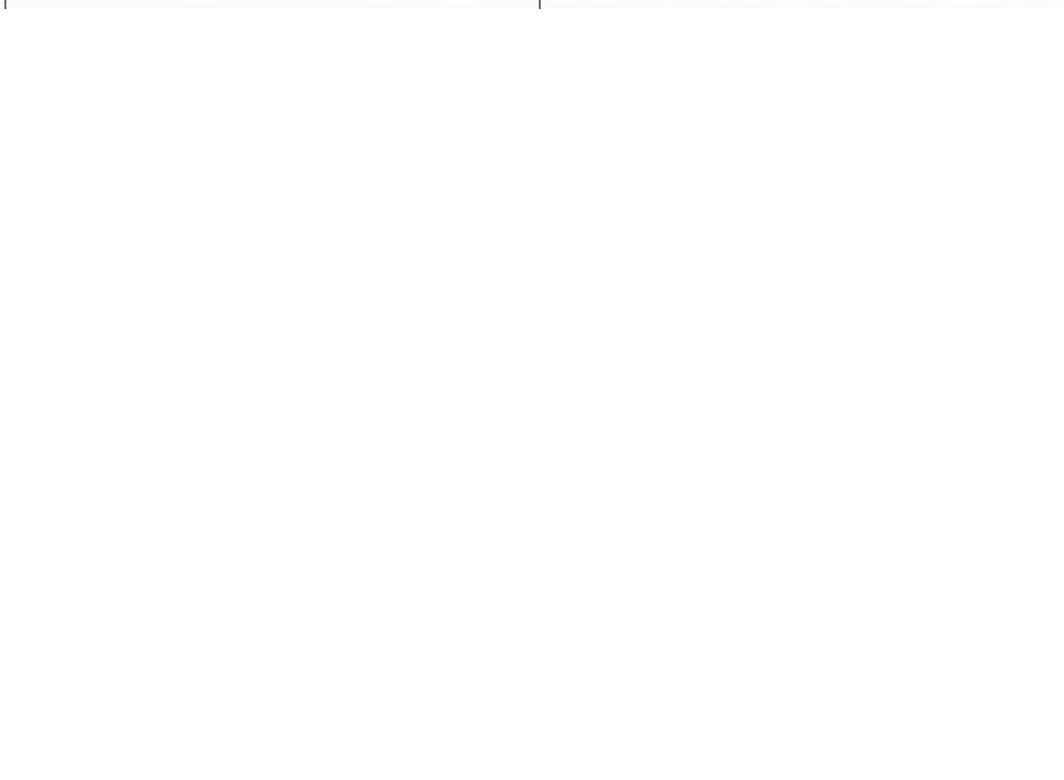
S078 illegible signature – Bove 1883: n/p

Posing for the camera; unknown situation.

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S079 illegible signature - Bove 1883: 122	S123 De Agostini - De Agostini 1945



S124 De Agostini - De Agostini 1945	S125 De Agostini - De Agostini 1945
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Posing for the camera; unknown situation.

S126 De Agostini - De Agostini 1934: 368

S128 De Agostini? – Borrero 1991: 79

S003 Gusinde – Gusinde 1982: cover page

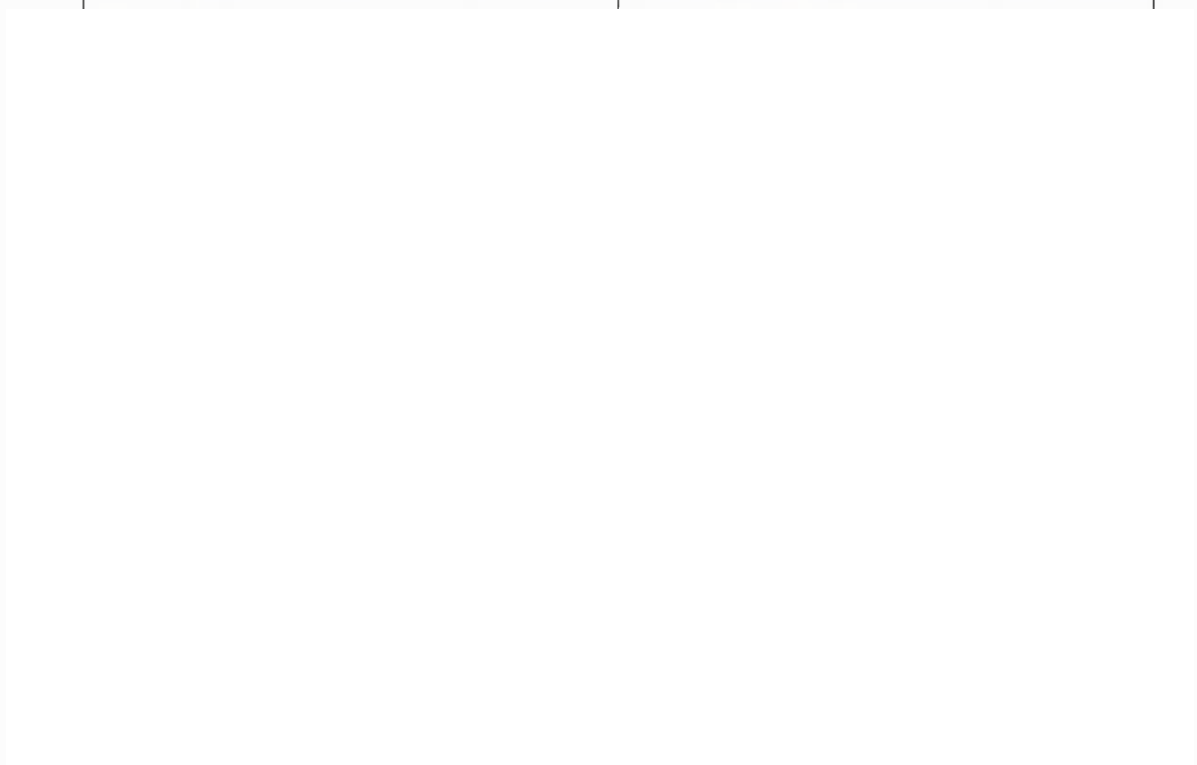
S008 Gusinde – Gusinde 1989: 581

Posing for the camera; unknown situation.

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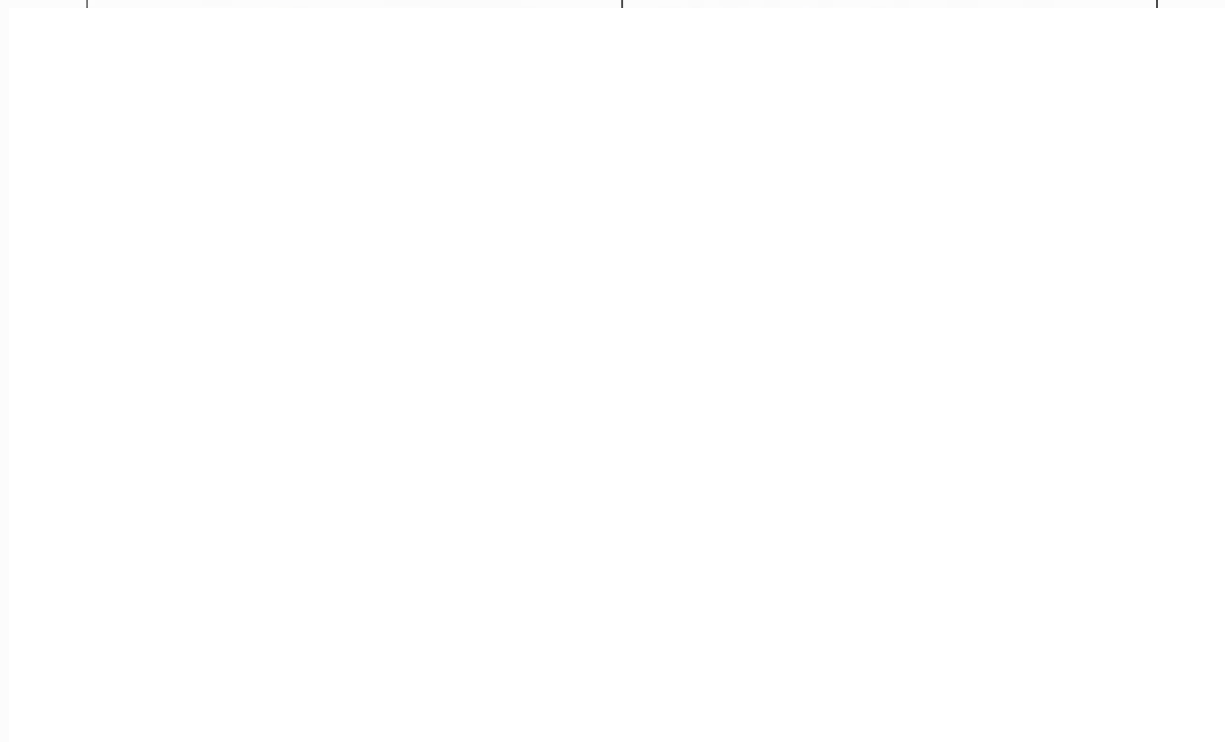
S034 Gusinde – Gusinde 1989: 601	S011 Gusinde – Gusinde 1989: 605
----------------------------------	----------------------------------



S012 Gusinde – Brüggemann 1989: 146	S014 Gusinde – Gusinde 1989: 607
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Posing for the camera; unknown situation.

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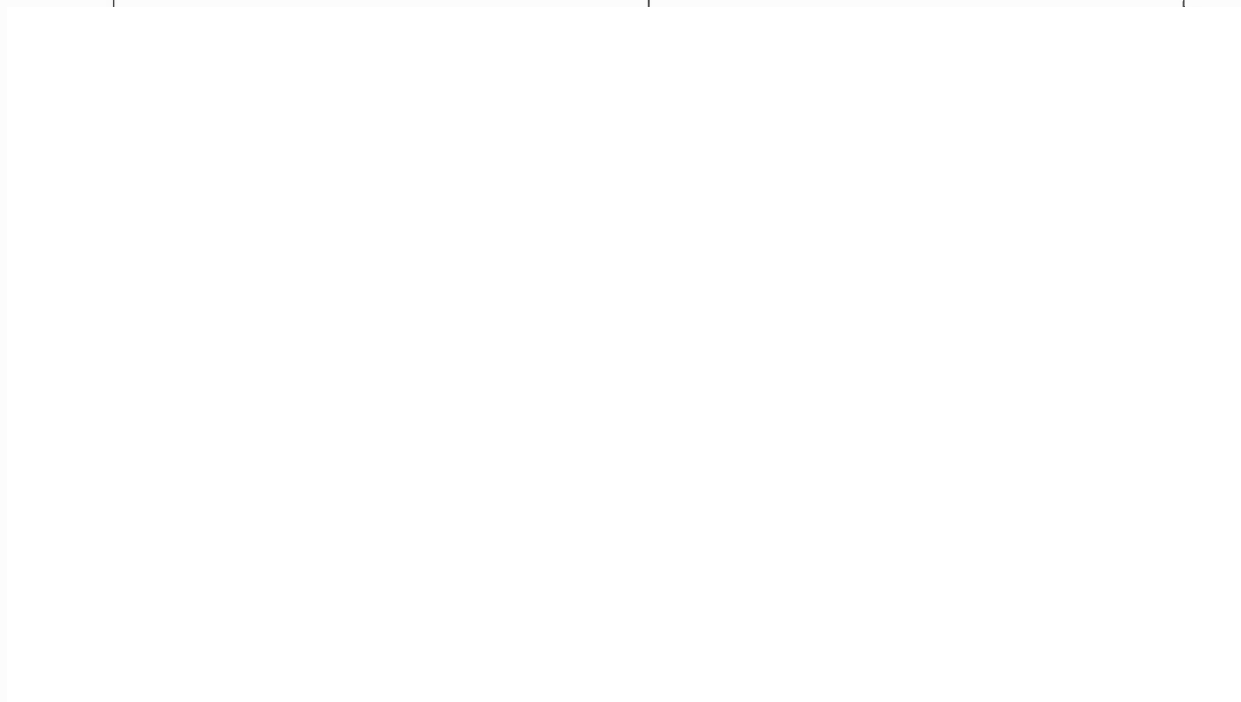
S121 Goodall - Bridges 1951: 483-485	S029 Gusinde – Gusinde 1989: 583



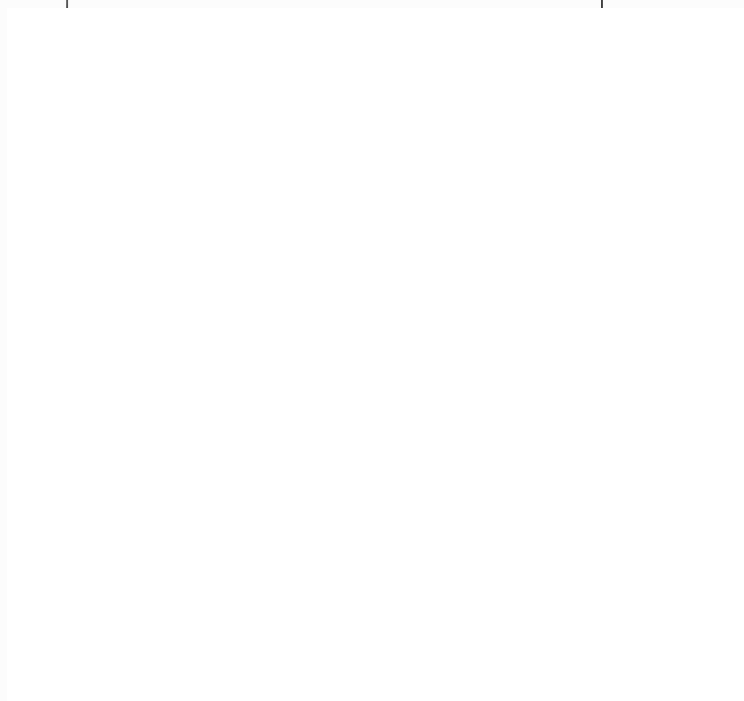
S030 Gusinde – Gusinde 1989: 585	S031 Gusinde – Gusinde 1989: 585
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Posing for the camera; unknown situation.

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S032 Gusinde – Gusinde 1989: 591	S033 Gusinde – Gusinde 1989: 599



S082 De Agostini??? - Canclini 1984: 159

Posing for the camera; unknown situation.

S083 De Agostini - Prieto and Cárdenas 1997
fig.164

S084 Gusinde – Gusinde 1951: 128 (opposite
page)

S085 De Agostini - De Agostini 1924: 269

S086 De Agostini - McEwan et al. (eds.) 1997:
frontispiece.

Posing for the camera; unknown situation.

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S089 Ojeda – Barclay 1926: 210-211

S090 Furlong?/Barclay? - McEwan et al. (eds)
1997: 121.

S092 Gallardo – Gallardo 1910: 101

S093 Gallardo – Gallardo 1910: 111

Posing for the camera; unknown situation.

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S094 Gallardo – Gallardo 1910:119

S095 Gallardo – Gallardo 1910: 126

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S096 Gallardo – Gallardo 1910: 129

S097 Gallardo – Gallardo 1910:144

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Posing for the camera: unknown situation

S098 Gallardo – Gallardo 1910:149

S099 Gallardo – Gallardo 1910:153

S122 Furlong - Bridges 1947

S100 Gallardo – Gallardo 1910:189

Posing for the camera; unknown situation.

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S103 Gallardo – Gallardo 1910: 218-219	S105 De Agostini - De Agostini 1924: 266

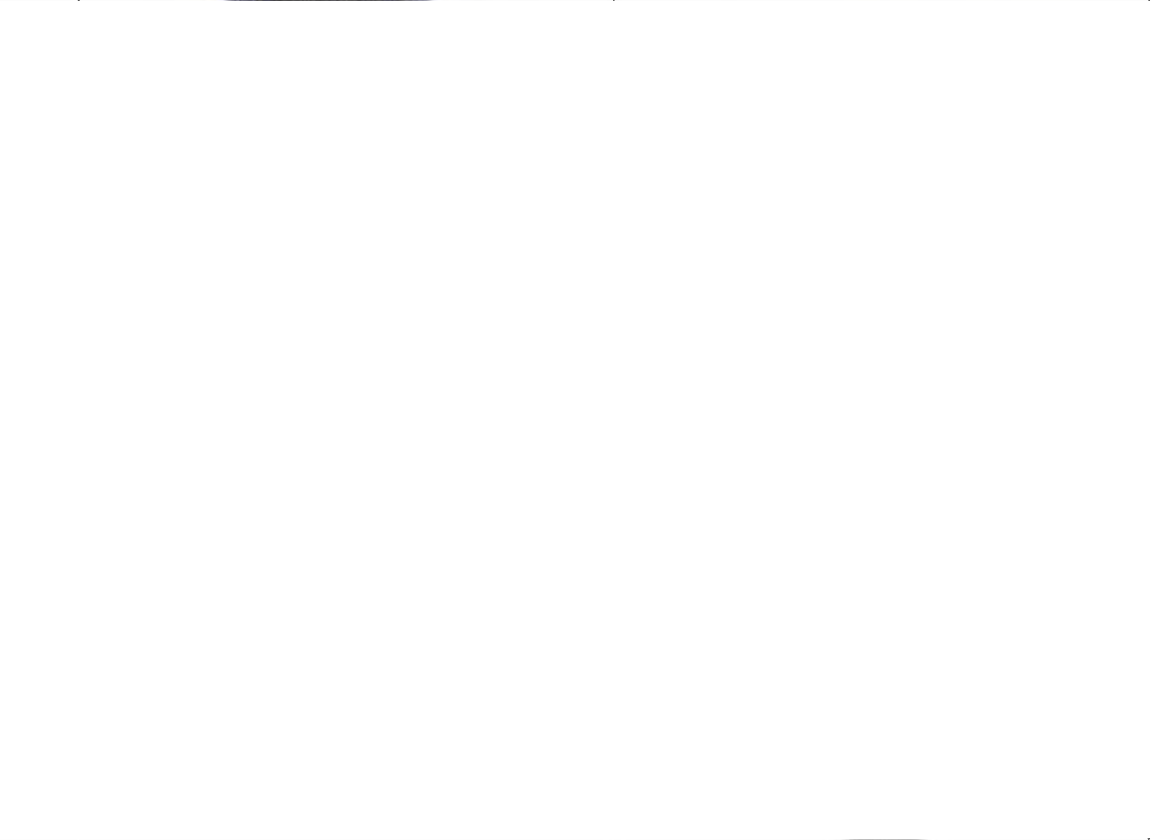
S106 De Agostini - De Agostini 1924: 276	S107 Gallardo – Gallardo 1910: 389
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Posing for the camera; unknown situation.

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S108 Gallardo – Gallardo 1910:241	S110 Gallardo – Gallardo 1910:311
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S111 Gallardo – Gallardo 1910:393	S113 Gallardo – Gallardo 1910:339
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Posing for the camera; unknown situation.

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S114 Gallardo – Gallardo 1910: 340	S115 Gallardo – Gallardo 1910:341

S117 De Agostini - De Agostini 1924: 255	S072 Gusinde – Brugemann 1989: 83
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Everyday life – hunting.

S005 De Agostini - De Agostini 1924: 268

S009 Gusinde – Brüggemann 1989: 121

S010 Gusinde – Gusinde 1989: 607

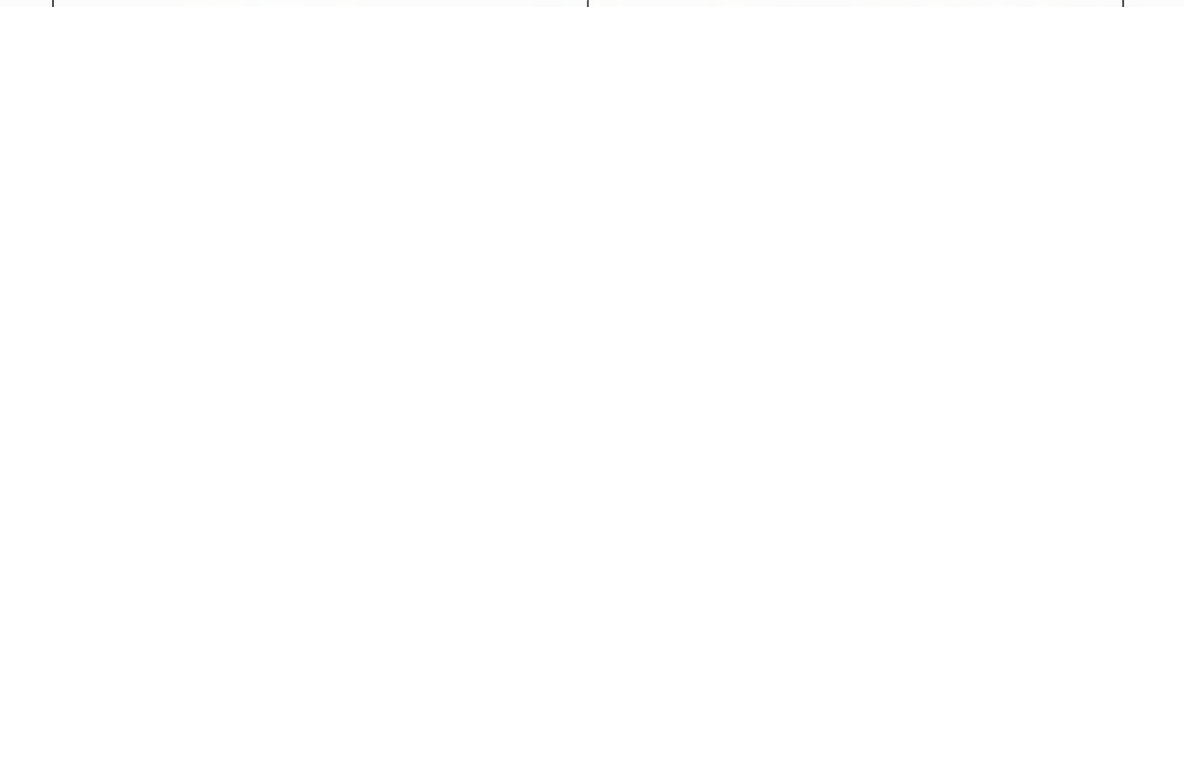
S035 Gusinde – Gusinde 1989: 607

Posing for the camera; unknown situation.

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S036 Gusinde – Gusinde 1989: 613	S037 Gusinde – Gusinde 1989: 613



S038 Gusinde – Gusinde 1989: 615	S088 Gusinde – Gusinde 1989: 617
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Posing for the camera; unknown situation.

S101 Furlong – Gallardo 1910: 195

S102 Gallardo – Gallardo 1910:199

S104 De Agostini - De Agostini 1924: 256

Special occasion – engagement.



S013 Gusinde – Gusinde 1989: 661

Special occasion – wedding



S007 Gusinde – Gusinde 1982: 310

S091 Gallardo – Gallardo 1910:354

Everyday – mood expression

Everyday – quotidian painting

S026 Bridges?- Bridges 1975: 354-355

S068 Gusinde – Gusinde 1989: 661

Everyday – ornamental painting

S081 Gusinde – Gusinde 1951: 49

Everyday – wrestlers, wrestling.

S070 Gusinde – Gusinde 1989: 663

S071 Gusinde – Gusinde 1989: 665

S127 Gusinde – Gusinde 1986 fig. 120

Everyday – working

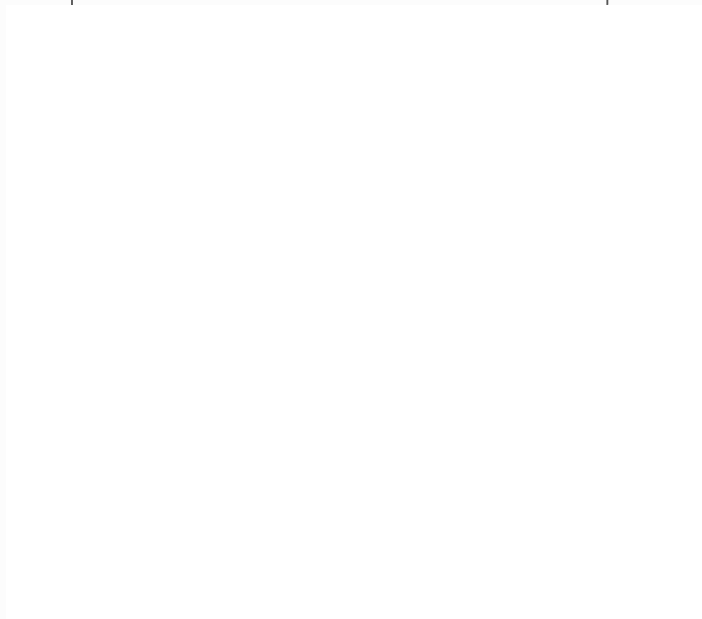
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S109 Gallardo – Gallardo 1910: 253	S116 Gallardo – Gallardo 1910:349
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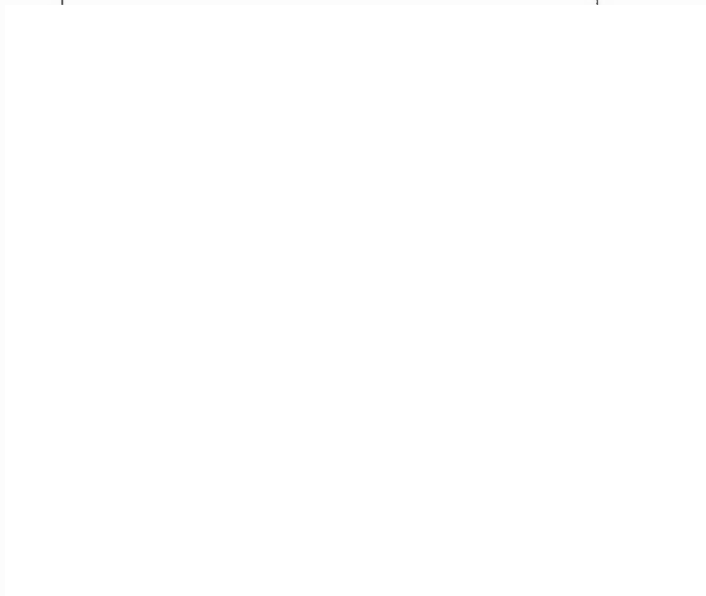
Painting tools

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S129 Faggiono - Dabbene 1911: 219

Painted?? Selk'nam?? or Alacaluf?? in map.



S130a McEwan et al. (eds.) 1997: 84

Yámana.

Posing for the camera, unknown situations.

Y089 De Agostini - De Agostini 1945: 148	Y013 Koppers - Koppers 1924 fig. XIXV
Y032 Hyades and Deniker 1891	Y033 Hyades and Deniker 1891

Posing for the camera, unknown situations.

Y034 Koppers – Koppers 1924: fig. Vb

Y036 Koppers – Koppers 1924 fig. VIIb

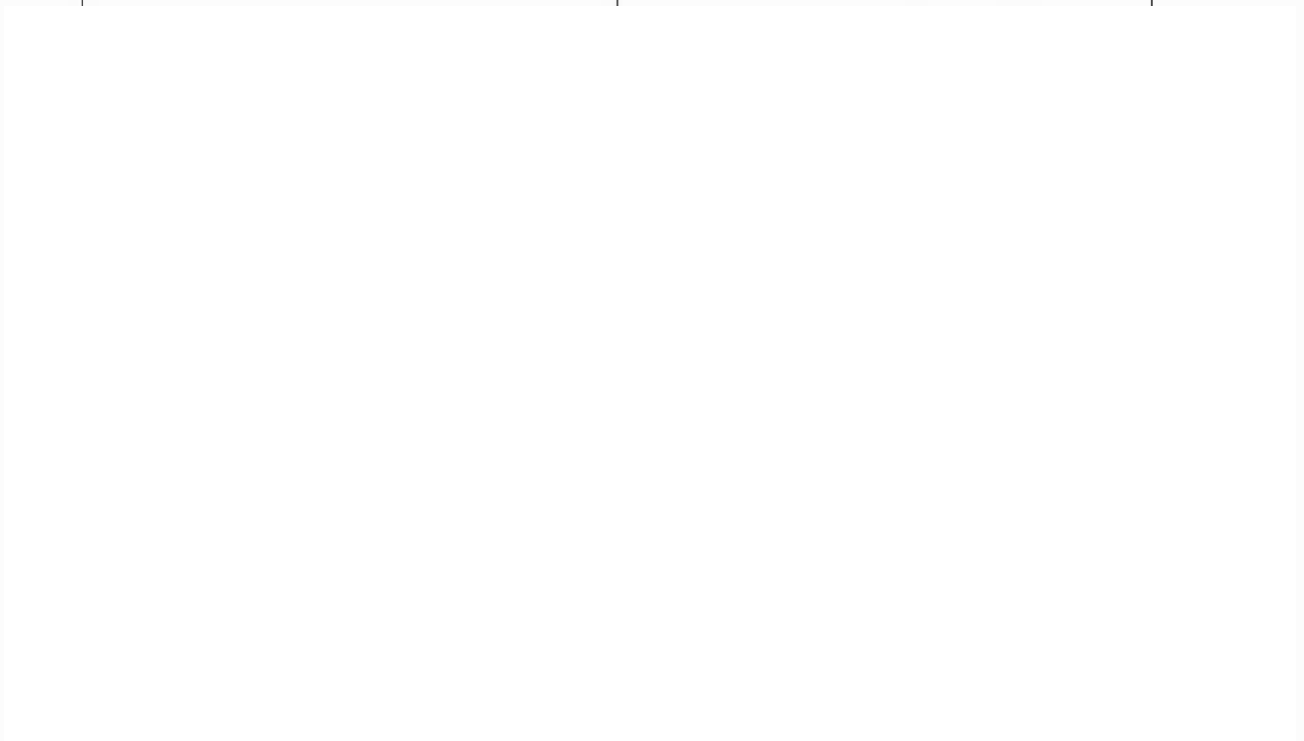
Y037 Koppers – Koppers 1924 fig. VIIIb

Posing for the camera, unknown situations.

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Y046 De Agostini - De Agostini 1934: 386	Y072 De Agostini – Borgatello 1929: 130



Y062 Hyades and Deniker ? - Chapman et al. 1995: 110	Y095 Walbeeck? 1808: 413
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Posing for the camera, unknown situations. Posing for the camera – shaman

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Y087 De Agostini - De Agostini 1934: 387

Y011 Gusinde – Gusinde 1937: fig. 24

Special occasion – wedding

Everyday life – ornamental

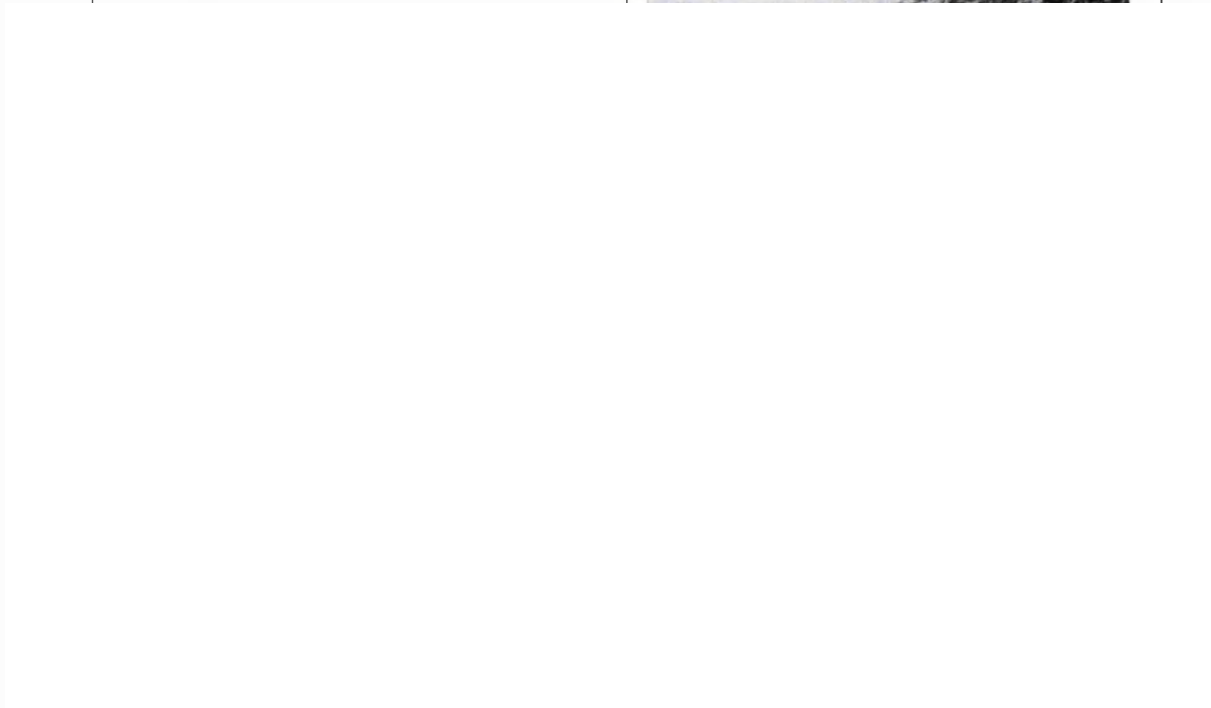
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Y005 Gusinde – Gusinde 1986: 634

Y015 Gusinde – Brüggemann 1989: 57

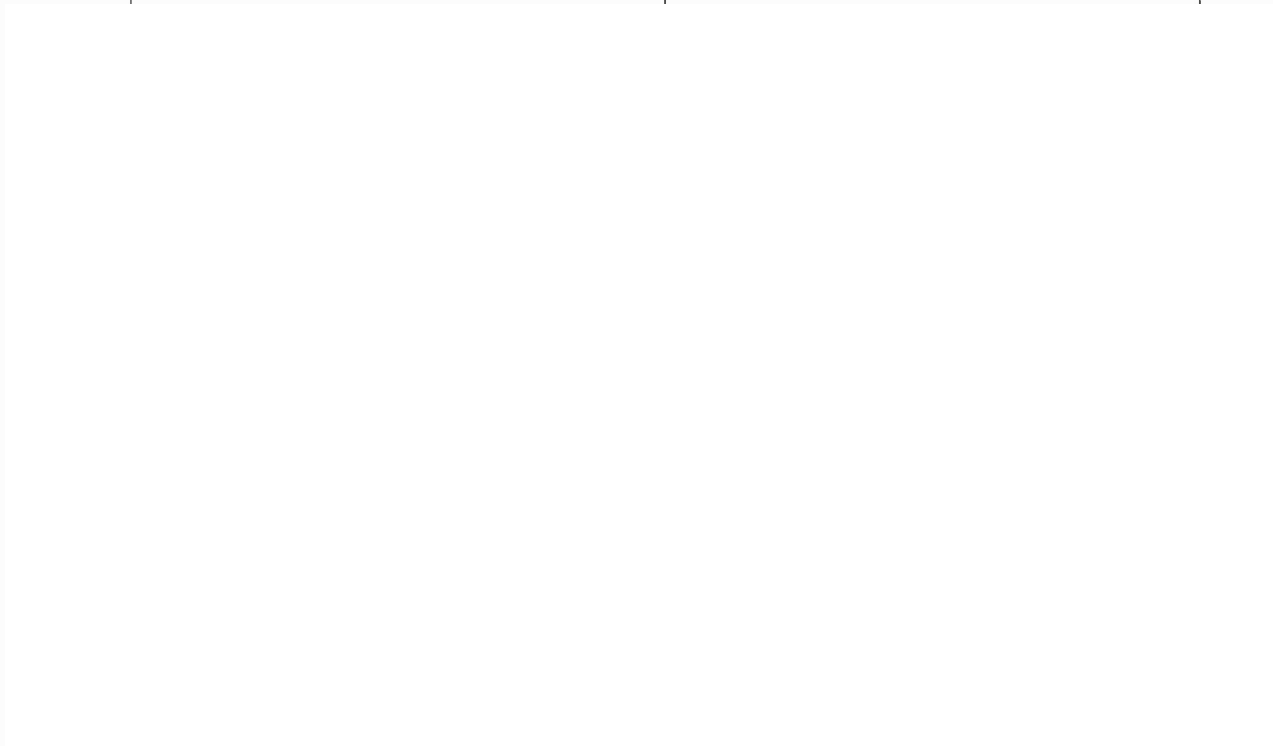
Everyday – working



Y066 De Agostini - De Agostini 1934: 384

Y065 De Agostini - De Agostini 1934: 383

Ceremonial objects, decorated, mourning rods.



Y093 Koppers 1924 fig. 22

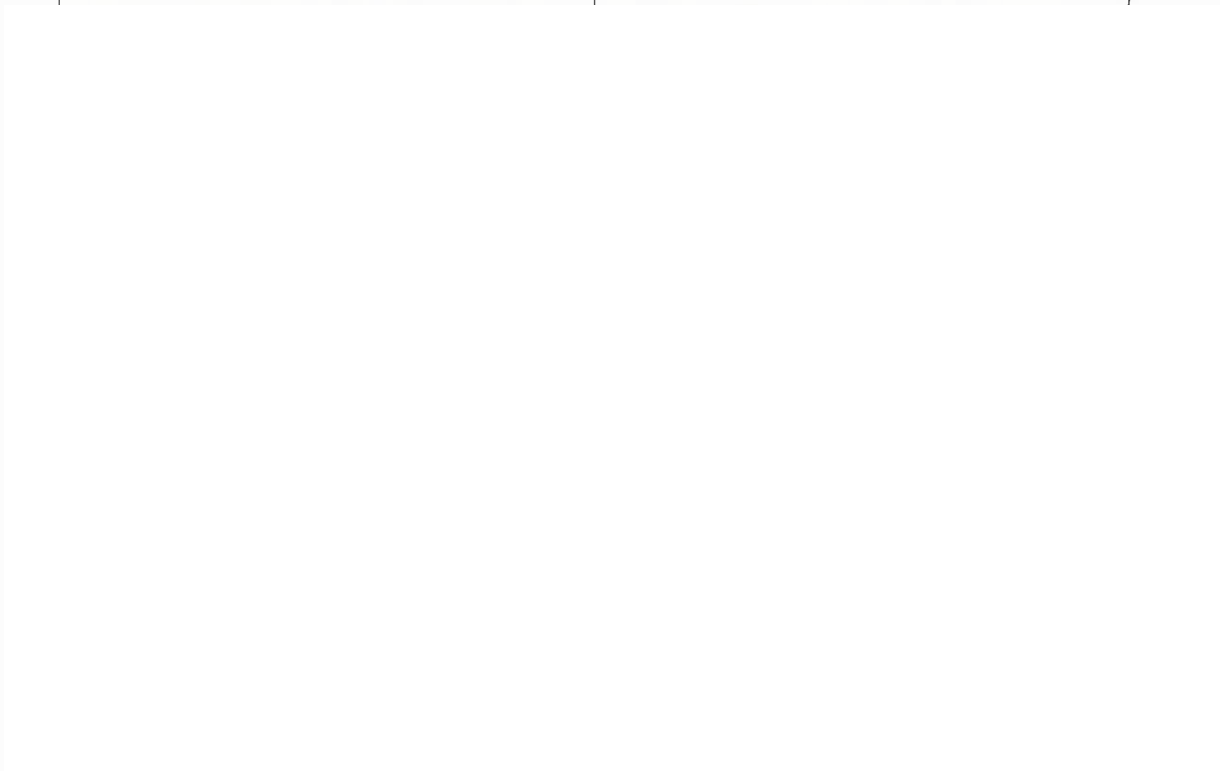
Y096 Lothrop – Lothrop 1928: 174

Initiation ceremony – kina.

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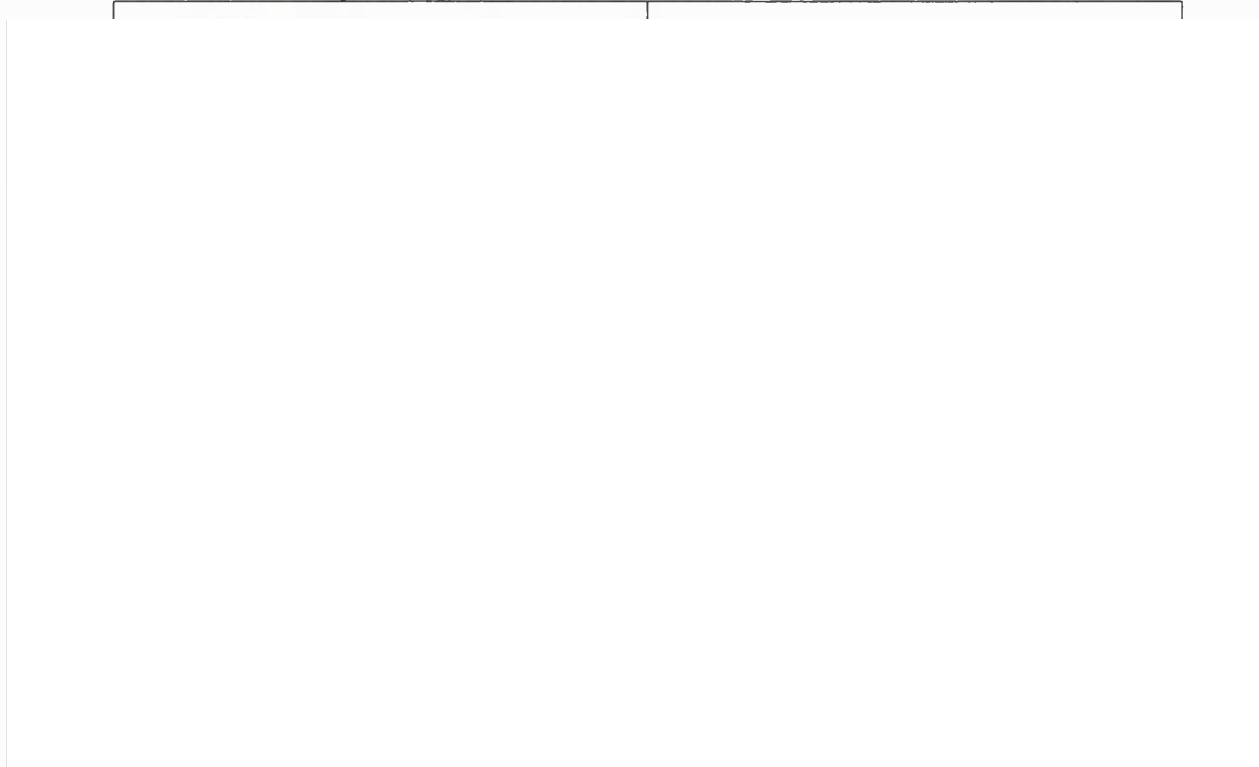


Y042 Koppers – Koppers 1924 fig. XVa	Y043 Koppers – Koppers 1924 fig. XVb
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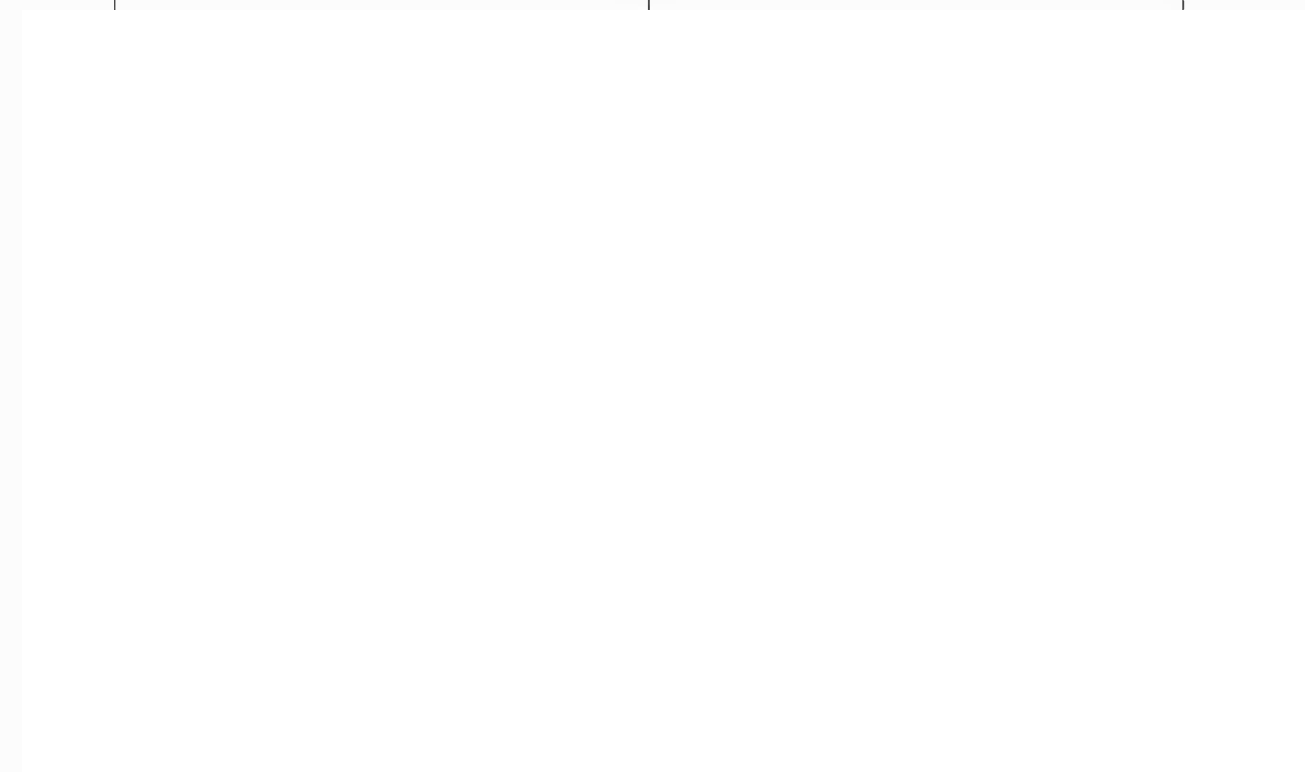
Y075 Gusinde – Gusinde 1931: appendix illust	Y076 Gusinde – Gusinde 1931: appendix illust
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Initiation ceremony – kina. -



Y077 Gusinde – Gusinde 1931: appendix
illust

Y017 Gusinde – Brüggemann 1989: 76



Y040 Koppers – Koppers 1924 fig. 26

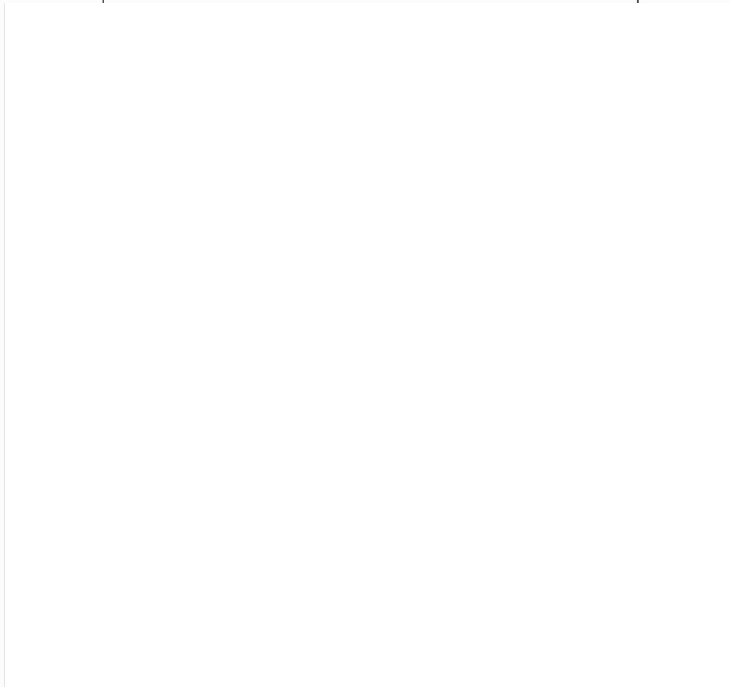
Y047 Gusinde – Brüggemann 1989: 37

Initiation ceremony – kina.

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Y078 Gusinde – Gusinde 1931 appendix illust	Y079 Gusinde – Gusinde 1931 appendix illust
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Y080 Gusinde – Gusinde 1931 appendix illust

Initiation ceremony – kina, masks.

Y004 Gusinde – Gusinde 1986 cover page

Y057 Gusinde - Olivares & Quiroz 1987-1988

Y059 Lothrop? – Lothrop 1928: 171

Y060 Lothrop? – Lothrop 1928: 170

Initiation ceremony – kina masks

Y069 unknown – Koppers 1924: 109

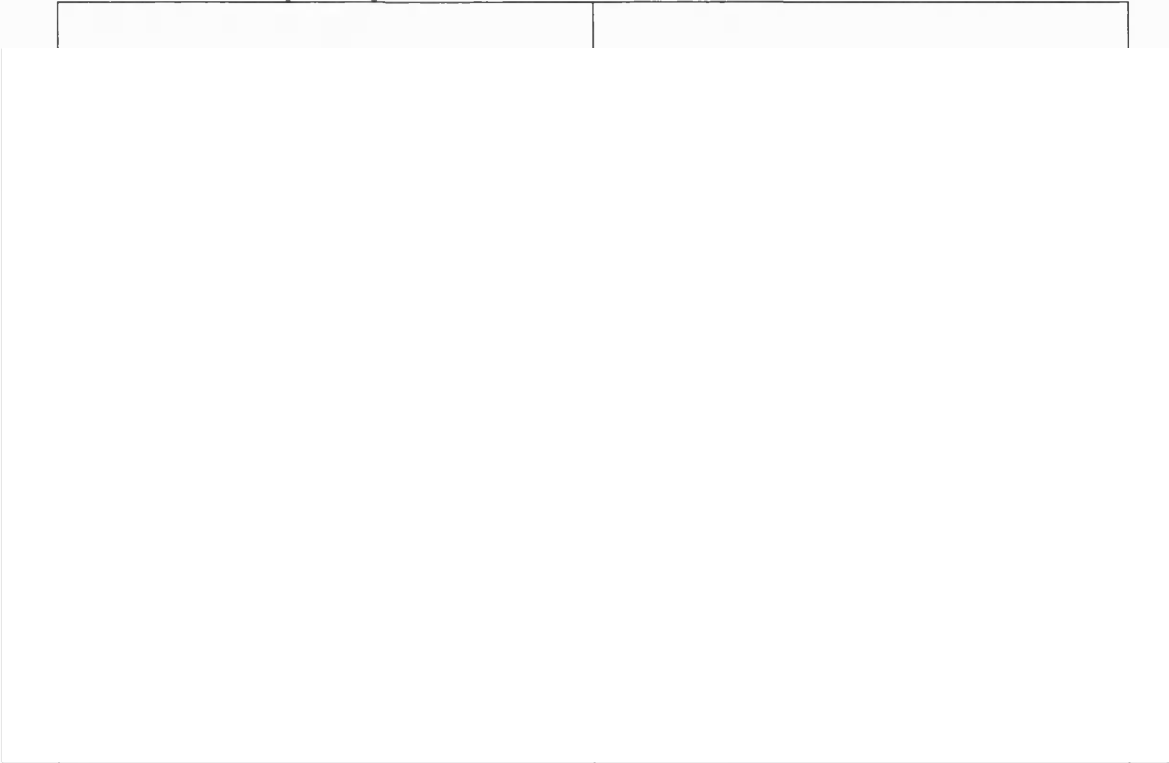
Y070 unknown – Koppers 1924: 117

Initiation ceremony - kina, ceremonial objects, wands and headbands.

Y091 Gusinde 1986: 1328

Y092 Koppers 1924: 123

Initiation ceremony - chiéjaus.



Y008 Gusinde – Gusinde 1986: 883	Y073 Gusinde – Gusinde 1937: appendix illustr



Y074 Gusinde – Gusinde 1937: appendix illust	Y025 Gusinde – Brüggemann 1989: 166
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Initiation ceremony – chiéjaus.

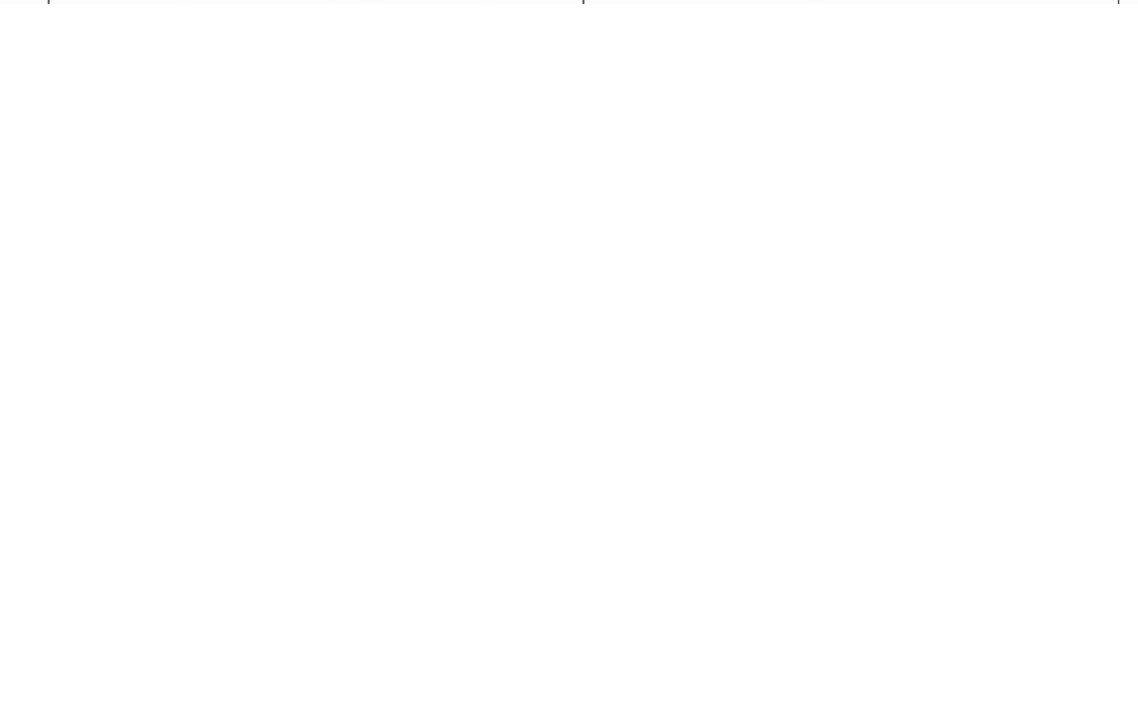
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Y026 Gusinde – Koppers 1924: 168, fig Xib

Y016 Gusinde – Brüggemann 1989: 67

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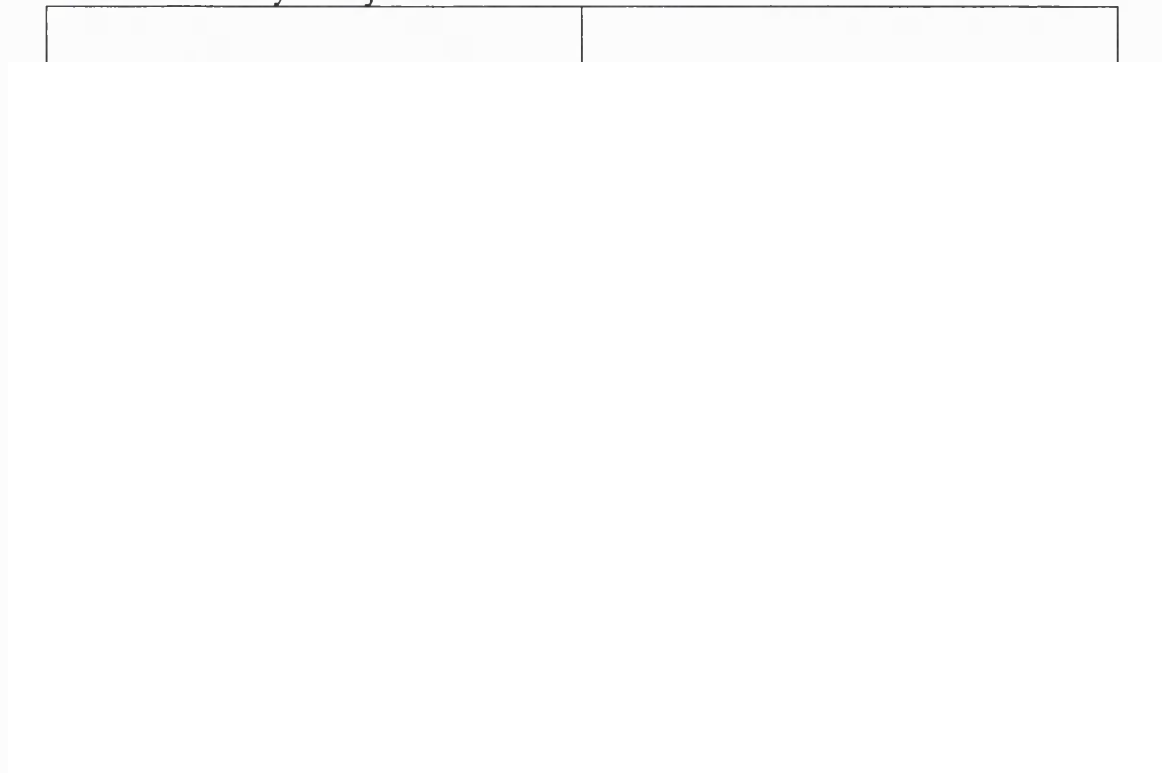


Y018 Gusinde – Gusinde 1937: appendix illus

Y019 Gusinde – Gusinde 1951: 93

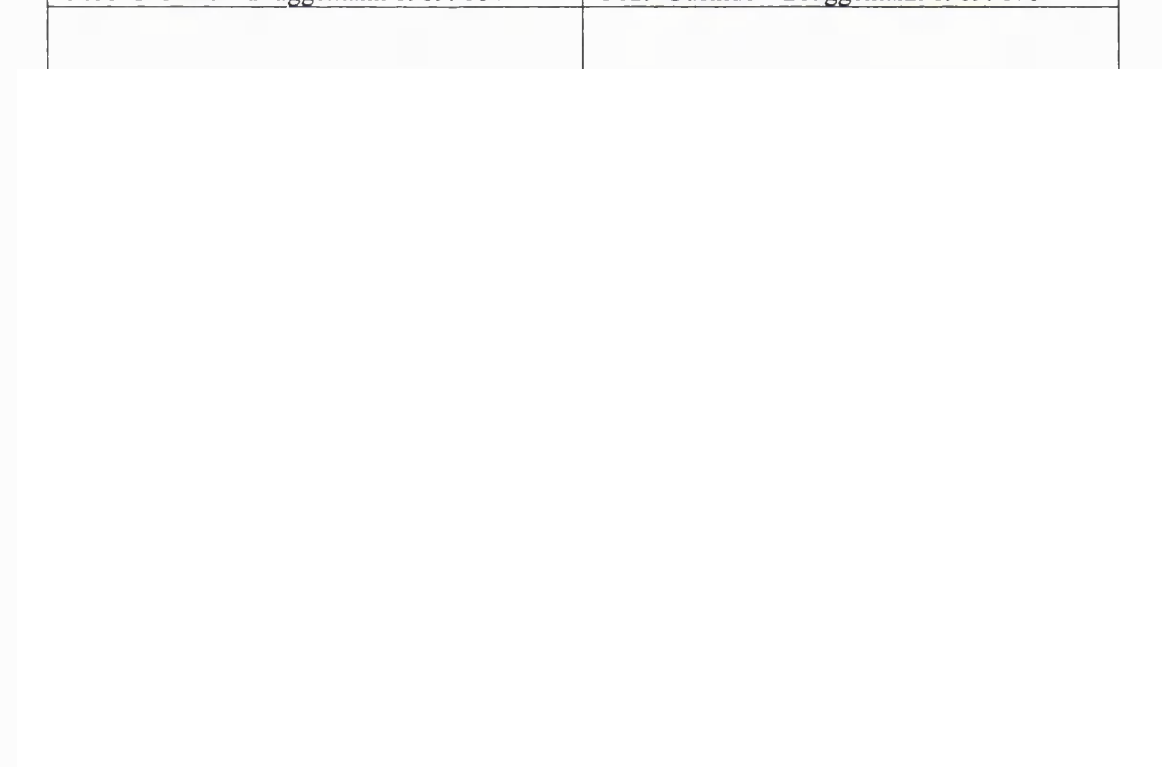
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Initiation ceremony – chiéjaus.



Y023 Gusinde – Brüggemann 1989: 164

Y029 Gusinde – Brüggemann 1989: 176

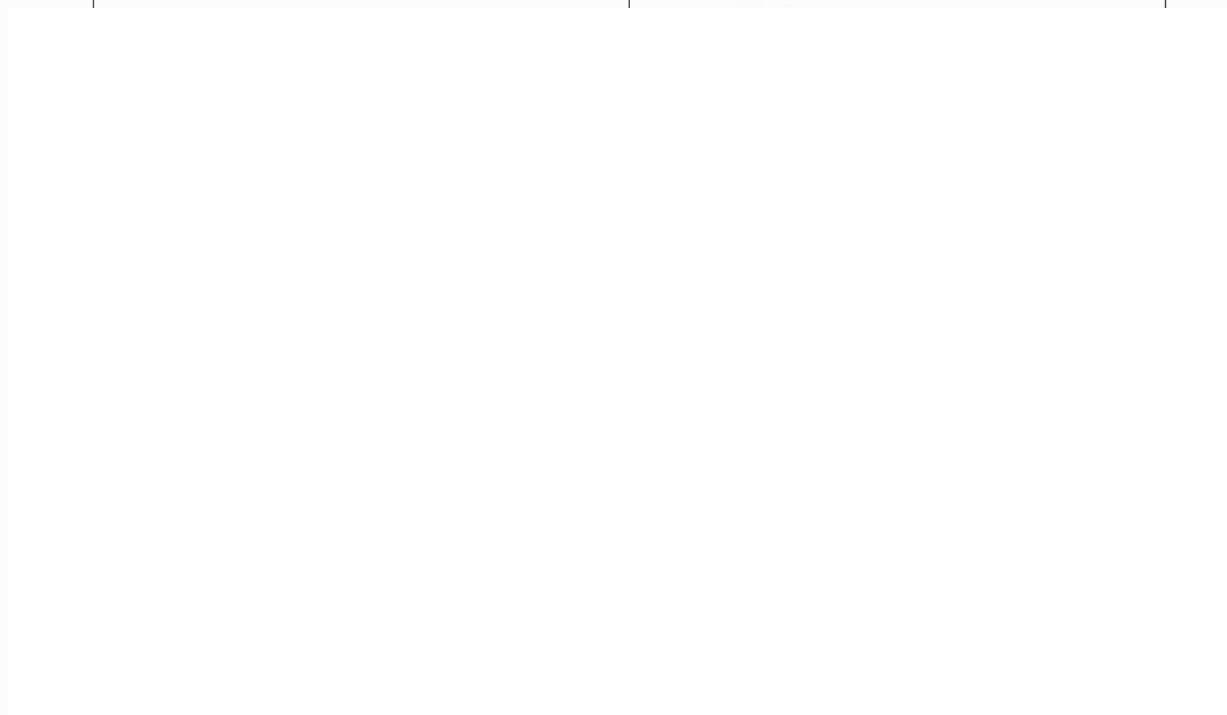


Y030 Koppers – Koppers 1924 fig. XIIIa

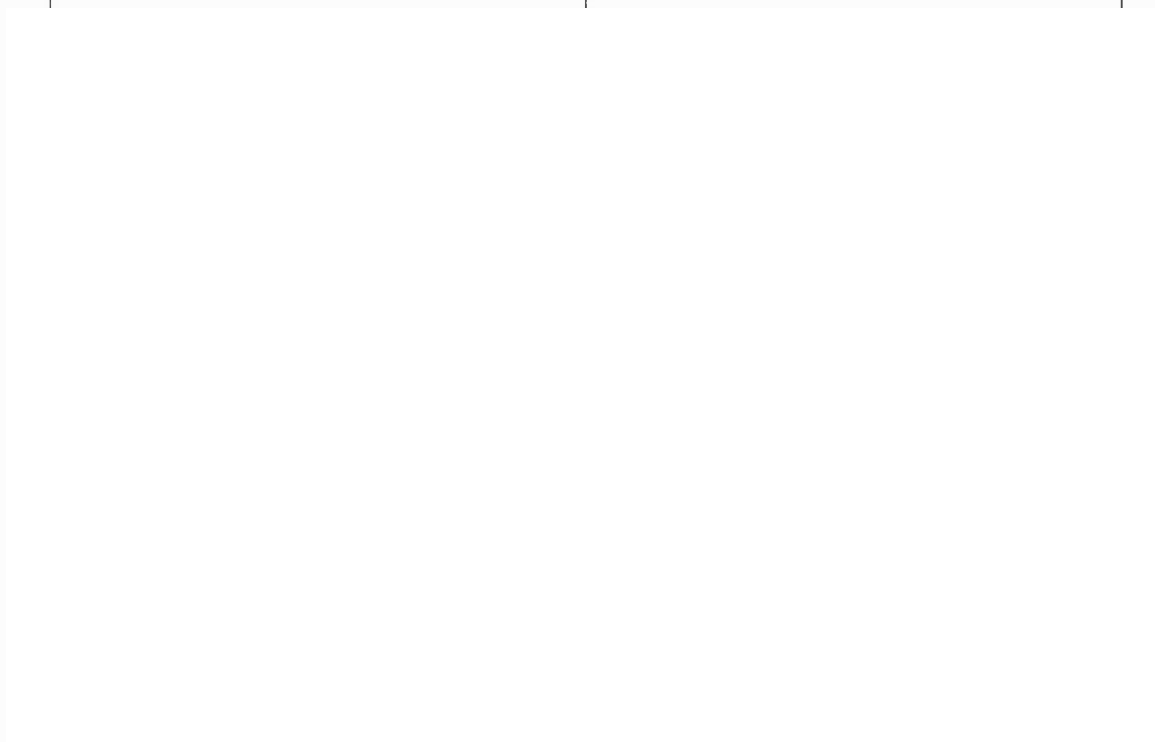
Y039 Koppers – Koppers 1924 fig. XIIa

Initiation ceremony – chiéjaus.

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Y007 Gusinde – Gusinde 1986: 828	Y027 Koppers – Koppers 1924: XIIb



Y049 Gusinde – Brüggemann 1989: 167	Y050 Gusinde – Brüggemann 1989: 169
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Initiation ceremony – chiéjaus.

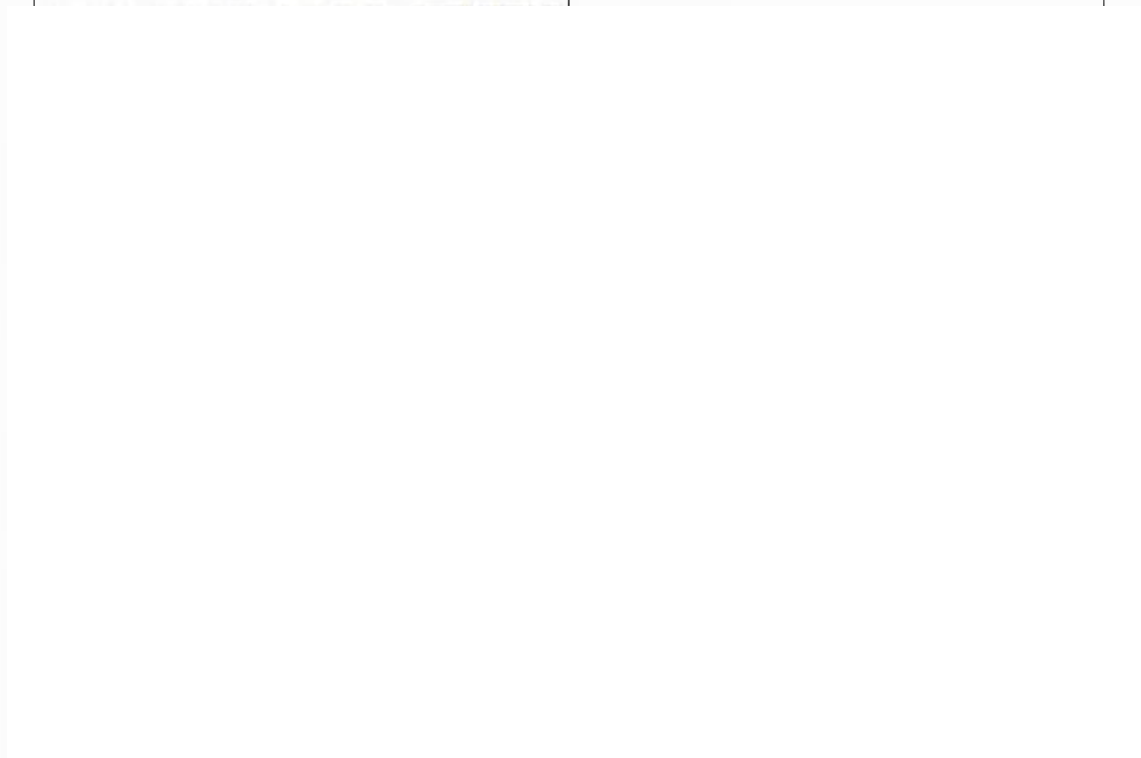
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Y051 Gusinde – Brüggemann 1989: 170

Y052 Gusinde – Brüggemann 1989: 173

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Y053 Gusinde – Brüggemann 1989: 177

Y028 Gusinde – Brüggemann 1989: 174

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Initiation ceremony – chiéjaus (?).

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Y061 Barclay - Morton Middleton 1900: 111
Furlong in McEwan et al 1997: 97

Y097 Lothrop - Lothrop 1928: 166

Initiation ceremony – chiéjaus painting process.

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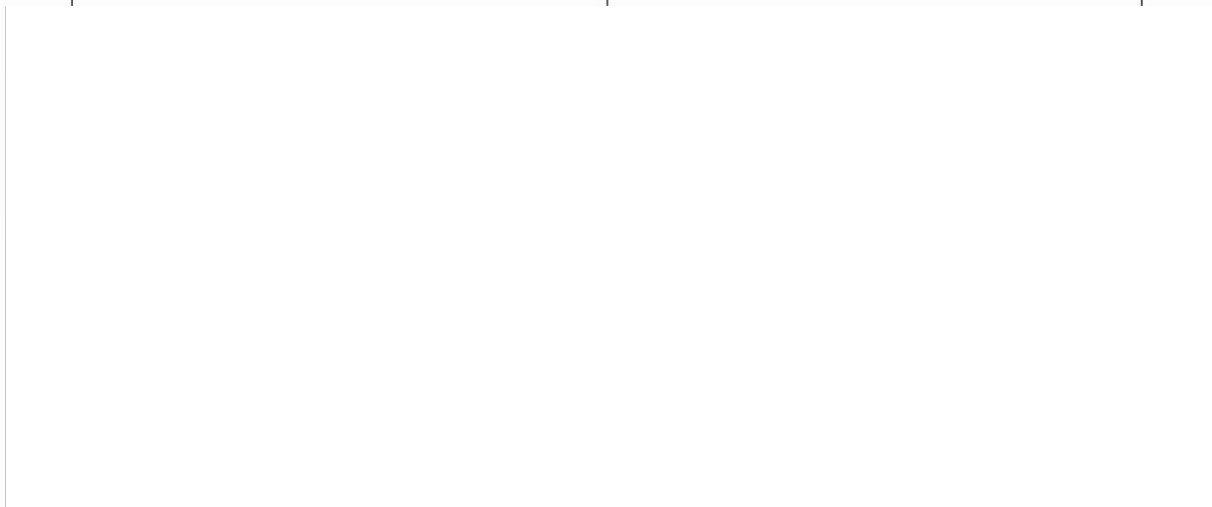


Y024 Gusinde – Gusinde 1937 app illus

Y098 Museo Chileno Arte Precolombino
1987: 86

Special occasion – mourning.

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Y009 Gusinde – Gusinde 1986: 891	Y010 Gusinde – Gusinde 1986: 1102



Y012 Gusinde – Gusinde 1937 app illus	Y020 Gusinde – Gusinde 1937 app illus
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Special occasion - mourning

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Y021 Gusinde – Gusinde 1937: fig. 38

Y022 Gusinde – Gusinde 1937 app illus

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Y056 Gusinde – Gusinde 1951: 240

Y035 Koppers – Koppers 1924 fig. VIa

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Special occasion - mourning

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Y038 Koppers – Koppers 1924 fig. IXa

Y041 Koppers – Koppers 1924 fig. XVIb

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Y081 Gusinde – Gusinde 1931 appendix illust

Y082 Gusinde – Gusinde 1931 appendix illust

Special occasion - mourning

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Y083 Gusinde – Gusinde 1931 appendix illust

Y048 Gusinde – Brüggemann 1989: 64

Y054 Furlong – Furlong 1917: 173

Y055 Furlong – Stambuk 1986: 103

Special occasion - mourning

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Y063 Hyades and Deniker - Chapman et al.
1995: 83

Y064 Gusinde – Gusinde 1937: appendix illus

Y084 Gusinde – Gusinde 1931: appendix illust

Everyday life – ‘war’? mourning?

Unknown situation - posing for the camera

Y088 Mission Scientifique (copy in AIA)

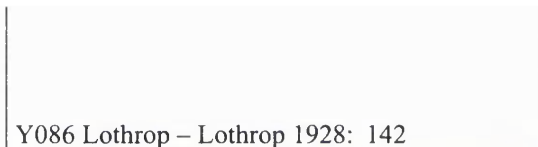
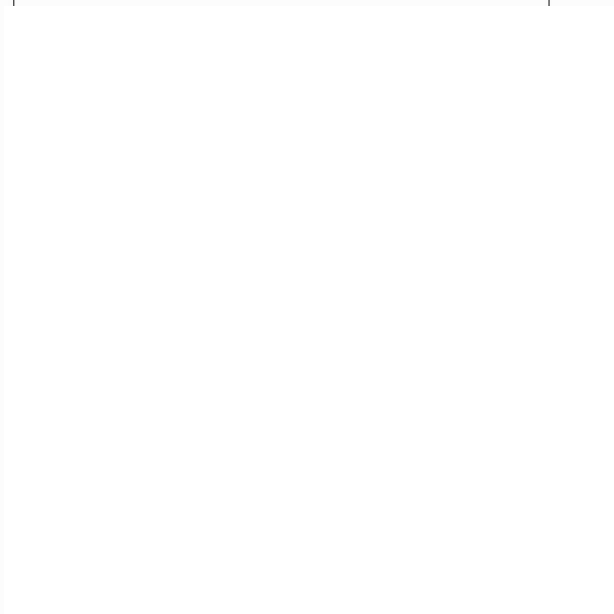
Y031 Mission Scientifique
in Chapman et al. 1985

Painting tools.

Y090 Koppers – Koppers 1924 fig. 25

Y085 Gusinde – Gusinde 1986: 414

Painting tools



Y086 Lothrop – Lothrop 1928: 142

Everyday – game.



Y067 Koppers – Koppers 1924: 128-129

Special occasion – first menstruation. Loimayekamush – shaman.

Y006 Gusinde – Gusinde 1986: 725

Y044 Koppers – Koppers 1924 XIIIa

Posing for the camera - painting process.

Y045 De Agostini - De Agostini 1945: 67

Initiation ceremony - chiéjaus decorated and non-decorated ceremonial objects (wands, tablets and head bands) and decorative patterns of hut frames

Y003 Gusinde – Gusinde 1986: cover page

Y014 Gusinde – Gusinde 1986: 1103

Initiation ceremony - chiéjaus decorated and non-decorated ceremonial objects (wands, tablets and head bands) and decorative patterns of hut frames.

Y071 unknown – Koppers 1924: 55

Y094 unknown – Gusinde 1986: 1327

Appendix D. Excerpt from Cooper (1917) about the nature and dynamics of the Selk'nam and Yamana initiation ceremonies.

The text published by Cooper (1917: 156) indicates that many of the ideas about the similarities between the Yámana kina and the Selk'nam hain, and about the former borrowing from the latter, are previous to the observations and publications made by Gusinde (1922, 1951, 1982, 1986).

“The initiation customs observed at present among the Onas and formerly among the Yahgans are very similar. In the earlier days, the tradition runs in both tribes, the men were under petticoat government; but they rebelled, adopted the initiation rites from the women, and created the masked spirits, all in order to keep the women in subjection. The adolescent boy is taken from his mother and obliged to fast and to undergo other physical and psychical tests. Endurance and stoicism, generosity, honesty, veracity, bravery, the duty of blood-revenge, observance of the marriage laws against incest and adultery, and other tribal virtues are solemnly inculcated. The grown men paint and dress up in masks to represent spirits, and proceed to terrorise the women and children and to test the courage of the boy candidate. Finally the boy, if found worthy, is told the truth about the supposed spirits and the purpose of the masquerading, namely, to keep the women in subjection, and he is threatened with dire punishment if he should ever reveal the secrets to the women or children.

Except for several minor details –the Ona masks, for instance, are of hide; the Yahgan of bark¹– the initiation rites in the two tribes are so similar (1) that there is a good probability of borrowing, as regards some at least of the elements. A detail in the Yahgan's tradition to the effect that they inaugurated the rites after the incursion of the Onas into the Beagle Channel district (Martial, 214) would perhaps suggest that the Yahgans rather than the Onas have been the borrowers; but the point is doubtful.”

Footnote (1) “Even the name of the large wigwam used for the rites, called *kina* by the Yahgan, and *haain* (Cojazzi, 35), *hin* (Furlong, d, 224), *jaind* (Gallardo, 331-332), *hine* (Furlong, k) [by the Selk'nam].”

¹ The data found in Lothrop (1928) and Gusinde (1986) show that this is not correct, since Yámana masks were also made of both materials.

Appendix E. The values of body painting from a non-aboriginal perspective: from inappropriate dirt to desirable exoticism.

As shown in chapter 3, the values given by Western observers to body painting have changed according to their different perspectives and intentions. The information about the development of such values in relation to the Selk'nam and Yámana body paintings is very disproportionate, being very scarce in the former and quite abundant in the latter case. The following sections present and analyse the quotations of texts which show explicitly or implicitly their authors values towards body painting.

E.1. The Yámana.

The first written record about the Yámana body painting is a good example of the remarks about the aborigines skin colour and lack of clothing, and their association to body painting. Walbeeck (1634 in Gusinde 1986: 51) stated that

“The inhabitants of these lands [no mention of geographical place] are as white as the Europeans, as we had the occasion to see in a child. Nevertheless they rub their bodies with red colour and paint themselves with different colours and diverse ways. Some have their face, arms, hands, thighs and other limbs painted with red colour, and the rest of the body painted in white, but all splashed of dots of other colours. Others are reddish or completely red on one side and completely white on the other; in a word, each one is painted at their own will/taste. They are strong and well proportioned and are almost of the same size than the Europeans. ... The men go completely naked, the women, instead, cover their natural parts with a piece of hide. They [the women] are painted the same as the men and around the neck wear necklaces made of sea shells and snails. ... These people paint themselves completely in black, the same as the one that lives in Schapenham bay. Instead, the inhabitants of Windhond bay paint themselves almost totally in red.” (Walbeeck in Gusinde 1986: 51-52).

The following quotation that refers to this Yámana practice dates from more than a century later. In this case, the author not only noted the nakedness of the aborigines, but made deep inferences about it and its relation to human ornamentation. Forster described the aborigines (In York Minster peninsula, Waterman island) as wearing no clothing other than a small piece of old seal-skin, hanging from their shoulders, fastened round the neck with a string.

“The rest of their body was perfectly naked, not the least regard being paid to what Europeans would term decency. Their natural colour appeared to be an olive-brown, with a kind of gloss, which has really some resemblance to that of copper; but many of them had disguised themselves with streaks of red paint, and sometimes, though seldom, with white; from whence it should seem evident, that the ideas of ornament are of a more

ancient date with mankind, than those of the shame and modesty.” (Forster 1777: 499-500).

This reflection of Forster is particularly interesting, since besides describing the ornaments he is attempting to date their existence within humankind history, and gives them an older date than the sense of modesty because he relates them with the lack of clothing. These ideas suggest an early and implicit evolutionist fashion of thought which seems to have guided the construction of such an inference, and by which the aborigines were considered as frozen-in-time analogues of European humans in their past, ‘savage’ state¹.

The importance of giving what he considered to be a scientific account of what he saw is clearly stated in Foster’s text: “The destruction of vulgar prejudices is of so much service to science, and to mankind in general, that it cannot fail of giving pleasure, to every one sensible of its benefits.” (Forster 1777: 485-486). This of course did not exclude him from bearing the biases of his time, as this quotation about the Yámana clearly shows: “The whole assemblage of their features formed the most loathsome picture of misery and wretchedness to which human nature can possibly be reduced.” (ibid.: 499).

Various texts show a two-fold perspective of the author, combining a biased approach to the aborigines’ deeply different customs and appearance, with relativist attempts to place and understand their attitudes in their own context –though this is always considered as lower to the European. Weddell for example wrote that

“That morning the Fuegians came to the side of the ship with different body paintings, since the women had changed the colours of their faces from red to dark black, the men were decorated with white and red horizontal bands that crossed their faces. Their appearance can be considered as very grotesque as it can well be imagined, even though in their opinion it was, no doubt, considered the ultimate/perfect fashion.” (1825: 152-153).

The attempt to describe the observations in a systematic, scientific² manner grew

¹ Forster is also the author of the idea that the Yámana were “the miserable out-casts of some neighbouring tribe, which enjoys a more comfortable life; and that being reduced to live in this dreary inhospitable part of Tierra del Fuego, they have gradually lost every idea, but those which their most urgent wants give rise to.” (ibid.: 504-505). This idea, which has been maintained until the 20th century, was implicitly underlying in many of the texts written about this society, and remained unquestioned until challenged, mainly by archaeology in the 1970’s (Orquera and Piana 2000; Legoupil 1980). One of the reasons that led Forster (and afterwards many other authors) to consider the Yámana as such outcasts is the comparison of these aborigines with their Haush neighbours from Good Success bay, which generated a sticking contrast between the well built and strong appearance of the Haush (and the Selk’nam) and the small and apparently weak canoe people, who were considered by Forster to be living in very inferior conditions than the terrestrial nomads.

² The term scientific is used here to mark the systematic description of observations, mainly using terms, notions and techniques from the natural sciences.

consistently with time, and can be certainly noted in the texts by FitzRoy and Darwin. Besides some observations of specific circumstances involving aborigines wearing body painting, FitzRoy wrote a paragraph summarising much of the information he gathered about this custom:

“Red is the favourite colour, denoting peace, or friendly intentions, and much admired as ornamental. Red paint, made with ochre, is profusely used. Their white [footnote] paint is added to the red when preparing for war; but the marks made are mere daubs, of the rudest, if of any design. Black is the mourning colour. After the death of a friend, or near relation, they blacken themselves with charcoal, and oil or grease. Any sort of clay is used, if their paint is scarce, to preserve warmth rather than as an improvement to their appearance.” (FitzRoy 1839: 177). The footnote adds the following information in relation to the white pigment: “Aluminous earth, indurated pipe clay, or decomposed feldspar.” (ibid.).

This is the first text in which both the meanings and purposes of use of colours, and the raw materials used in preparing them are mentioned. This is particularly interesting when noting that this text was written by the captain of the mission, and not by the naturalist on board – Charles Darwin (see below)–, of whom it might be more expectable to treat the information in a scientific fashion.

Darwin’s text clearly shows both the strongly biased perspective from which he made his observations, and his interest in reporting information in a scientific manner. The description of the first encounter of the Beagle with some Yámana natives is an example of the former:

“While going one day on shore near Wollaston Island, we pulled alongside a canoe with six Fuegians. These were the most abject and miserable creatures I anywhere beheld. On the east coast the natives, as we have seen, have guanaco cloaks, and on the west, they possess seal-skins. Amongst these central tribes the men generally have an otter-skin, or some small scrap about as large as a pocket-handkerchief, which is barely sufficient to cover their backs as low down as their loins. ... But these Fuegians in the canoe were quite naked, and even one full-grown woman was absolutely so. ... These poor wretches were stunted in their growth, their hideous faces bedaubed with white paint, their skins filthy and greasy, their hair entangled, their voices discordant, and their gestures violent [and without dignity – in the 1839 version]. Viewing such men, one can hardly make oneself believe that they are fellow-creatures, and inhabitants of the same world.” (Darwin 1845: pp. 224-225, December 25th. 1832).³

The tremendous shock that the sight of these Fuegians made on Darwin is clear enough in

³ Oddly enough, the information contained in this whole paragraph does not appear in the original (manuscript) version of the diary, published by Darwin’s granddaughter (mentioned in chapter 2, Barlow ed. 1934). This is quite odd, given that such an encounter seems to have dismayed Darwin so deeply. It is then possible that he added the paragraph in his published version of his diary, writing it after recollections he had about this encounter. (Note that the incident is not said to have happened on December 25th. According to his original diary “being Christmas day, all duty is suspended”, and Darwin spend it with other members of the crew exploring Hermit island (Barlow ed. 1934: 124). The paragraph is instead introduced by the phrase “While going on shore one day...” hence not giving the precise day in which the encounter occurred.)

this paragraph. At this point, body painting is merely one more detail within the array of negative features that characterise the appearance of the aborigines. Again, the contrast with the Selk'nam-Haush of eastern Tierra del Fuego increased the bad image of the Yámana (Darwin mentions people from the west who wear seal-skins, these may well have been some Alacalufes, or other Yámana).

The presence in the ship of the three Fuegians (York Minster, Fuegia Basket and Jemmy Button) that were being returned to Tierra del Fuego after staying in Great Britain for about one year (see chapter 2 and appendix B) does not seem to have prepared Darwin for the sight of the aborigines in a “non-transformed” state. In fact, he expresses his surprise about the fact that Jemmy was indeed a Yámana (York and Fuegia are Alacalufes), showing again a very negative opinion about them: “It seems yet wonderful to me, when I think over all his many good qualities, that he should have been of the same race, and doubtless partaken of the same character, with the miserable, degraded savages whom we first met here.” (ibid.: 219).

Darwin's mixed prejudiced and scientific attempt to account for body painting appears quite clearly in another paragraph, in which he refers to a group of Yámana people “with their naked bodies all bedaubed with black, white [footnote], and red, they looked like so many demoniacs [sic] who had been fighting.” (ibid.: 230, January 22nd. 1833.)⁴. The text in the footnote refers to the white paint, and quotes the microscopic analysis of a German scientist who studied the composition of the substance sample (see quotation in chapter 4 and appendix L). This footnote only appears in the 1845 version, and not in the 1839 one, possibly because this pigment analysis was not ready before.

The scientific intention of this portion of the paint materials description is very clear in the text, and the microscopic analysis carried out by the expert is even addressed with the word ‘beautiful’, enhancing its importance with an affective term. But the scientific approach given to the painting materials description was not given to the designs descriptions, which lack detail as regards their visual elements, are generally regarded as ‘demoniac’ and only comment on the colours used. This is obviously not just Darwin's “fault”, as many other observers have incurred in the same type of general description, but does indeed mark a contrast with the careful detail in which the paint composition is treated.

⁴ The phrase in the original (manuscript) version of the diary is practically the same, only altering the order of the colours, and changing the word ‘bedaubed’ for ‘painted’ (Barlow ed. 1934: 131).

When the three Fuegians were left in Tierra del Fuego, Darwin wrote that

“It was quite melancholy leaving the three Fuegians with their savage countrymen; but it was a great comfort that they had no personal fears. York, being a powerful resolute man, was pretty sure to get on well, together with his wife Fuegia. Poor Jemmy looked rather disconsolate, and would then, I have little doubt, have been glad to have returned with us. ... Our three Fuegians, though they had been only three years with civilised men, would, I am sure, have been glad to have retained their new habits; but this was obviously impossible. I fear it is more than doubtful whether their visit will have been of any use to them” (ibid.: 239).

Darwin’s ethnocentric view of the possible desires of the Fuegian to retain their recently acquired cultural customs is mixed with a more practical and indeed predictive view (see below), about the possibility that the experience would not have been useful for the aborigines. But he had the chance to see for himself how deep the changes undergone by the Fuegians had been. The “Beagle” returned to the islands a year later (1834), for about a week⁵. This return had a most interesting outcome, which is the re-encounter of the English men with Jemmy Button. Darwin describes it in a fascinating way, particularly because of his own reflections about it:

“On the 5th. of March we anchored in the cove at Woollya, but we saw not a soul there. ... Soon a canoe, with a little flag flying, was seen approaching, with one of the men in it washing the paint off his face. This man was poor Jemmy, - now a thin haggard savage, with long disordered hair, and naked, except a bit of a blanket round his waist. We did not recognise him till he was close to us; for he was ashamed of himself, and turned his back to the ship. We had left him plump, fat, clean, and well dressed; - I never saw so complete grievous a change. As soon however as he was clothed, and the first flurry was over, things wore a good appearance. He dined with Captain Fitz Roy, and ate his dinner as tidily as formerly. He told us he had ‘too much’ (meaning enough) to eat, that he was not cold, that his relations were very good people, and that he did not wish to go back to England: in the evening we found out the cause of this great change in Jemmy’s feelings, in the arrival of his young and nice-looking wife. ... He said he had built a canoe for himself, and he boasted that he could talk a little of his own language! But it is a most singular fact, that he appears to have taught all his tribe some English: an old man spontaneously announced ‘Jemmy Button’s wife’. ... He returned loaded with valuable property. Every soul on board was heartily sorry to shake hands with him for the last time. I do not doubt that he will be as happy as, perhaps even happier than, if he had never left his own country.” (ibid.: 240-241)

The re-encounter between Darwin and Jemmy led the former to make a series of observations and inferences, I will only discuss those directly are relevant to body painting. In the first place, when the canoe that is transporting Jemmy approaches the English, he is washing his

⁵ The paragraphs referring to that part of the trip only appear in the 1845 version of the diary.

paint off his face. Leaving aside the possibility that it was a coincidence, Jemmy's action could have been provoked by the contact with the travellers of the "Beagle". The reasons for this action may be many, and unfortunately one can only speculate about them; the most likely seems that Jemmy may have been taught about the value given to cleanliness in western society – Darwin mentions that they left him "clean and well dressed"–, which entails that face painting must have been regarded as an improper or inadequate way of decorating a person's skin. If this was the case, then Jemmy seems both to have gone back to his original habits, and to have been trying to adjust to the western rules at the moment of regaining contact with the European people he already knew. In fact the re-encounter did involve Jemmy's getting dressed again.

Darwin is shocked and disappointed by the change shown by Jemmy. This is understandable from the point of view that Darwin and the rest of the British involved in the endeavour would have liked to see that the transformation undergone by the Fuegians in Great Britain had had durable effects and indeed had helped in transforming the other aborigines. But Darwin could also have admired Jemmy's ability for adaptation – a key point of the theory of evolution he would develop years later. Instead, as Beer rightfully pointed out (1997: 151) he read this process as degradation.

His thoughts about the unprofitable results of the trip to England by the Fuegians were in this way confirmed, though Darwin sees nevertheless a certain 'improvement' in Jemmy in that he has taught some English to the other aborigines. Moreover, although Jemmy seems to give plenty of hints about his wellbeing in his land, Darwin sees the reason for his choosing to stay there in his wife. In spite of Darwin's lack of approval of the changes undergone in Jemmy, he contradicts himself and writes that he has no doubt that he will be happier in his country, showing again his possibility of evading his ethnocentrism and seeing things from a different perspective, though clearly not avoiding it completely.

The custom of painting the body has been seen by several Western observers as dirty and untidy. For example, Webster (1834:181) considered it a "filthy habit" which "tends not a little to render the vicinity of their persons by no means desirable.", and J. C. Ross (1847: 306) described that the ochre was mixed with oil or grease of "intolerable smell".

Williams wrote in his diary that the Patagonians were the nearest neighbours of the Fuegians, but that the latter "are intellectually and physically inferior to these stately specimens of mankind." (Williams in Hamilton 1854: 109). Nevertheless, he also stated that "They are not

without a taste for ornament, nor are they entirely devoid of ingenuity.” (ibid.:111), and considered them as “a fac-simile of our British forefathers” (ibid.: 117), a point that shows a clear –though not necessarily explicit– evolutionist frame of mind.

G.P. Despard, the first missionary who actually moved to Tierra del Fuego, was - according to the available written sources- the first Western to have shown a clear intention of changing the body painting habits of the Yámana:

“Jemmy Button came off to bring a bow for one of the men, and a borrowed cloth. ... Makooallan [Tom Button, Jemmy Button’s brother], with a badly made bow to see what he could get. *He had his face whitened. To this I objected as dirty; in retaliation he pointed, and objected to, my beard, as dirty. I persisted and recommended a washing;* to which he responded ‘Yos’ his usual waive of the question discussed.” (1859: 131. December 13th., my emphasis)

In the first place, it is interesting to note the ethnocentrism of *both* actors of this conflict, since both pointed at a feature of the other’s look –facial painting for the European, and facial hair for the Fuegian– as dirty. Moreover, the passage also evidences that the aborigines were not just passively receiving the influence of the Anglican missionaries, but did react, and even responded to it, by criticising a feature of those that intended to change them. This does not imply that the Fuegians were not changed. Indeed, they were deeply changed; but, according to this paragraph the process that led to their transformation (and ultimately to their extinction) seems to have been neither lineal, nor non-resisted.

The valuing of body painting as dirt shows a clear ethnocentric stance, but Despard’s request to Makooallan to remove the paint of his face goes beyond an ethnocentric *opinion*, and involves direct *action* to modify this practice. The missionaries active influence on the body painting and other Yámana customs was obviously based on an ethnocentric view, yet, again, not lacking a certain positive opinion towards the aborigines, which were explicitly considered ‘members of the human race’: “Surely, if human kindness can tame the wildest beasts, it never can be ineffectual with our own race.” (Despard 1859: 273).

Despard also tried to change the *yekamushes* (shamans) body painting habits, which although he describes as “elegant”, he “took to express our disgust at his dirty face, and begged him ‘chillursh’ (to wash).” (ibid: 136).

Another quotation shows the means through which Despard tried to achieve his goal:

“Capt. gets men and boys to work by gifts of biscuits, and women to wash their faces by same means. A high authority in the Church having been asked by me what he thought ought to be the first step in Missionary work among the Fuegians, said, ‘Teach them to

wash their faces clean, sir, teach them to wash their faces'." (ibid: 133. December 16th.)

Although face painting is not directly mentioned in this quotation, it does indicate that cleanliness was a value that the Anglican missionaries were trying to establish among the Yámana, and that they offered a reward (in this case food) if these aborigines transformed their habits. These are the clearest quotations I have found that indicate in a straightforward manner the direct influence that the missionaries may have had in the weakening of the Yámana body painting tradition. In spite of these intentional attempts to eliminate this habit, we know that body painting continued to exist for at least about 60 more years (Gusinde and Koppers saw it in the early 1920's, and Spencer in 1929), although clearly with some changes (see chapter 5).

Body painting was seen by Bove as a positive alternative to scarification: "Luckily the barbarian custom of making incisions over the whole body has not been introduced yet; the Fuegians substitute such a horrible system for the ornament with paints of every type." (Bove 1883a: 126), and also as an alternative to the "barbarian ornament" of tattooing (Bove 1883b: 129)⁶.

As opposed to this, and in coincidence with their scientific endeavour, Martial (1888), Hyades (1884, 1885, 1887), and Hyades and Deniker's (1891) texts are much more 'neutral' in the manner they addressed body painting practices, and did not use pejorative adjectives nor made ethnocentric comparisons when describing these. Though obviously for different reasons, a similar attitude is found in all of Bridges texts, whose body painting descriptions do not include depreciative terms, even though his intention was clearly to modify the Yámana's socio-cultural habits (Bridges 1869, 1872, 1875, 1876, 1886, 1897, 1933).

Since Martial and Hyades and Deniker's work, body painting started to be considered not as a dirty, undesirable custom, but at an 'ethnographically interesting' feature that should then be recorded as part of the peculiarities that characterised the Fuegian aborigines. One of the most positive opinions about the Yámana use of body painting, with the purpose of skin and body protection from cold, was that of Spears (1895: 53)⁷. Not only did he think this was a useful habit, he also considered it should have been imitated by the foreign persons visiting the region; "Had the early explorers imitated instead of despised the Yahgan, they would have had fewer

⁶ Both sentences, referring to tattooing and scarification, are published in different papers but show great similarity, which makes the reader wonder whether Bove might in fact have been referring to these two different bodily ornament techniques, or might have used scarification as a synonym for tattooing or vice-versa.

⁷ Spears did not mention pigment or paint in this sentence, but grease. He also noted that this habit rendered the aborigines "offensive to his white discoverers" (ibid).

tales of suffering to tell.” (ibid). Nevertheless, he excused the Europeans from doing so, by considering the standing point from which they must have had made their choices: “However, one can understand why the explorers did not perceive the real condition of the Yahgan. They were cold in spite of thick flannels, and it was but natural that they should judge others by themselves.” (idem: 54). This the only case in which an author considered that the Yámana (or Fuegian in general) habit of body painting was not to be looked down on, and rather was a feature worth imitating - obviously only in the Fuegian weather and geographic circumstances, which justified it as proper and effective.

Following the ethnographic interest on the Yámana customs (including that of body painting), the making of visual records became an important part of the account of an exploratory voyage, even if these needed to be staged. This is the case of the quotation from Dabbene (1904) in appendix B referring to the fact that the aborigines got paid in order to be photographed in their ‘typical’ clothing and body painting. As explained in that appendix, it unveils the aboriginal actual situation (wearing in fact western clothing but still having access to and/or remembering how to make their clothes and paintings) as well as the recording methods of the observers. But it also implies that aboriginal clothing and painting had a certain value, an interest about the others - ‘savage’, exotic and different- for the observers, which made them worth of recording. Another example of the same case is that of De Agostini, who recorded in photographs and film Yámana painted persons (Y65, Y66), and even in the process of getting painted (Y45), dressed in Selk’nam clothing. The value of ‘ethnographic’ recording here seems to have been related, again, to the interest in the exotic, but taken to such an extreme that the process of recording involved distortions intentionally introduced by the recorder. In turn, the value of body painting for De Agostini seems to have been quite neutral and indifferent, since he does seem not to have introduced changes in it for the photographs or film – and it is precisely for this reason that it has been possible to identify Yámana designs worn by these Yámana individuals dressed like Selk’nam.

Finally, Gusinde did not expand in his vast work on his values about the Yámana body paintings. These nevertheless appear for example in his opinion that the Yámana had a sensitivity for beauty and a sense of harmony, but that their life conditions were not very adequate for them to develop such as sense (1986: 1441; he had a very similar opinion about the Selk’nam case). Among various examples of their aesthetic sense, he mentioned the variety of body painting

designs, yet he also stated that the Yámana lacked a talent or predisposition for drawing. This opinion shows his ethnocentric approach, which measures artistic talent with the Western art technique standard of drawing. But at the same time shows his attempt to place the case in context, addressing the Yámana life conditions as related to the possibility of artistic creation - which is still ethnocentric in considering the context as impeding such production, but shows a clear attempt to cross the barrier of his own context, understand a different one and link it to art creation.

E. 2. The Selk'nam.

As with the Yámana case, the first observations about Selk'nam body painting use relate this practice to the fact that the aborigines were naked (Nodal 1621 in Gusinde 1982: 26-27). Two hundred years later, the encounter between the Beagle voyagers and a group of aborigines in Good Success bay (most likely Haush), was compared by FitzRoy with the encounter between Caesar and the Britons: "the reflection that Caesar found the Britons *painted and clothed in skins*, like these Fuegians, cannot fail to augment an interest excited by their childish ignorance of matters familiar to civilised man." (FitzRoy 1839: 121, my emphasis). This quotation shows a clear superiority attitude from FitzRoy towards the Fuegians, regarded as having childlike minds – a viewpoint that was not odd for his time and the following decades of the XIX century. It is also interesting to note that he is comparing the painted Fuegians with the painted Britons found by Caesar, which entails a rationale by which the aborigines were living examples of how the ancient Europeans had been in the past – as in the cases mentioned above, this is a clear evolutionist idea that would deeply mark the whole development of thought and science. Yet it can also be suggested that, with this comparison, FitzRoy also drew the Fuegians closer to the Europeans, in that both, at some point of their existence, wore body paintings.

Darwin used instead a more flourished and value-laden language to describe the paintings of the Good Success bay aborigines:

"The old man had a fillet of white feathers tied round his head ... His face was crossed by two broad transverse bars; one, painted bright red, reached from ear to ear and included the upper lip; the other, white like chalk, extended above and parallel to the first, so that even his eyelids were thus coloured. The other two men [he mentioned three in the previous paragraph] were ornamented by streaks of black powder, made of charcoal. The party altogether closely resembled the devils which come on the stage in plays like Der

Freischutz.” (Darwin 1845: 216)⁸

The idea that the painted aborigines looked like devils, or ‘demoniacs’ in the Yámana case, is explicit again in this paragraph. But in spite of this disdainful comment about body painting, Darwin’s description of the Good Success bay aborigines is more positive than that of those from the Beagle Channel, as already noted in appendix B. This suggests that the general physical appearance, including bodily strength, clothing and cleanliness, were variables of more importance for Darwin in making a distinction between the Haush and the Yámana, rather than body painting itself, which was present in both and described in similar terms.

About a hundred years later, L. Bridges showed in his book a clearly positive opinion towards the practice of body painting. An example of this can be found in the following paragraph, in which he subtly criticises the transformation undergone by the aborigines in the Dawson island Salesian mission:

“Four years later [possibly 1894] I was on a little steamer which touched at the Silesian mission on Dawson island, where, it was said, about seven hundred Ona were confined. The women were employed making blankets and knitting garments under the training of the Sisters, and a number of men were working in a saw-mill cutting timber, largely for shipment to Punta Arenas. When I went into the saw-mill and made a remark to these fellows in their own language, they crowded round me. ... These indian workers were ‘decently clad’ in discarded or shop-soiled garments, generally some sizes too small for them. Looking at them, I could not help picturing them standing in their old haunts, *proud and painted*, armed with bows and arrows, dressed, as of yore, in goöchilh, oli and jamni (head-dress, robe and moccasins).” (L. Bridges 1951: 266-267, my emphasis).

But L. Bridges went beyond just having a positive opinion about body painting, which in the quoted paragraph is associated with the aborigines pride – a pride about being different. In fact, L. Bridges openly fostered this habit in the Selk’nam:

“With the steady infiltration of the white man into Fireland, many of the Ona relinquished their ancestral robes and took to civilized garments. The chief reason for this was a change of employment. The robes were eminently suited for hunting, but were a most inconvenient attire when both hands were needed for sawing wood or carrying out other work not dreamed of by the Indian of former generations. Although I was the first to acknowledge the necessity for this, *I always encouraged my Ona friends to change back*

⁸ The information in this paragraph appears written in a different way in the original (manuscript) version of Darwin’s diary (published by his granddaughter):

“From their dress and &c. &c. they resembled the representations of Devils on the Stage, for instance in Der Freischutz. The old man had a white feather cap, from under which, black long hair hung round his face. The skin is dirty copper colour. Reaching from ear to ear & including the upper lip, there was a broad [sic – broad?] red coloured band of paint; & parallel & above this, there was a white one; so that the eyebrows & eyelids were even thus coloured” (Barlow ed. 1934: 119).

So the other men’s decoration does not appear in this original version of Darwin’s diary.

into their robes and paint when the day's work was done. This painting was really the cleanest habit, for the old paint was energetically rubbed off before the new coat was applied. I encountered criticism on this score, particularly from the Silesian Mission at Rio Grande. They held that it returned a clad and civilized Indian to a *state of nakedness and painted barbarism.*" (Bridges 1951: 373; my emphasis).

First of all, L. Bridges opposed opinion to that of the Salesian missionaries on this point unveils that the values and actions of the latter must have been openly against the body painting practices, in spite of the lack of Salesian written sources to confirm this. L. Bridges reasons for encouraging the Selk'nam to get painted are indeed of a mixed kind, combining his own – Western– ideas of cleanliness with his interest in helping them not to leave entirely their 'traditional' customs. It is clear that L. Bridges was in favour of the Selk'nam being incorporated into the Occidental socio-economic farm system of land and animal exploitation in Tierra del Fuego, yet his somewhat naive opinion was that this could be done without a thorough and deep change in other aspects of Selk'nam society, including their body painting. The development of facts in the future proved the impossibility of this intention, as body painting survived until about the 1930s' and then ceased to be practised forever, only to be recalled verbally by the last living descendants of the Selk'nam in the 1960s' (Chapman 1982).

A positive assessment of the usefulness of body painting, in this case as a camouflage device for hunting, was elaborated by Barclay (1926). He referred to the Ona hunters trying to stalk guanacos "with their mother-naked bodies painted to the colour of the lichen-covered rocks – long anticipating the lessons of war-camouflage." (ibid: 224), indicating that this habit was not only useful but also worth of copying (though maybe because he found it similar to such a body painting use by Western societies).

From this point onwards, and as in the Yámana case, body painting was mainly considered as an interesting 'ethnographic' trait of a different, exotic, and disappearing culture, that was worth recording. But the interest in recording was not parallel to the interest in accuracy, as the examples of Gallardo, De Agostini, and Gusinde show (see chapter 2 and appendix B for details). Gallardo's cutting of Barclay's photo (S89) in several pieces and using them to illustrate/decorate portions of his book, De Agostini's presentation in photographs (Y45, Y46, Y65, Y66, Y72) and in film of Yámana painted individuals dressed as Selk'nam, and Chapman's indication (1982: 148) that a photograph of Lola Kiepja had been retouched at Lola's request to remove her face paint because it had only been added for the photographer (i.e. Gusinde), indicate that body painting became a desirable feature to depict –especially in the visual records.

Such photos were products of an interest in recording what was considered to be aboriginal body painting according to the photographer's eyes.

Similarly to the Yámana case, Gusinde considered that the Selk'nam did not lack sensitivity for shapes, colours, symmetry and harmony of the objects, but that this sensitivity was not very much manifested due to the fact that "the indigenous has too much in mind the procurement of his daily supply of food and that he is totally oriented towards the practical-utitarian, for which reason feels very little need of artistic activity" (Gusinde 1982: 1097). Gusinde related this practical way of thinking attributed to the Selk'nam to the quality of their painted designs and craft objects: while the painting did not show a carefully developed symmetry (ibid: 1102 & 1098), the symmetry in the making of objects was much more carefully crafted, probably because of "reasons of practical use than for a yearn for beauty" (ibid: 1097).

Gusinde's perspective in relation to the visual production of the Selk'nam in particular, and to their culture and society in general, included both a sense of respect and an attempt of contextual understanding of their actions, as well as a viewpoint which considered the aborigines as immature or underdeveloped persons comparable to children. This twofold position is clear in the following paragraph:

"But these objects should never be valued according to European standards; since these indigenous think and feel incomparably more according to utility canons. Like children, they leave aside with contempt what is not useful for them. Hence they dedicate a low effort to an exact and precise tracing of the lines when they paint their bodies or their objects, to a uniform distribution of the paintings, to a symmetric uniformity and to an ordered structure of the ornaments. In spite of the lack of adequate tools, many products denote a certain manual skill." (Gusinde 1982: 1098).

Though still ethnocentric in the way he looked down on the Selk'nam intellectual capacities and the assessment of their context and its effect on their visual productions, Gusinde was clearly trying to overcome an Eurocentric perspective and to be more relativist and aware of the aborigines own cultural parameters. This contradiction remained present and unsolved throughout his work.

Appendix F. Details about body paintings observed by each author.

F.1. Selk'nam body painting situations, colours, materials, body portions, gender of wearer and basic decorative elements.

author	situation	red	white	black	other col	materials	tools	techniques	face/head	body	arms	legs	trunk	women	men	decorative elements
Sarm Gamboa		x				x				x					x	
Van Noort									x						x	
Nodal		x	x						x							
Labbe		x	x	x					x							
Anon in Schindler		x	x	x										x	x	GR / DT
Cook																
Banks			x	x					x							LI / CI
FitzRoy		x	x	x					x						x	CI
Darwin		x	x	x											x	BA
Bridges																
Serrano in Lista									x				x			
Bove									x						x	IS / RD
Spegazzini						x										
Lista	baby / EX / WA / MO / FB	x	x	x		x	x		x	x	x		x	x	x	
Segers	MO / HU / WA / XON	x	x	x		x			x		x	x	x	x	x	LI / GR
Popper	MO			x					x							LI / GR / DT
Payro	baby / WA	x	x	x					x	x					x	
Beauvoir	baby / TR / WA	x	x	x					x						x	LI / GR
Barclay	SKP / CA				x				x							
Gallardo	MO / WA / ORN / EX / VI / WE / HA	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x?	x	LI / DT / RD / GR

Dabbene	SKP / CA / WA / XON / HA	x	x		x		x?	x?	x	x	x	x	x	x?	x	LI / DT / GR
Cojazzi		x		x					x	x				x	x	LI / GR
Borgatello	EX / ORN / WA / MO	x	x	x		x			x	x				x	x	LI / GR / PT
De Agostini	baby / EX / WA / MO	x	x	x	x	x			x	x				x	x	
Gusinde	baby / EX / ORN / VI / TR / HU / WA / FM / EN / WE / XON / HA	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	LI / GR / BD / BA / RD / PT
Koppers	MO														x	
Lothrop	SKP / XON / HA	x	x		x	x		x	x	x						
L. Bridges	baby / EX / WA / MO / CA / HU	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x				x?	x	LI / GR / BA / DT
Anon-Salesian																
Chapman	XON / HA															

F.2. Yamana body painting situations, colours, materials, body portions, gender of wearer and basic decorative elements.

author	situation	red	white	black	other col	materials	tools	techniques	face/head	body	arms	legs	trunk	women	men	decorative elements
Van Walbeek		x	x		x				x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
D' Arquistade		x														
Forster		x	x													
Weddell		x	x	x		x			x					x	x	BA
FitzRoy	ORN / WA / MO / SKP	x	x	x		x			x	x				x	x	
Darwin		x	x	x		x			x	x				x	x	
Webster		x	x			x			x			x				
Wilkes									x							
Colvocoresses		x		x										x		LI
Ross		x				x			x					x		
MCorkmick			x	x	x				x						x	LI
Williams	VI? / WA?	x	x	x					x					x	x	LI
Parker Snow	MO?	x		x		x				x?				x	x	LI / DT-LI/ GR / BA / DT
Despard	MO / YEK / BR	x	x	x					x					x	x	LI
Stirling	MO			x					x					x		
Bridges	MO / VI / YEK / BR / KI	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x				x	x	DT-GR / BA-GR / LI / BA
Bove	WA / MO / YEK	x?	x	x					x	x	x		x			LI
Lovisato	EX / ET / MO	x	x	x		x		x	x							LI / DT / GR
Spegazzini	FB / BR / WA / WE / MO	x	x	x	x	x			x	x				x	x	LI / DT / GR
Martial	EX / ORN / WA / MO	x	x	x		x			x	x?						

Hyades	ORN / MO	x	x	x		x			x					x	x	LI / DT
Hyades & Deniker	ET / FV / ML / VI / MO	x	x	x		x	x		x	x?				x	x	LI / DT
Aspinall	MO	x		x					x					x	x?	LI / DT / GR
Burleigh	YEK														x?	
Spears	WE / MO													x	x?	
Payro	KI	x														
Dabbene	EX / WA / MO	x	x	x		x			x				x			LI
Cojazzi	MO			x					x		x					
Furlong	MO		x	x										x		LI
Borgatello	EX / WA / MO	x	x	x												
De Agostini	EX	x	x	x		x			x	x				x	x	
Gusinde	ORN / VI / egg / WE / BR / MO / YEK / CH / KI	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	LI / DT / RD / BD / BA / GR / PT
Koppers	MO / YEK / CH / KI	x	x	x		x	x	x	x		x	x		x	x	LI / GR / BA
Lothrop	EX / WA / MO / CH / KI	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	LI / DT / BA
L. Bridges	WA / MO	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x				x?	x?	LI / DT / GR / BA
Spencer	cross / CUR	x		x		x			x					x		LI / BA
Stambuk	VI / WE / CUR / MO / YEK / CH	x	x	x			x	x	x	x				x	x	LI

Key.

Situation: baby = birth of baby; BR = blood revenge; CA = camouflage; CH = chiejaus; cross = crossing sounds and channels; CUR = curing an ill person; egg = celebrating egg gathering; ET = entertainment; EX = mood expression; FB = friendship bonds; HA = hain; HU = hunting; ml = celebrating breast feeding; MO = mourning; VI = visits; KI = kina; ORN = ornamental, coquetry purposes; SKP = skin protection; TR = trips; WA = war; WE = wedding; XON = xon (Selk'nam shaman); YEK = yekamush (Yamana shaman)

Designs (decorative elements): BA = band; BD = big dot; DT = dot; GR = ground; LI = line; PT = patch; RD = row of dots

Appendix G. Yámana terms related to painting.

Terms related to painting pigments

- ♦ red pigment = *ymi* (Hyades and Deniker 1891: 300)
imi (T. Bridges 1933: 3; Lothrop 1928: 126)
imi or *shewua* (Gusinde 1986: 412, 1477)
- ♦ white pigment = *tumarapu* (T. Bridges 1933: 498; Hyades and Deniker 1891: 300; Gusinde 1986: 412, 141, 1478; Lothrop 1928: 126)
- ♦ black pigment = *yapushlaj* (Hyades and Deniker 1891: 300)
yapúshak (Lothrop 1928: 126)
yapushake (Gusinde 1986: 412 and 414)

Terms from T. Bridge's Dictionary (1933).

- *uös-ata*: “to paint the face reddish in order to beautify it”. pp. 70
- *tuö-sata* (better *tulu-sata*): “t. To lightly yet tastefully paint a person with eemi.” There are many other words which start with the initial particle and end with other particles, which have very different meanings, not related to body painting, its use or ornament in general. pp. 437
- *eemi* = *imi*: “s. (imind-a, i.-agi Like unto imi). A red earth or clay or ochre.” pp. 3.
- *imi-lus*: “red like *imi* or *g* red.” pp. 3.
- *tuösu-gata*: “tr. To beautify oneself with, to use for beautifying oneself.” Idem. pp. 437.
- *tuasu* (*muatsu*): “To paint the face red with eemi, but not one's own.” Idem. pp. 440.
- *tumuö-sata*: “to lightly paint or decorate oneself with eemi”. Idem. pp. 513.
- *tumulö-mbina*: “r. to blacken one's face or body over with eemi”. Idem. pp. 527.
- *tumulu-sana*: “r. to paint oneself red with eemi.” Idem. pp. 528.
- *tumutulus-ana*: “to ask, get a person to make one red with eemi or other paint.” Idem. pp. 549.
- *twigana-na*: “tr. To beautify a person by painting his face over with a clean coat of eemi paint, to deck out by putting on beautiful apparel.” Idem. pp. 604.

- *aiyisönata-na*: “tr. To paint the face with up and down bands or lines of either red or black.” There are many other words which start with the initial particle and end with other particles, which have different meanings, many of them related to the verb to call. pp. 9.
- *tumuu-nguta*: “r. To blacken one’s own face with charcoal pigment mixed with eemi.” There are many other words which start with the initial particle and end with other particles, which have very different meanings, not related to body painting, its use or ornament in general. pp. 519-520.
- *tunn-guta*: “tr. To paint the face of a person over black in sign of mourning.” Idem. pp. 453.
- *tumutlō-mbina*: “to make oneself black with charcoal or other black material” Idem. pp. 548.
- *tumarapu*: “white clay used in whitening the hair and body on occasions (It is passed through the fire which increases its whiteness).” pp. 498.
- *cinugu*: “s. One of the personated characters, played in the Ceena drama: was painted all over with spots and bands of white, danced about naked and in frantic manner, and was supposed to come up through the earth and pretended to kill the man in the Ceena.” (Note that the term Ceena refers to the Kina ceremony. pp. 135.)
- *lapo-sana*: “tr. (*kutanana*) To paint the face as avengers of blood.” Idem. pp. 281.
- *wiös-teka*: “to paint horizontal lines upon the face with eemi as a mark of friendship.” Idem. pp. 610.
- *Tstuiu* (better *tstwiiu*): “s. tr. Anything used as a paint brush, to use anything thus.” pp. 598.

Terms from Hyades and Deniker (1891: 300)

- paint / make-up (*fard*): it exists in three kinds; white is obtained from clay: *toumarapou*; red with ochre: *ymi*; black with wooden charcoal: *yapouchlakh*.
- *iamba* or *iampa toumarapou*: to chew the clay, to dilute it with saliva
- *koutanana*: to make white dots over the face with clay and an bone awl or spatula, named *akita lapatakh* or *kioua* (plate XIV)
- *oupaça kouna*: to make horizontal lines, bordered with / by dots or bordering dots (*bordant les points*).
- *kinakhteka* and *takoutanana*: to make lines transversal to the figure, for example with charcoal
- *toualouchana* and *touachalouchana*: to smear the figure in red with ochre powder

- *yapouchtougouta*: to smear in black the figure with charcoal
- *aïena*: to make red vertical lines, over the figure, with ochre
- *itakoupouana*: to make, over the figure, one black horizontal line, passing through the nose, with a mixture of ochre, wooden charcoal and oil

Terms from Gusinde (1986: 413)

- *talaxikamana*: painting tool, in western dialect
- *puscitakutasena*: painting tool, in central dialect
- *ikamana*: to paint, to draw

Appendix H. Selk'nam terms and descriptions of body painting designs.

name of motif	type of motif in typology	description from Gusinde (1982: 207-209) and visual records that document each motif	situation of use
kekósiken	T + A	a red ground, over which sometimes two white parallel lines were painted around the arms, around the thighs and, forming a 'T' shape, across the shoulders and along the torso (S5, S69, S69)	general joy plus good weather
kosáxen		red powder applied to the head	
oxtálampten	1) Fp	1) rows of small white dots, painted applying a rod as if it were a seal or by tracing a thin line and then scraping bits of about 3 mm along it (S11, S12, S14) 2) a red horizontal line of the width of a finger, painted in both sides of the face, from the nostrils to the ears, and on top white dots are painted very close to one another	*trips *visits
koskari	W	thin white lines (irregular stripes) over both cheeks (S30, S80, S81, De Agostini's film)	*beautifying *good mood *weddings *worn by xons (VR)

c'owut	I ?	row of short thin vertical red lines, painted across the cheeks (S13, painted white, not red)	*less ordinary *engagement (VR - white)
kemáxip	F	red transversal line, across cheeks, from nostrils to ears (S1, S10, S25, S29, S68, S86, S89)	*hunting *visiting *receiving visits
k'áhanh	G and Gx	two white dots on the cheeks (motif G) plus sometimes a third one on the bridge of the nose (Gx)	*war/combat *ornament
xáukesa	Bp	about seven rows of black dots painted radially along the cheeks	*wedding (bride and groom)
k'armán		no specific design, dark colours	mourning

Key: VR = according to visual records

Appendix I. Selk'nam terms for colours and colouring substances

These lists include words for colours that were not used to paint.

List of terms from Gusinde (1982).

- p'am = fine dust of charcoal that apparently was employed with greater frequency in the north
- só'ol = obtained from guanaco bones burnt 'into red' which give a glowing white as dust
- opaken = greyish, dirty clay
- kome (komex) = light grey clay, it serves to rub all the body 'in dry' as if it were soap
- masak = dark grey clay
- p'otel = light grey clay
- akel or akelk'ólwe = ground "masak" and "p'otel" once they have been burnt red
- tos = lively, intense red
- áten = light yellowish red

List of terms from Beauvoir (1915).

- red = otan, pootn
- colouring = pometrr
- blue = shekel, toore
- green = pooter, ktorn, kech, koorn
- yellow = tool-ketole
- white = xol
- black = párm

List of terms from Gallardo (1910).

- ♦ potel = red earth of dull colour
- ♦ uten = red earth of brilliant colour; this colour is made by firing/baking the earth
- ♦ qshorren = blood-red earth
- ♦ cohor = yellow earth
- ♦ shool = pure white
- ♦ shilo = less pure white
- ♦ parn = black, very dark
- ♦ teen = brownish dark colour, almost black
- ♦ qkeelh = green

Appendix J. Beyond context: visual analysis of Selk'nam and Yámana body paintings regardless of their situation of display.

J.1. Preliminary notes on the criteria that guide this visual analysis.

This appendix presents the visual analysis of the Selk'nam and Yámana body painting designs based on the whole sample of individuals wearing body paintings, which was briefly introduced in chapter 3. As noted in that chapter, the analysis takes into account only the individuals which appear in photographs with high visibility. A few of the analyses can be done using both high and low visibility records, because they do not require the observation of details of the paintings: for example, the analysis of the number of male and female individuals wearing body painting, or of the age groups to which these wearers belong, can be based on such data.

Also, besides the visibility restriction, repetitions of the same individuals wearing the same design in exactly the same setting have not been counted, hence reducing more the number of individuals considered (see table J1). I have chosen to exclude these repetitions, which are bound to be double records of one single event, because they would bias the frequencies of use of the different types of decorative elements and motifs, and hence would also alter the inferences about the visual conventions that underlie the designs.

Table J1. Sample of Selk'nam and Yámana individuals wearing body painting.

Society	Total individuals	Without repetition	In photographs	In photographs, high visibility
Yámana	214	183	156	123
Selk'nam	235	205	167	130
Total	449	388	323	253

This analysis focuses on the search and study of the patterns that structure the body painting designs, in order to reveal the visual codes that underlie their plastic composition, as well as their display, especially in relation to the gender and age of the wearer. Such patterns of composition and display are studied here regardless of the situations of use of the body paintings. The aim of such cross-situation study is to search for possible composition patterns and display rules that may have existed regardless of the situation of body painting use. Such patterns would not emerge (at least not as clearly) by studying the paintings worn in each situation, because the focus

on each particular situation disregards the sample of body painting images as a whole entity with its own potential patterns. Information about particular situations or roles will nevertheless be taken into account when it is relevant for the possible explanation of a certain tendency found in the designs or display of the paintings. But mostly, the specific situations of body painting production and display are the focus of chapters 4, 5 and 6, and hence are not tackled here.

This visual analysis will be carried out at a formal level, since the iconographic study of the representational designs, and the search for social rules related to the uses of certain designs to suit specific roles or situations, require both to focus on each situation in particular, and to use the information available in the written sources. The aim of this analysis, instead, is to generate new knowledge about the structure of the designs by using exclusively quantitative and qualitative visual data. When relevant, these data are afterwards contrasted with the written information.

Finally, this analysis is based on a series of variables (as defined in chapter 1 and appendix A), including the age and gender of the wearers, the body portions that were painted, the painting techniques used, the decorative elements and motifs created, their colours, orientations, types of symmetry, and the visual principles used in their layout. The number of possible combinations of these variables is high, and their results can be very fruitful to shed light on different aspects of the designs construction and display. For this reason, only some of the possible combinations of variables will be presented here. Many more have been subject of analysis in the development of this research project, but will not be introduced in this section due to lack of space, and to keep the clarity of the text as much as possible.

In relation to the decorative elements and motifs¹ used in the designs, there are two main ways of considering these. One is by analysing these in terms of their actual *combinations* as worn by each individual, that is, taking into account the ways that each type of element or motif appears associated with other type or types. In this case, each type of decorative element or motif can appear in more than one category, according to the way it was combined with the other decorative elements (e.g. lines with dots, lines with bands and grounds, lines alone (not combined), etc.). The total count of frequencies of the decorative elements combinations and of the motifs combinations, adds up to the total number of individuals recorded in the database.

¹ As noted in appendix A, motifs are constructed by one or more decorative elements, hence decorative elements are the most basic unit of the design.

Another way of analysing the use of decorative elements and motifs is to consider each type *regardless of* their possible *combination* with other type or types. This second analytical way focuses on the different decorative elements and motifs, and not on the ways they are associated in the decoration of the individuals. Hence their frequencies reflect preferences in their use, but the addition of these frequencies does not correspond to the total number of painted individuals, because what is being recorded is the frequency of use of each separate type of decorative element or motif², and not the frequency of use of their actual combination per individual. In spite of this drawback, this second calculation is very interesting because it can point out to preferences in the body painting designs composition which could otherwise be overlooked by the first way of analysis. For this reason, I will use both ways of analysis and complement their results.

These results may be subject of further study by combining them with many other variables (e.g. combinations of motifs and colour, decorative elements and orientation, etc.), but for reasons of space I will not develop such cross-variable studies here. I will only provide a few examples of these which can shed light on core issues related to the construction and display of the body painting designs.

The analysis will focus first on the Selk'nam body paintings, and then on the Yámana paintings. When developing this latter case, comparisons with the results obtained for the Selk'nam will also be drawn. This will help in highlighting the similarities and differences found in the dynamics of body painting design construction and display of the two societies. In turn, this will shed light on the usefulness of considering the whole sample of images regardless of the paintings' situation of use, not only in the search for intra-society patterns, but also in the examination of different cross-cultural dynamics.

² The total frequencies of motifs and decorative elements regardless of their combination, and considering only the high visibility photographic records, excluding repetitions (that is, from 130 Selk'nam individuals and 123 Yámana individuals – see table J1), are the following:

	Selk'nam	Yámana
motifs	234	182
decorative elements	328	249

J.2. An archaeology of photography: a formal visual analysis of Selk'nam and Yámana body paintings.

J.2.1. Selk'nam body painting.

The number of Selk'nam persons shown per photo ranges from one individual, to a maximum of 14 individuals (in one case, S66). There are various photos showing pairs of individuals, as well as others recording groups of 5, 6 and even 10 (S24). The paintings they wear range from very simple designs constituted by only one decorative element (for example, one line on each cheek, e.g. S86), to quite complex designs involving the combination of various decorative elements and using several visual principles (e.g. S24).

The **age and gender** of the wearers (in high and low visibility photographs) is summarised in the following table³.

Table J2. Age and gender of Selk'nam persons wearing body paintings in photographs.

	gender		
age	F	M	Total
a	17	75	92
b		3	3
ch	6	13	19
nd		34	34
o	1	5	6
y	6	7	13
Total	30	137	167

In all the age groups, the Selk'nam painted persons of male gender are far more than the female persons (82% against 18%). It can be noted that in both genders the most frequent cases are the adults⁴. This already suggests a certain age group predominance in the activity of wearing body paintings. The rest of the age categories also show that the male cases are more frequent than the female ones, which in turn indicates that the Selk'nam male predominance in wearing body painting was not

³ Because of the difficulty of establishing the gender of little children and babies, four of the female and three of the male persons have been attributed to these gender categories with doubt, and are recorded in the database as F? and M?. Yet these doubts have not been included in the tables of this section, and these children and babies have been counted as female and male respectively, in order to avoid the generation of more categories, and also because the numbers of uncertain cases are low.

⁴ There are 37 males that cannot be attributed to a specific age group because they are representing spirits and hence are wearing masks, hence the 'nd' (not determined) category. According to the information provided by the photographs, the initiands were – and looked – very young, and since the bodies of the individuals representing the spirits look more mature, it could be assumed that they are all adults (they do not look old so they would not belong to this category). The only confirmed exception is that of a masked initiand, representing a specific spirit (K'termen, see photo S64), his body does look smaller and younger than the rest of the masked spirits. Adding up the male adults with the male 'nd' age category, the number of male adults would increase to 109.

restricted to one age category, but was pervasive along the whole range of ages. This tendency is confirmed by a X^2 test ($X^2=16.57$, $df=3$, 99% level of confidence, calculated excluding the 'babies' and 'old' categories due to their low frequencies).

As seen in chapter 3, the uses of **face painting and body painting** (here the term 'body painting' exclusively refers to the paint of the trunk and limbs) by the Selk'nam are also significantly related to the **gender** of the wearers ($X^2=13.89$, $df=2$, 99% level of confidence). I will not expand on this topic here since it has already been introduced in chapter 3, and will be further discussed in chapters 5 and 6.

Table J 3. Selk'nam: general body portions painted per gender.

	gend		
body portions	F	M	Total
bo	1	29	30
fa	24	59	83
fa + bo	5	49	54
total	30	137	167

The **age** of the wearers is also linked to the **general portions of the body** (face, body or both) that were painted.

Table J3. Age of the Selk'nam wearers and general position of paint on the body.

	age						
posit	a	b	ch	nd	o	y	Total
bo	29					1	30
fa	53	3	18		6	3	83
fa + bo	10		1	34		9	54
Total	92	3	19	34	6	13	167

A X^2 test shows that these categories were significantly related ($X^2=114.68$, $df=6$, 99% level of confidence, calculated excluding 'babies' and 'old' categories): the adults wore more body and facial paintings than expected, and less body plus facial paintings, but this is due to the fact that the cases of individuals wearing masks (which are very likely adults, as discussed above) are counted in a separate age category (named 'nd'). The 'nd' category in turn shows many more cases of body plus 'facial' (mask) paintings than expected if the distribution of frequencies were at random. In turn, the youngsters show more cases of body plus facial paintings than expected, while the children wore almost exclusively facial paintings. These strong tendencies indicate that there were certain ages which were clearly preferred for wearing paintings on the

body (adults, and youngsters), while for other age groups (children, and also babies and old people) it was unsuitable, or undesirable, to do so.

Various reasons may account for these facts, although they remain mostly at a speculative level. It could be the case that the old persons, as well as the children and babies, were not expected to show (at least in public, to be photographed) their naked or semi-naked painted bodies. Also, if the persons making the paintings were not the wearers themselves, the producers might have not been expected or allowed to uncover and/or paint/touch/see other body parts than the faces of these very young and very old persons. In the cases of the babies and children, another possibility is that the producers painted only the faces of these age groups due to practical reasons, such as the restlessness of the babies and children, who might have not stood/remained still while the process took place. In this latter case, painting only or mainly the faces may have been a solution to this problem. Nevertheless, the designs worn by the children are in some cases quite detailed, and made with a technique that requires certain level of dexterity (see point on techniques below), which in turn must have required for them to wait still while these were painted.

According to the written sources, the **body painting techniques** used by the Selk'nam can be identified and defined as follows:

- 1 = paint rubbing or smearing by hand
- 2 = paint spitting and rubbing afterwards by hand
- 3 = finger tracing
- 4 = application of paint with rod/spatula/comb-like instrument
- 5 = application of positive lines by hand palm (having previously smeared the palm with paint and scratched out negative lines by fingers or nails)
- 6 = paint smearing and removal of paint by fingers or nails generating negative lines
- 7 = application of down buds (which is not strictly a body painting technique, but a body ornamental technique)

It is very difficult to identify these techniques just by observing the photographs, so I have inferred these as accurately as possible by taking into account the features that each painting technique would leave on the resulting design. In such identification, I have narrowed them down to two similar possibilities, so both of them are noted in each case (e.g. 1/2, 3/4).

Table J4. Frequency of body painting techniques used by the Selk'nam.

	individuals
1/2	35
1/2 & 3/4	9
1/2 & 3/4 & 7	2
1/2 & 3/5/6	2
3/4	81
3/4/5/6	1
Total	130

The most frequent technique that was used was 3/4, in 81 individuals, followed by 1/2 in 35 cases. Combinations of techniques were also used, although they were less frequent. Techniques 5, 6 and 7 were very infrequent. As will be shown in chapter 6, techniques 5 was worn by individuals playing special roles (the *xons*/shamans), while technique 7 was worn in the *hain* ceremony, and (when observed by Gusinde in 1923), only by persons playing two specific roles: Tanu and K'ternnen spirits.

When the uses of **body painting techniques** are considered in relation to the **gender of the wearer**, it can be noted that most of the female cases show paintings made by techniques 3/4, while the male cases are more evenly distributed between techniques 1/2 and 3/4. Also, all the combinations of techniques appear only in male cases. This suggests an interesting tendency in terms of the technical choices that appear to have been available for the male gender.

Table J5. Selk'nam body painting techniques per gender.

	gender		
technique/s	F	M	Total
1/2	1	34	35
1/2 & 3/4		9	9
1/2 & 3/4 & 7		2	2
1/2 & 3/5/6		2	2
3/4	23	58	81
3/4/5/6		1	1
Total	24	106	130

But such technical variety in the male case may have been related to the much higher frequency of painted men. Yet a X^2 test (calculated only for techniques 1/2 and 3/4 due to the low frequencies of the rest of the categories) shows that technique 1/2 was worn by men more than expected if such distribution would have happened randomly, while technique 3/4 was worn by women more than expected ($X^2=8.22$, $df=1$, 99% level of confidence). Therefore, technique 1/2, which involves rubbing or

smearing the paint by hand directly (1) or after spitting it (2) is frequent in the male cases, but not in the female ones, while technique 3/4, which involves paint tracing with the fingers (3) or with a rod/spatula (4) is very frequent in the female cases, though quite frequent in the male cases too. These differences might have been related to the kinds of designs that men and women wore (see point on decorative elements below), and also to the portions of the body that were painted. Since women usually had their faces painted, technique 3/4 may have been more suitable to paint this area than other techniques, because of the design accuracy that can be achieved with the fingers or with instruments such as the rod, covering a relatively small body portion such as the face; men, who besides painting their faces also painted their bodies very frequently, also used technique 1/2 frequently, which seems more suitable to paint bigger areas.

In fact, the painting **techniques** and the general **portions of the body** in which they were applied (that is, the face, the body or both) were significantly linked.

Table J6. Selk'nam body painting techniques per general portion of the body.

technique/s	bo	fa	fa + bo	Total
1/2	1	1	33	35
1/2 & 3/4			9	9
1/2 & 3/4 & 7			2	2
1/2 & 3/5/6			2	2
3/4	11	64	6	81
3/4/5/6		1		1
Total	12	66	52	130

A X^2 test (again, calculated only for techniques 1/2 and 3/4) shows that these techniques were significantly related to the general portions of the body on which they were applied. This test shows that the face was painted with technique 3/4, and that the face plus the body were painted with technique 1/2, more than expected if such tendencies would have been random.

The association between face painting and technique 3/4 may have happened because the technique allows for a more gracile and detailed painting, which in turn may have been required for the face when it was painted alone and was going to be the only focus of visual attention (in respect to the paintings). The almost entire lack of use of technique 1/2 on the face when painted alone might suggest that it was a 'painting field' opposed to the body. In the latter, broad areas were to be covered and the detail required could be less, hence the use of a 'rougher' technique. Nevertheless, it should be noted that there are cases of use of technique 3/4 for the body (which were very frequent

within this category the kewanix designs are the clearest example of this situation, see chapter 6) and for the face plus body, so this means that the body was also liable to the decoration with paintings of more detailed production technique.

Finally, **technique** was also related to the **age** of the wearer: while adults (including 'nd' category) and young people wore designs made with all the available techniques, the old people, and the children and babies only wore paintings made with technique 3/4 ($X^2=101$, $df=3$, at a 99.9% level of confidence; calculated counting the following age categories: adults + old, babies + children, 'nd', youngsters, and only techniques 1/2 and 3/4).

Table J7. Selk'nam body painting techniques and age of the wearer.

technique/s	age						Total
	a	b	ch	nd	o	y	
1/2	1			31		3	35
1/2 & 3/4	7			1		1	9
1/2 & 3/4 & 7				2			2
1/2 & 3/5/6						2	2
3/4	49	3	17		6	6	81
3/4/5/6	1						1
Total	58	3	17	34	6	12	130

This relation between age groups and body painting techniques suggests that the adults and youngsters had more technical choices, or were expected to wear designs involving more technical variety, than the old people and children. This was partly related to the situations in which the persons of different age groups were involved, since specific roles in specific situations would require paintings made with certain techniques (see chapter 4), and adults and youngsters seem to have been more central protagonists in many situations (especially the special occasions and the initiation ceremonies) rather than the babies and children, and, to an extent, the old people. This age distribution of techniques may have also been related to the portions of the body that the different age groups wore paintings on, as already mentioned above.

These observations could also suggest interesting information about the person/s making the designs, since it is unlikely that children (much less babies) would have a level of proficiency high enough to make very tidy designs using the tip of their fingers, a rod, or a comb-like instrument as seals to apply the paint without dripping (techniques 3/4). A few photos show that some of the designs that babies and children wore were composed of rows of tiny dots (S14, S31) which are likely to have been made by a young or adult person with a higher level of technical dexterity.



Plate J.1. Selk'nam facial paintings worn by adults and children in an unknown situation, posing for the camera (S14). Note the detailed motifs worn by three of the children, which are constituted by rows of minute dots, possibly made with technique 4 (with a rod or a 'comb-like' instrument).

In relation to the **motifs** used by the Selk'nam in their body painting designs, certain tendencies in their combinations can be pinpointed (table J8). Motif A, for example (series of parallel lines, regardless of their number), appears mostly combined with other motifs, and usually not on its own. Motif BAR (rectangular bands) were mostly worn combined with other motifs; this is because these motifs were mostly worn covering the calves and lower arms as part of bigger designs worn by individuals representing spirits. CJ motifs (different varieties of combinations of rows of dots and lines), were always combined with other types of motifs. Motifs F, G, and Gx were both worn alone, and combined with other motifs, while motifs E and Ex were always worn alone, without combining them with other motifs (e.g. S30, S31, S36, S37, S38). As will be shown in chapter 5 and appendix M, these motifs, with and without such combinations, were worn in specific occasions such as hunting, and by individuals playing specific roles (the *xons*/shamans).

Table J8. Combinations of motifs worn by Selk'nam individuals.

type motifs	Total
2L	1
A	1
A + Ap	2
A + CJ + G	1
A + D	1
A + H	1
A + T	2
CJ + 2L	1
DM	1
DMP	2
DP	3
E	13
Ed	1
EP	3
EX	10
F	17
FD	1
G	5
GX	4
I	1
S	5
BAR	8
BAR + BDSR	10
A + BAR	3
BAR + PTSe + Ti	1
S + SSQ	1
Edp	2
Fp	1
S mult	1
S + SRT	1
BAR + PTSo	3
GX + W	2
PTSr	1
BAR + D	1
CBA + CJ	1
CK1 + F + RTd	1
C1 + CK1 + G + 2Linv	1
C + CJ2 + G	1
BAY + CJ	1
BAY + CJ + G	1
CJ4 + CJ8 + CJPT(x) + F	1
CJ4 + CJ8 + CJPT + F	1
F?	1
BAR + CR	1
EPX	1
no	2
W	2
BAR + CBSA	1
BAR + BDSR + CR	1
BAR + BDG	1
BDG	1
Total	130

When considered regardless of combination⁵ (table J9), it is even more noticeable that these motifs mentioned above are the most frequently worn in the Selk'nam designs. This is of particular importance for at least two reasons: a) because as noted above the use of these can be related to specific circumstances in which they were expected/suitable to be worn, and b) because as noted in chapter 3 (table 3.5), various of these motifs are exclusive of the Selk'nam society repertoire, and were not worn by the Yámana, hence marking a clear inter-society distinction.

But high frequency is obviously not necessarily related to specific situations: infrequent motifs were also displayed in very specific situations. For example, all the varieties of motifs CJ and CK, as well as motif BAY, which were infrequently worn in relation to the rest in the sample, correspond to designs worn exclusively for the *kewanix* dances (e.g. S24). The same happens with motif I, which appears worn only in one case, by a bride (S13), and with motif 2L, which was only worn by the mother of the eldest initiand during the *hain* (S39). Although we lack more cases of such situations to confirm that there existed a visual code that ruled the display of such motifs in these situations and by persons playing these roles, the low frequency of use of these motifs can be related precisely to these specific situations/roles, which were infrequent in themselves. Such relationship between infrequent motifs with special situations/roles, rules out (or at least reduces) the possibility that such relationship stems only from a coincidence, and reinforces the idea of the existence of a visual code.

⁵ It should be reminded that when taking into account the decorative elements disregarding the way in which they are combined, their frequencies do not add up to the total number of painted individuals, because many of the motifs appear in more than one combination and hence the actual combinations worn by individuals are subdivided and multiplied.

Table J.9. Motifs used in Selk'nam body painting designs, regardless of combination.

Motifs	Total
2L	2
2Liv	1
A	13
Ap	2
Cj	8
CR	2
D	2
Dm	1
Dmp	1
Dp	3
E	26
Ed	2
Ep	6
Epx	2
Ex	21
F	19
Fd	1
Fp	1
G	12
Gx	6
H	1
I	2
S	7
T	2
BAR	33
BDSR	15
PTSe	1
Ti	1
SSQ	1
CJ2	2
Edp	4
S mult	1
SRT	1
H1	1
PTSo	3
W	4
PTSr	1
CBA	1
CK1	1
RTd	1
C	3
CK2	1
BAY	2
CJpt(x)	2
CJ4	2
CJ8	2
CJpt	4
F?	1
CBSA	1
BDG	2
Total	234

The whole range of body painting motifs worn by the Selk'nam was constructed using one or more **decorative elements**, out of a range of 13. Without regarding their actual combinations in the designs worn by each individual, the frequencies of use of each type of decorative element can be clearly assessed (table J10).

Table J10. Types of decorative element used in the Selk'nam body painting designs, regardless of combination.

types dec elem	Total
BA	37
BD	2
CB	2
DS	8
DT	49
GR	59
IS	4
LI	85
LI/RD	26
PT	14
RBD	15
RPDS	1
RD	26
Total	328

By far, the most frequently used types of decorative element are the lines, followed by the grounds and the dots. In relation to the grounds, this is quite expectable, given that they are formed by an even coat of paint over which other various decorative elements can be painted, using it as a visual background surface. So, in body painting designs that do involve a 'figure and ground' organisation of the composition, where visual elements are laid out over a painted background (not directly over the skin), the ground is 'naturally' prone to be worn often, combined with other elements. The reasons why the lines and dots were so frequently chosen to construct motifs remains unknown, but what is clear is that such decorative elements were used in a wide range of motifs and situations of display, from everyday life hunting motifs (e.g. motifs E and F), to motifs worn in very special occasions such as the *kewanix* motifs (e.g. motifs CK and CJ).

In opposition to the lines and dots, which were used in many different cases (hence their high frequencies), there are other types of decorative elements which have a very reduced frequency of use. Some of these were used in very particular occasions. For example, the down buds (CB) were only used in the decoration of the individuals playing the K'termen role and the Tanu spirit in the *hain* ceremony (e.g. S64, S23). The

(LI/RD) were worn by men decorated for the *oskonháninh* dance (rows of dots over lines, forming all the varieties of motif S), and by men painted for the *kewanix* dance (in this case, the rows of dots were parallel to the lines, not on top of them); both dances were presented during the *hain*. The rows of big dots (RBD) were worn exclusively by men playing the So'orte spirits roles during the *hain*. And the irregular stripes (which constitute motif W), were worn by the *xons*/shamans and by the *hain* initiands. These observations indicate that:

- a) some decorative elements were not specific to certain motifs and situations (e.g. the lines, the dots and the grounds), and were used to construct various motifs displayed in different situations
- b) not only some motifs were specific to roles and situations of display, but also the decorative elements that constructed them were specific to such designs too (e.g. CB, LI/RD, RBD, IS).

But the analysis of the use of the **decorative elements** also shows other trends, related to the **gender** of the wearers⁶. As noted above, various decorative elements which were worn in very specific situations (BA, IS, RBD, CB), were worn exclusively by men. This already indicates that certain decorative elements were related not only to specific roles and situations, but also to the gender of the person wearing them (who was obviously very much involved in playing such roles).

A more general approach to the whole set of decorative elements indicates that, from the 13 decorative elements used in the Selk'nam repertoire, 7 are used in designs worn by men and women (lines, ground, patches, dots, irregular stripes, dashes, and rows of dots), 5 are used in designs worn only by men (bands, rows of big dots, big dots, down buds, and rows of dots over lines), while only 1 type of decorative element was used exclusively by women (rows of parallel dashes, which have already been commented on above in relation to the bride's facial painting). These differences can be explained mainly in relation to the fact that 4 of the 6 categories of decorative elements only worn by men (BA, BD, CB, RBD), are the constitutive elements of the spirits designs worn in the *hain* ceremony, which were exclusively played by men.

Instead, some of the categories of decorative elements shared by both men and women seem to have been less 'situation-specific' than the former, since they were

⁶ The motifs can also be related to the gender of the wearer, but for reasons of space I have chosen not to develop such analysis here. Nevertheless, those two variables will be related in the study of motifs worn in specific situations in chapters 5 and 6.

worn not only in some of the ceremonial situations, but in the rest of the other occasions, and it may be for this reason that they were worn both by men and women.

Table J.11. Decorative elements used by the Selk'nam and gender of the wearer.

types dec elem	F	M	Total
BA		37	37
BD		2	2
CB		2	2
DS	2	6	8
DT	2	47	49
GR	4	55	59
IS		4	4
LI	17	68	85
LI/RD	1	25	26
PT	2	12	14
RBD		15	15
RPDS	1		1
RD	10	16	26
Total	39	289	328

The association between types of decorative elements and gender is shown by a X^2 test ($X^2=27.98$, $df=6$, 99% level of confidence, calculated for DT, GR, LI, LI/RD, PT, RBD, RD, due to the low frequencies of the other decorative elements). This test indicates that female individuals wore more designs involving lines (LI) and rows of dots (RD) than expected, while male individuals wore more dots (DT), grounds (GR) and lines plus rows of dots (LI/RD) than expected if the distributions were at random. This, in turn, can be related to the female tendency to wear designs made by technique 3/4, as opposed to the male tendency to wear designs made by technique 1/2, already discussed above.

One of the ways of analysing the **colour** of the designs is by studying the colour of the decorative elements used in their plastic composition. As seen in chapter 3, according to the written sources, the Selk'nam used red, black and white, as well as possibly yellow (which is mentioned only in very few occasions). Because the sources of visual information are black and white photographs, such colour distinction has not been possible. Therefore the recording of the decorative elements' colours has been done according to their being dark or white; when one decorative element is painted using both colours, it has been recorded as 'white & dark'.

Table J.12. Use of colour in Selk'nam decorative elements.

types dec elem	dark	white	white & dark	Total
Total	86	228	14	328

As noted in table J.12, the decorative elements used in the construction of Selk'nam designs are mostly white (69.5%), while dark decorative elements (which in fact are lumping black and red), are much less in proportion (26.2%). Decorative elements painted with both colours are extremely few (4.2%).

The relationship between **colour** and the types of **decorative elements** (table J.13) shows that most of the few white & dark cases belong to one single type: LI/RD (rows of dots over lines). As noted above, LI/RD is a type of decorative element worn almost only by men, mostly in the *oskonháninh* and *kewanix* dances. In the *oskonháninh* dances, the rows of dots were painted *over* the lines, therefore such specific decorative element for such specific situation involved a specific and infrequent combination of colours: the RD where painted white, while the LI were painted dark.

Table J.13 also shows that all the 13 types of decorative elements have cases painted in white, while only 5 have cases painted in dark colour/s. But besides this qualitative impression, the frequencies of colour use involve a statistically significant tendency to paint certain decorative elements in certain colour ($X^2=90.28$, $df=6$, 99% level of confidence, calculated for DT, GR, LI, LI/RD, PT, RBD, RD, excluding white & dark category due to its low frequencies). The X^2 test indicates that GR and LI were painted in dark colour/s more than expected, while DR, PT, RBD, RD and LI/RD⁷ were painted in white more than expected if such frequency distributions were at random. The latter series of decorative elements were painted in white either over the skin, or over grounds of paint, which were mostly painted in dark. In the case of the lines, when these were over a ground, contrasting colours were used, hence LI were painted white when painted over dark GR, and vice-versa, LI were painted dark when painted over white GR.

⁷ These involving rows of dots parallel to lines, not over them as in the double colour cases.

Table J. 13. Colour of decorative elements in Selk'nam designs.

types dec elem	dark	white	white & dark	Total
BA	3	33	1	37
BD		2		2
CB		2		2
DS		8		8
DT	4	45		49
GR	44	15		59
IS		4		4
LI	32	52	1	85
LI/RD		15	11	26
PT	3	11		14
RBD		15		15
RPDS		1		1
RD		25	1	26
Total	86	228	14	328

From the three basic **visual principles** defined to analyse the body painting designs (rotation, translation and reflection), translation was clearly the most frequently used. It was mostly used alone, and was also combined with rotation (which was much less frequent) and reflection (which was very infrequent). Rotation was only used in combination with the other principles, while reflection appears both alone and combined. There are no combinations of rotation with reflection. Finally, there are 7 cases in which none of the three visual principles was used in the combination of decorative elements to make the designs composition. These cases are 'uniform': they are mostly formed by an even ground of colour, with no combination of any decorative elements, or may include only one decorative element, which, again, is not rotated, translated or reflected.

Table J.14. Basic visual principles involved in the construction of the Selk'nam designs.

visual principles	Total
no (uniform)	7
RF	1
TR	102
TR + RF	1
TR + RT	18
TR + RT + RF	1
Total	130

This overwhelming use of translation in comparison to the other visual principles may be interpreted as one of the features of the Selk'nam body painting

designs. It is, for example, a clear choice in relation to the use of rotation, which was used quite infrequently. Yet, in relation to reflection, it is important to take into account that to identify such visual principle, the decorative elements or motifs displayed in the plane need to be asymmetric, since their 180 degree mirror-reflection can only be pinpointed if the position and orientation of their asymmetric differences can be distinguished. For this reason, reflection is not commonly found in the Selk'nam designs because the Selk'nam repertoire of decorative elements and motifs was essentially not asymmetric.

As explained in appendix A, in this project the study of **symmetry** has focused only on the presence or absence of axial symmetry (the division of the design into two halves, the two halves being equal, not necessarily mirror-reflecting each other). According to the orientation of the design, the axial symmetry can be axial/vertical, horizontal, or diagonal (diagonal 1 -/-, and diagonal 2 -\/-). Other non-axial symmetric patterns have not been taken into account. Due to the fact that there are cases of facial painting without body painting (and vice versa), the symmetry of the facial designs has been recorded separately from the symmetry of body designs.

Table J.15. Symmetry in Selk'nam facial paintings.

symmetry design face	Total
nc (no face painting)	14
yes ax	108
yes ax? – not visible	8
Total	130

Table J.16. Symmetry in Selk'nam body (trunk and limbs) paintings.

symmetry design body	Total
nc (no body painting)	67
no	6
no (ax div)	3
yes? (ax) – not visible	4
yes (ax-)	1
yes ax	49
Total	130

All the Selk'nam facial paintings were structured by axial-vertical symmetry (the 8 doubtful cases correspond to individuals whose position in the photo does not allow the observer to fully check the two sides of the face (and hence of the design)). The body paintings are also mostly structured by axial-vertical symmetry; there are a

few cases (6) in which the designs show no symmetry, because their two halves are not exactly the same. A few cases (4) seem to have axial symmetry but are not fully visible. There is one case which shows a detail in one half of the design which is not present in the other half (hence its record as 'ax-' (S21). Three cases show no full symmetry, but an axial division (in S58 and S59); the reasons for these choices was related to the representational quality of the designs, and to the visual codes that organised such representations (see chapter 6 on female *kewanix* paintings).

Besides the axial-vertical symmetry, horizontal symmetry could also have been identified in some facial and bodily designs, but such cases are few (S20, S42, S45, S46, S47, S50), and would mostly constitute combinations with vertical symmetry. Again, the use of such combination of symmetries is related to the visual codes that underlie the designs, which in these cases correspond to the spirits of the *hain* ceremony. These codes were not exclusively based on the symmetry features, and were not necessarily and entirely representational, but rather suited the identification of roles (see chapter 6). Finally, no cases of diagonal symmetry have been identified.

J.2.2. Yámana body painting.

The number of Yámana persons shown per photo ranges from one individual (which is a frequent case) to 26 individuals (in one case, Y87); there are a few photos showing 8 and 9 individuals, and, more frequently, photos showing 2, 3 and 4 individuals.

The **age and gender** frequencies of the Yámana persons wearing body paintings (in high and low visibility photographs) is summarised in the following table.

Table J.17. Age and gender of Yámana persons wearing body painting.

	gender		
age	F	M	Total
a	39	49	88
ch	7	14	21
nd		9	9
o	8	5	13
y	15	10	25
Total	69	87	156

The table shows that the frequencies of male and female individuals are quite even: the female wearers are 69 (44.2%), while the male wearers are 87 (55.7%). This already shows an important contrast with the Selk'nam case, in which the male cases are 82%, against 18% of female cases.

In both the male and female cases, the highest frequencies of individuals belong to the adults **age** category, followed by the youngsters and children⁸, and by the old people. As in the Selk'nam case, the 'nd' (not determined) age category indicates individuals who are wearing masks and whose age is therefore difficult to calculate, although they are very likely to be adults. There are no cases of Yámana painted babies, which marks a difference with the Selk'nam sample.

The ranking of the age categories in terms of their frequencies is similar in the Yámana and in the Selk'nam case, where the adults category was the most frequent, followed by the children, and closely by the young, then the old and the babies. The coincidences indicate that in both societies the activity of body painting display were primarily carried out by adults, and/or that these were more prone to be photographed.

The even distribution of the female and male Yámana painted persons in relation to the age groups can be assessed with a A χ^2 test ($\chi^2=4.63$, $df=3$, 99% level of

⁸ There is one case of a child whose gender is doubtful; because she seems to be a girl, she has been recorded as F?. Again, as in the Selk'nam case, this case has been counted as female in this analysis to avoid generating too many categories. Being only one case, even if its gender attribution is mistaken, the results would not change dramatically. The attribution of the gender of the rest of the children has not been problematic.

confidence), which shows that there are no statistically significant relationships between these two variables (age and gender). This indicates that, according to the sample under analysis, the Yámana had no specific preference for wearing body paintings at a certain age and in relation to a certain gender. This can be related to the Yámana social structure, which, although was not entirely egalitarian in terms of gender division, it was still much less male-dominant than the Selk'nam society. The male-dominant and non-egalitarian Selk'nam society, in turn, shows significant differences in terms of the gender of the wearer of body painting, as noted in the section above.

As seen in chapter 3, the uses of **face painting and body painting** by the Yámana (here the term 'body painting' exclusively refers to the paint of the trunk and limbs) are also significantly related to the **gender** of the wearers ($X^2=8.40$, $df=1$, 99% level of confidence). This shows similarities with the Selk'nam case, in that women painted their faces more than expected while men painted their bodies more than expected if the distribution of frequencies were at random.

Table J.18. Comparison of painted body portions per gender in Selk'nam and Yámana cases.

Selk'nam				Yámana			
body portions	F	M	Total	body portions	F	M	Total
bo	1	29	30	bo		1	1
fa	24	59	83	fa	58	53	111
fa + bo	5	49	54	fa + bo	11	33	44
total	30	137	167	total	69	86	155

But the distribution of gender and general body portions in the Yámana case also shows differences with the Selk'nam case, because the Yámana wore facial paintings in a higher proportion than the Selk'nam. The higher tendency of the Yámana to wear only face painting might be influenced by their wearing of western clothes, which appears in most of the photos as the usual rule. As opposed to this, the Selk'nam still wore their traditional clothes (in many cases, probably only for the photograph, as some written sources reveal, e.g. Dabbene 1911), and this may have influenced their chances to wear also body painting. Another reason that may account for the higher proportion of face painting in the Yámana case is that the number of individuals painted as spirits (9), which require both face and body painting, is lower than in the Selk'nam case (39).

The **age of the wearers** can also be related to the **general portions of the body** that were painted. But unlike the gender case, the age categories of the Yámana are not

statistically significantly related to the general body portions ($X^2=4.5$, $df=3$, 99% level of confidence, calculated excluding the 'only body' category due to its very low frequencies, and lumping the adults plus the 'nd' age categories). This indicates that age was not a fundamental criterion upon which the Yámana decided which broad body portions (face, body, or face plus body) to get painted.

Table J.19. Age of the Yámana wearers and general position of paint on the body.

	age					
posit	a	ch	nd	o	y	Total
bo				1		1
fa	64	18		9	20	111
fa + bo	24	3	9	3	5	44
Total	88	21	9	13	25	156

Yet taking the analysis one step further, the portions of the body that were painted can be considered using a more detailed scale of analysis. These **intermediate-scale body portions** (as opposed to general scale) are: face, arms, legs and trunk. When considering these, it can be noted that the adults wore most of the combinations of these body portions, followed by the old people and the children, while the youngsters were restricted to painting their faces or their faces plus arms.

Table J.20. Age of the Yámana wearers and intermediate body portions which are painted.

	age					
int-posit	a	ch	nd	o	y	Total
f	64	18		9	20	111
f - a	6			2	5	13
f - a - l	7	1				8
f - a - t	4			1		5
f - a - t - l	7		9			16
f - l		2				2
T				1		1
Total	88	21	9	13	25	156

The consideration of these **body portions** (arms, trunk, legs) painted by the Yámana, show interesting tendencies in relation to the **age** of the wearer (table J.20). The children wear two combinations: face + arms + legs, and face + legs; this seems to indicate that, in the children's case, there was a priority or a certain freedom in relation to the legs painting. Instead, they wore no paintings on their trunks. The youngsters only

have cases that combine face painting with arms painting, which shows a narrower restriction in terms of the body portions to be painted.

In relation to the adults, almost all the intermediate body categories combinations have adult cases (the exception is face plus legs, which appears only in children's cases). This age category is the only one that has cases which show the most complete combination of body portions (face + arms + trunk + legs). The "nd" category also shows this combination, and, coincidentally, the individuals in it are very likely to be adults. Also, the adults and the children are the two only age categories that wear paintings on their legs. Finally, the old individuals have cases which include combinations with arms and trunk, as well as the only case of a trunk painted with no combination with other body parts. These individuals do not have cases of painted legs.

These observations suggest that there are certain underlying tendencies in respect to the body portions that the different age categories of Yámana persons were allowed/expected to get painted. It seems that it was appropriate for the adults and elderly to wear paintings in a wider range of body portions and combinations body portions, while the youngsters are in the opposite end, showing a low variety of combinations. In relation to this, it is important to note that the frequency of adult cases is much higher than the frequencies of all the other age categories, so that the odd or less common cases are likely to appear more in the adults category and much less in the others (a X^2 test could have helped to answer this question by assessing if such variations depended on the frequencies of the age categories and hence were random, or if they were significantly related to these categories, but unfortunately it could not be calculated because of the low frequencies of many of the categories). The appearance of more adults in the photos and drawings has already been discussed above. Bearing this in mind, it can also be suggested that the wider variety of painted body portions might be related to a higher importance or broader range of the roles played by the adults in the situations where body painting was worn, or the broader range of situations where they were involved, whereas the youngsters and children might have played less central roles, and were involved in less situations.

Another potential reason for the differences found is that the adults might have had less restrictions to show (and hence paint and exhibit) almost their entire bodies, while the youngsters would have been under a more restrictive rule in relation to this. The elderly people seem to have been in an intermediate position, since it seems it was appropriate for them to show their arms and trunks, but not their legs. This latter restriction may have been related exclusively to their age, and/or to their difficulty or

lack of will to uncover part of their legs when wearing western clothing. The implications of these trends are even more noticeable when comparing the display of paintings in the same body portions by the Selk'nam.

Table J.21. Age of the Selk'nam wearers and intermediate body portions which are painted.

	age						
int-posit	a	b	ch	nd	o	y	Total
a - t	3						3
a - t - l	2						2
f	53	3	18			6	83
f - a - t	2					2	4
f - a - t - l	23		1	34		7	65
f - t						1	1
l	1						1
t	2						2
t - l	6						6
Total	92	3	19	34		6	167

When comparing the relation between age and intermediate body portions of the Yámana with the Selk'nam case, we find some similarities and various differences. The similarities are based on the fact that, in both cases, the adults show the most varied cases of combinations of painted body portions. This is very likely to be related to the higher frequency of adult individuals in the sample, which is common to both cases. But, again, in both cases, the roles played by the adults may have been related to this greater variety of painted body portions. The differences are based on the fact that while in the Yámana case the children and youngsters do not have their trunks painted, they do show their trunks painted in the Selk'nam case. In fact, the most complex/complete combination (face + arms + trunk + legs) is worn not only by the Selk'nam adults, but by the young and children too. In opposition to this, while the Yámana old individuals wore paintings on the face, arms and trunk, the Selk'nam old individuals only wore it on the face. So beyond possible future interpretations which may arise from the combination of this data with the information coming from the written sources, there seems to have been a greater allowance or demand towards the body portions that young people in the Selk'nam society could wear painted in comparison to the Yámana; while in that same society the attitude towards the old people seems to have been much more restrictive than in the Yámana society. The situation of the young Selk'nam people seems to be highly pervaded by the initiation ceremonies and hence by their role in them, which required that they wear paintings covering all their bodies. Conversely, the

situation of the Selk'nam old people seems to indicate that, because of the roles they played, they were either not required to wear paintings on the body –as the adults and youngsters did–, or that they were not interested in following the tradition (i.e. they were losing it) or in showing it to the foreign observers/recorders. In relation to this, there are direct quotations from Selk'nam elderly aborigines that show that they did not want to wear their aboriginal clothing in order to be photographed, since they had already got used to the western clothing (Gusinde 1982). A similar thing may have happened with the paintings for this age group.

The Yámana elderly people, instead, seem to have played an important role in the activities that involved body painting, in terms of the various body portions that they got painted; their use of body painting to mark/create their roles was, in terms of the body portions painted, more extended than in the youngsters case.

The **techniques** with which the Yámana made their body paintings are the following:

- 1 = paint rubbing or smearing by hand
- 2 = paint spitting and rubbing afterwards by hand
- 3 = finger tracing
- 4 = rod/spatula application
- 6 = paint smearing and removal of paint by fingers or nails generating negative lines

This already establishes a difference with the Selk'nam, who, besides these techniques, also used two more (5 = application of positive lines by hand palm, having previously smeared the palm with paint and scratched out lines by fingers or nails; and 7 = application of down buds).

As in the Selk'nam case, these techniques have been defined by the information obtained in the written sources. Since technique 1 and 2, and techniques 3 and 4 are usually difficult to distinguish in the visual records, they have been recorded jointly (1/2, and 3/4). The following table shows the frequency of use of the techniques by the Yámana, recorded per individual (in high visibility records).

Table J.22. Yámana body painting techniques.

technique/s	Total
1/2	9
1/2 & 3/4	51
3/4	63
Total	123

The most frequently used technique was 3/4, followed by a combination (in the sense of being used together, not of mixing) of 1/2 and 3/4. Technique 1/2 was not used frequently on its own. This already indicates two tendencies: on the one hand, there are very few cases in which the resulting designs could be ‘coarse’, i.e. made by wide strokes of paint such as those that technique 1/2 can generate. This technique forbids making detailed designs since when applying it directly with the palm of the hand, the paint cannot be handled properly to make precise and detailed decorative elements. On the other hand, even when using this technique, most of the cases also include designs made with technique 3/4, which allows for a much more subtle handling of the paint, and can generate designs of more detail and precision. Hence these observations point to selection by the Yámana of technical means that allow the production of detailed designs (alone, or in combination with more unrefined decorative elements).

These observations about the Yámana painting techniques show some similarities and some differences with the Selk’nam case. In both, the most used technique was 3/4, but while in the Yámana case technique 1/2 was used alone in a very low proportion (7.3%), in the Selk’nam case it was used in a higher proportion of cases (27%).

Besides pointing to the direct relation of the painting technique with the visual design that results from its application (more detailed vs. less detailed), it would be interesting to search for reasons for these differences. In the first place, it is possible that these differences might be indicating stylistic tendencies particular to the two societies. It is also possible that these technical differences had “functional purposes” that responded to certain intentions of the makers, such as the visualisation of the designs from a far distance; the lack of details and the great surfaces covered by paint (with technique 1/2) may have been related to enhancing the visibility of the overall design. This might have been the case of the Selk’nam *hain* spirits, all of which involved technique 1/2, and in most cases such technique was the only one employed to create the designs. These spirits paintings were meant to be seen from afar (only a few of them entered to the camp, see chapter 6), so the designs –which were used to identify each spirit– might have been required to lack detail and be clearly distinguishable from a distance, hence the “coarse” technique used to produce them. A similar situation may have happened with the Yámana *kina* spirits, which were painted, at least partly, with technique 1/2.

But the rest of the Yámana paintings do not usually involve such technique, and as noted above show a preference for more detailed designs and hence for techniques

which can produce them⁹. It should nevertheless be remarked that the Selk'nam did also elaborate very detailed, tidy and complex designs (involving techniques 3/4), the best example of which are the *kewanix* dance paintings (e.g. S24). The *kewanix* dance paintings involved intricate layouts of rows of dots, lines and small patches of colour, and the viewers of such designs (who in turn would also be wearing *kewanix* paintings, see chapter 6) were at close distance. Therefore, the detailed technique used and the elaborate results obtained, seem to have been planned to be viewed from a short range.

The **techniques** can be considered in terms of the **gender of the wearer**, to search for other tendencies in their use. As it can be seen in the table, both genders wore designs made by technique 1/2, 3/4, and by the combination of 1/2 plus 3/4. A X^2 test shows that the techniques were related to the gender of the wearer ($X^2=7.55$, $df=2$, at 95% level of confidence). Male individuals wore more designs made with techniques 1/2 and 1/2 plus 3/4 than expected, while female individuals wore more designs made with technique 3/4 than expected. The reasons for this seem to lay in the roles that the male and female persons were playing, and also in the body portions that were painted: male individuals roles such as spirits, shamans, and *chiéjaus* 'guardians' which involved painting their bodies more than the women.

Table J.23. Yámana body painting techniques per gender.

Technique/s	F	M	Total
1/2	2	7	9
1/2 & 3/4	18	33	51
3/4	36	27	63
Total	56	67	123

⁹ It is also possible that they would choose a certain technique because of other implications rather than the visual results obtained, e.g. because it entails technical dexterity, or because it involves certain




Plate J-2. Facial paintings worn by two Yámana young women, in an unknown situation, posing for the camera (Y32). These are examples of a motif constructed by rows of minute dots, most likely using technique 4, which was significantly related to the designs worn by women.

manipulations of the body, but there is no information pointing towards such options, and for this reason visual technique is mentioned here as a means to a visual end.

The **techniques** were also related to the **age of the wearers**. First of all, it is noticeable that all the age categories show cases (even if few in some occasions) of each technique or combination of techniques. This in itself seems to be informative, since given that the adults are the age group with more individuals, it could be expectable that they would show more variety of techniques than the rest of the age groups. Hence this may indicate that there was no exclusivity in terms of the age of the wearer to wear a design made by a specific technique.

In spite of the fact that all the age categories had access to wearing all the available techniques, there were certain tendencies which suggest preferences and/or prescriptions about which age groups should wear paintings made with certain techniques. The adults wore more designs combining 1/2 and 3/4 than expected, while the youngsters wore more designs produced by technique 3/4 than expected. Coinciding with the observations made above the 'nd' category, which involves the individuals representing spirits, did not wear any design made exclusively by technique 3/4, all of them were made by a combination between techniques 1/2 and 3/4 or, less frequently, exclusively by technique 1/2.

Table J.24. Yámana body painting techniques used per age group.

technique/s	age					Total
	a	ch	nd	o	y	
1/2	3	1	2	1	2	9
1/2 & 3/4	31	4	7	4	5	51
3/4	33	8		6	16	63
Total	67	13	9	11	23	123

Finally, **techniques** can be assessed in terms of the **general portions of the body** where they were used, in order to search for possible patterns or trends. A X^2 test shows that the general body portions are in fact related to the painting techniques, since there are more cases of face plus body painted with the combination of techniques 1/2 & 3/4 than expected, while there are many more cases of faces painted with technique 3/4 than expected ($X^2 = 69.27$, $df=2$, 99.9% level of confidence; calculated excluding the 'only body' category).

Table J.25. Yámana body painting techniques per general portion of the body painted.

technique/s	posit			
	bo	fa	fa + bo	Total
1/2	1	5	3	9
1/2 & 3/4		12	39	51
3/4		62	1	63
Total	1	79	43	123

This association is quite ‘reasonable’ since the technique that requires and produces more detail (3/4) is applied to the face, a more reduced body portion which is often one of the centres of visual attention when looking at a person, while the combination that includes technique 1/2 is applied to the body and face, hence involving bigger body areas. Nevertheless, it should be noted that when technique 1/2 is applied alone, it is applied more frequently on the face than on the body, so this is not a technique that was exclusively related to the body.

In relation to the **motifs** used by the Yámana to create their body painting designs, some trends in their combinations can already be qualitatively pinpointed (table J.26). Motifs A and Ap were very frequently worn, both in various combinations with other motifs, and also on their own (e.g. Y15, Y33, Y64, Y76, Y88). Coinciding with their high frequency¹⁰, these motifs were worn in various situations, ranging from mourning, the *chiéjaus* ceremony, the *kina* ceremony, the initiation of the shamans/*yekamushes* in the *loimayekamush*, and also in unknown situations in which the aborigines are posing for the camera (‘poc’ situations). Motif F, which was also frequent (but less than A), was worn alone and combined, in the *chiéjaus*, for mourning, and in ‘poc’ situations (e.g. Y16, Y44). Motifs H, and H1, which also appear alone and combined, are quite infrequent. Yet in spite of their low frequencies, they were also worn in mourning, *chiéjaus* and ‘poc’ situations (e.g. Y29, Y83). Hence the frequency of use of the motifs seems not to have been always directly related to the variety of situations in which they were displayed; rather, it seems that it was the situation in itself which dictated, at least in some occasions, which motifs were adequate to be worn. In other cases, some motifs are never combined with others, and are only worn in one specific occasion, such as motif P, which only appears worn in by a series of *kina* ‘spirits’ (photo Y40).

¹⁰ To an extent, the high frequency of motif A depends on the fact that such type involves a great variety of cases, since it includes any number of parallel lines, from two onwards. Yet in the Selk’nam case, such type of motif, defined by the same criteria, is not so abundant, hence showing that the frequency is still relevantly related to the choices and traditions of the society who produces and wears them.

The letters '(yf)' can be noticed next to various of the motifs. These mean 'Yámana factor', and indicate the presence of a detail which consists of a set of transversal short lines (straight lines or rows of dots) displayed horizontally on the temples or corner of the eyes, and on the top of the nose, between the eyes (see photo Y32 above, and Y16, Y21, Y27, Y46, Y52, Y62 in the catalogue). This detail cannot be called a motif on its own, since it never appears alone on the face, and cannot also be considered a decorative element, since it is not a visual element used to construct motifs different than those already defined in appendix A. Rather, this factor is made of specific decorative elements (lines or rows of dots), forms part of certain motifs (usually A, or AP, and also B, Ck, H1 and J) which can also be painted without it, and is distinguishable by its standardised position on the face.

What is interesting about this 'factor' is that it never appears in the Selk'nam designs, hence it can be used as an indication to define and identify some Yámana designs. Moreover, this factor has been traced from the earliest photos of the sample (photos Y32, Y33, Y62) which date from the late 19th century, to the latest photos taken by Gusinde, showing a permanence of this detail of the design which indicates the presence of a certain traditional continuity. This permanence is also shown by an interesting case of photos taken by De Agostini around 1910-1920, when seems to have made some Yámana persons dress like Selk'nam to be photographed (probably because he was a priest and did not want to depict semi-naked people). In these photographs, these Yámana persons are not wearing their usual clothing (either their Yámana aboriginal clothes or the western clothing which they were getting used to). In three of them (Y45, Y46 and Y65), which show painted women, they are wearing paintings which have the 'Yámana factor'. So, in spite of their overall changes in their clothing, the photographer was, most likely, not interested in making them change their paintings. Hence the aborigines kept their typical Yámana detail in the face painting designs when they were photographed¹¹. In these occasions, it seems that (body painting) tradition was stronger than (photographic) fake.

¹¹ De Agostini also took this kind of photos of men, but in this case those that show body paintings (Y66, Y72) do not show this detail.

Table J. 26. Combinations of motifs worn by the Yámana.

combination of motifs	Total
A	12
A (yf)	24
A + Ap	1
A + Ck (yf)	1
A + D + P	6
A + F	2
A + F + H	1
A + H1	1
A + Vi	1
A + Z	1
Ap	8
Ap (yf)	5
Ap (yf) + H1	1
Ap + F	1
Ax	3
Ax (yf)	1
AxB (yf)	1
B	3
B (yf)	4
Bp (yf)	2
F	10
F + H + H1	1
G	2
H1 (yf)	1
H1 + Vi	1
P	1
Q	1
Z	4
no	6
A (yf) + CJ1 + H + H1d	1
Apl + F	2
A + CJ	1
H	1
A + CJ1	1
A + B + CJx	1
Ap + ADS	1
BAR	2
CJ2 (yf)	3
A + BAS	1
D + ADS	1
Aplx	1
H2	1
Total	123

Table J. 27. Motifs worn by the Yámana, regardless of their combinations.

Motifs	Total
A	35
A (yf)	27
ADS	4
Ap	11
Ap (yf)	6
Apl	2
Aplx	1
Ax	4
Ax (yf)	1
AxB (yf)	1
B	4
B (yf)	4
BAR	4
BAS	1
Bp (yf)	2
CJ	2
CJ1	4
CJ2 (yf)	6
CJx	2
Ck	1
Ck (yf)	1
D	7
F	18
G	2
H	6
H1	4
H1 (yf)	1
H1d	2
H2	2
P	7
Q	1
Vi	2
Z	7
Total	182

The **comparison** of the Yámana repertoire with the Selk'nam repertoire of **motifs** shows that they did share some motifs, but that they mostly had several exclusive motifs. A table showing the *groups of motifs* worn by each society was presented in chapter 3 (table 3.4). The following table (J.28) presents the total repertoire of motifs worn by the two societies. This table shows that out of the total series of motifs that have been recorded in both societies (56 motifs), the Yámana and Selk'nam only share 9 of these motifs. This shows a clear qualitative tendency to an independence of repertoire of each society, since they have more exclusive motifs than motifs in common. Although this is a qualitative observation that does not take into account the frequencies of each motif, it is important to point out to the differences observed, since they indicate the existence of diverse visual creations, and possibly different traditions, by each society.

Table J.28. Comparative table of motifs worn by Selk'nam and Yámana in their designs.

Motifs	Yámana	Selk'nam
A	Yes	Yes
A (yf)	Yes	No
Ap	Yes	Yes
Ap (yf)	Yes	No
AS	Yes	No
Ax	Yes	No
Ax (yf)	Yes	No
AxB (yf)	Yes	No
B	Yes	Yes
B (yf)	Yes	No
Bp (yf)	Yes	No
Ck	Yes	Yes
Ck (yf)	Yes	No
CJ	Yes	Yes
CM	Yes	No
CR	No	Yes
D	Yes	Yes
Dm	No	Yes
Dmp	No	Yes
Dp	No	Yes
E	No	Yes
Ed	No	Yes
Ep	No	Yes
Epx	No	Yes
Ex	No	Yes
F	Yes	Yes
Fd	No	Yes
Fp	No	Yes
G	Yes	No
Gx	No	Yes
H	Yes	Yes
H1	Yes	No
H1d	Yes	No
J	Yes	Yes
J (x2) (yf)	Yes	No
J (x2)	No	Yes
J (x4)	No	Yes
J (x8)	No	Yes
Jx	Yes	No
Jpt	No	Yes
Jptx	No	Yes
Jrd (yf)	Yes	No
K (x2)	No	Yes
P	Yes	No
Q	Yes	No
RT	No	Yes
S	No	Yes
S irreg SQ	No	Yes
S semi RT	No	Yes
T	No	Yes
Vi	Yes	No
Yb	No	Yes
Z	Yes	No
Z/Q	Yes	No
2L	No	Yes
2Linv	No	Yes

In relation to the **decorative elements** used by the Yámana, as it was expected, taking into account that some of the most frequent motifs were A and F, which are made of lines, the most frequently used decorative elements to construct motifs were in fact the lines. These constitute 49.7% of the total of decorative elements used in the designs worn by individuals who appear in high visibility photographs (without counting repetitions). The second most frequent decorative element was the ground. These two decorative elements (LI and GR) were also the most frequent in the Selk'nam case. But then some differences start to emerge, since the third most frequent Yámana decorative element is the row of dots, while in the Selk'nam case it is the dots. Other qualitative differences are commented in the comparison at the end of this section.

Table J.29. Types of decorative elements used by the Yámana to construct motifs.

types dec elem	Total
BA	5
DCL	7
DS	1
DT	6
GR	55
LI	124
PT	14
RD	28
LI/RD	1
RCDS	5
RPDS	1
DCL/RD	2
Total	249

As with the Selk'nam case, the **colours** in which the Yámana painted their bodies are, according to the written sources, black, red and white. Again, because of the use of black and white photographs, the paintings' colours have been recorded as dark (lumping black and red), and white, while combinations of both colours in one single decorative element have been recorded as 'white & dark'.

Table J.30. Yámana use of colours per decorative element (regardless of combination).

dark	white	white & dark	total
90	142	17	249

The frequencies of use of colour by the Yámana show that white (57%) was used much more often than dark (36%), while 'white & dark' was used in a smaller proportion of decorative elements (6.8%). This ranking of use of colours is the same than that found for the Selk'nam paintings, although in such case the use of white was even higher (69.5%) and the proportions of dark and 'white & dark' were lower. It is not clear whether this is related to the availability of raw materials to use as white colouring substances (see chapter 4 for information about the materials used), which would nevertheless be subject to selection by the painting producers, or if it only reflects such selection, independently of the relative availability of each substance. An assessment of the potential sources of raw material, based on surveys and geological maps might help in taking this research issue further, and is a topic which I hope to develop in the future.

The **colour** of the **decorative elements** can be related to their different types, to search for possible visual patterns. As noted in table J.30, no colour was used in the entire range of decorative elements used by the Yámana. Also, only a few decorative elements were exclusively painted in one colour.

Table J.31. Yámana decorative elements and colours.

	colour dec elem			
types dec elem	dark	white	white & dark	Total
BA	1	4		5
DCL			7	7
DS		1		1
DT	4	2		6
GR	4	51		55
LI	69	51	4	124
PT	2	12		14
RD	7	17	4	28
LI/RD		1		1
RCDS	2	3		5
RPDS	1			1
DCL/RD			2	2
Total	90	142	17	249

Yet there existed a specific trend in the use of certain colours to paint certain decorative elements: a X^2 test shows that lines were painted in dark colour/s more than expected, while grounds were painted in white more than expected ($X^2=50.52$, $df=4$, 99% level of confidence, calculated only for DT, GR, LI, PT, RD, and excluding the white & dark combination due to its low frequencies). This implies: a) that grounds were painted white to contrast with dark decorative elements that would be painted on

top of them (the lines, or other elements), and b) that such trend marks a deep difference with the Selk'nam case, in which the tendency was for grounds to be painted in dark colour/s (not white).

In relation to the **gender** of the wearer of the designs constructed by each type of **decorative elements**, both genders wore almost all the decorative elements in some of their designs (table J.31). When assessing the most frequent decorative elements (GR, LI and RD) with a X^2 test, a statistically significant relationship was found between them and the gender of the wearer ($X^2=5.33$, $df=2$, 90% level of confidence), because male individuals tend to wear more designs involving lines than expected, while female individuals tend to wear more designs involving rows of dots than expected. The relationship between men and lines may possibly be based on the fact that most of the designs of the *kina* spirits, which were only worn by men, involved the use of lines.

Yet when assessing only the GR and LI, no significant relationship with the gender of the wearer was found ($X^2=1.69$, $df=2$, 99% level of confidence). So in this case these two decorative elements were indistinctly used in designs worn by Yámana men and women. Such lack of gender difference should not be surprising, and it might be at least indirectly related to the semi-egalitarian Yámana social structure. Yet because this specific analysis is carried out at a very basic scale (that of the decorative element), such conclusion should not be overemphasised, since it is at more elaborate scales, such as motif or the entire design, that the visual interaction between wearer and viewer must have mostly taken place. Rather, this result sheds light on a specific detail of a much broader and complex visual system.

Table J.32. Yámana decorative elements and gender of the wearer.

	gender		
types dec elem	F	M	Total
BA		5	5
DCL	3	4	7
DCL/RD	2		2
DS	1		1
DT	1	5	6
GR	17	38	55
LI	51	73	124
LI/RD	1		1
PT	3	11	14
RCDS		5	5
RD	16	12	28
RPDS		1	1
Total	95	154	249

Comparing the **Selk'nam and Yámana cases**, out of a total of 16 **decorative elements** identified in the database, the Yámana used 13 decorative elements, and the Selk'nam also used 13. The Yámana and the Selk'nam share in common 10 of these decorative elements, but both also had some decorative elements which were specific to each society and not worn by the other one. The table below summarises the situation:

Table J.33. Comparison between Selk'nam and Yámana decorative elements repertoire.

types decorative elements	Selk'nam	Yámana
BA – bands	Yes	Yes
BD – big dots	Yes	Yes
CB – down buds	Yes	No
DCL – double colour lines (usually one colour framed by another one)	No	Yes
DCL/RD – double colour lines and rows of dots	No	Yes
DS – dashes	Yes	Yes
DT – dots	Yes	Yes
GR – grounds	Yes	Yes
IS – irregular stripes	Yes	No
LI – lines	Yes	Yes
LI/RD – row of dots combined with lines	Yes	Yes
PT – patches	Yes	Yes
RBD – row of big dots	Yes	No
RD – rows of dots	Yes	Yes
RCDS – rows of consecutive dashes	No	Yes
RPDS – rows of parallel dashes	Yes	Yes
Total of 16 decorative elements	13	13

To an extent, the differences found can be accounted for when relating the decorative elements to the situations in which they were used. The irregular stripes appear in Selk'nam facial designs mostly worn by shamans/*xons* and by male initiands, and they require a special technique (technique # 5¹²) which is absent in the Yámana cases. The rows of big dots usually appear in the Selk'nam *hain* spirits designs, and therefore are not present in the Yámana society. Conversely, the rows of consecutive dashes appear in the Yámana *kina* spirits designs, and are therefore particular to that ceremony and that society. The Yámana double colour lines are worn in few cases, for the *chiéjaus* ceremony, and for a mourning occasion, the former situation being exclusive of this society. The down buds are used by the Selk'nam to decorate the body of K'termen, a mythical baby of the *hain* represented by an initiand, and the gown of Tanu, one of the spirits of this ceremony. They also involve a specific technique (which

¹² Application of positive lines by hand palm, having previously smeared the palm with paint and scratched out lines with the fingers or nails.

involves attaching the down buds to the skin or to the hide gown), which is obviously absent from the Yámana society. So these decorative elements are, again, situation-specific as well as particular to the society that created and used them. The fact that all these decorative elements are specific of only one society and not worn by the other one may then be related to their special use within that society, since they are all involved in very particular ceremonial or special situations which were not developed in the neighbouring society.

The Yámana structured their designs with extremely few combinations of the three **visual principles** (translation, rotation and reflection): they mostly used translation, as well as translation plus rotation. Rotation was never used alone (without combination), and reflection was not used at all. All these observations mark differences with the Selk'nam designs, because the Yámana used a much higher proportion of translation plus rotation, while the Selk'nam used reflection in a few cases, with and without combination. The reasons for these design choices/traditions are not clear, but they do mark the existence of inter-society differences in the structure of the designs.

Table J.34. Visual principles used by the Yámana and Selk'nam per individual (high visibility photos, without repetition).

Yámana		Selk'nam	
visual principles	Total	visual principles	Total
no (uniform)	7	no (uniform)	7
RF	0	RF	1
TR	72	TR	102
TR + RF		TR + RF	1
TR + RT	44	TR + RT	18
TR + RT + RF	0	TR + RT + RF	1
Total	123	Total	130

Finally, the types of axial **symmetry** identified in the Yámana designs show that there existed a clear preference for the axial-vertical symmetry both in the facial and in the body (arms and limbs) paintings. When the facial designs were not entirely axial-vertically symmetrical, they were still vertically divided into two halves ('no-ax div'), though each half was not symmetric to the other. In the few cases when the body designs were not axial-vertically symmetric, they were almost symmetric (yes ax-), one of the halves lacking a detail in relation to the other half. These exceptions reinforce the general trend of selection of axial-vertical symmetry as a very important

compositional feature that resulted from the use of the visual principles mentioned above, plus the forms, colours, position and orientation of the decorative elements and motifs, which were the basic plastic features on which symmetry was based.

Table J.35. Types of axial symmetry in Yámana facial paintings.

symmetry design face	Total
no – ax div	12
yes ax	111
Total	123

Table J.36. Types of axial symmetry in Yámana body (arms and limbs) paintings.

symmetry design body	Total
nc (no body painting)	78
yes (ax-)	3
yes ax	42
Total	123

J.3. Brief conclusions.

This visual analysis of the Selk'nam and Yámana body painting designs has shown that there existed some qualitative similarities between the paintings worn by these two societies, particularly in the decorative elements they used to construct them, in the primacy of translation as a main visual principle involved in structuring the designs and in their preferences for axial-vertical symmetry. But in spite of the fact that they were constructed using a similar range of decorative elements, the resulting motifs were significantly different. And the frequencies with which they were worn in each society are, in several cases, closely related to the specificity of the situations in which they were displayed and the roles of the persons wearing them. Also, different trends have been found in terms of the gender and age of the wearers, the portions of the body they got painted, the uses of colour in relation to the decorative elements, and the uses of visual principles beyond the quantitative primacy of translation.

Therefore, it can be concluded that, at a formal level, the visual analysis has shown the existence of some similarities, but also has pinpointed deep differences in the designs, at an inter-society level. The study of the designs at a formal and iconographic level, and of their social functions within their specific situations of production and display, in chapters 4, 5 and 6, will show the depth of such differences.

Appendix K. Body painting production sequence

stages	Selk'nam	Yámana
colours used	red, white and black	red, white and black
procurement or raw materials	+pigments: black = charcoal/ash, flint; red = clay, ochre, blood; white = clay, fine gypsum, lime, guanaco bones +binding media: water, saliva, grease, oil +procurement of red pigment by the women	+ pigments: white = lime, clay, ash; black = charcoal, ash; red = clay, ochre, ferruginous concretions, blood + binding media: water, saliva, oil + procurement of pigment: done individually, by women in the kina
storage of raw materials	+ gypsum and clay pigments kept as dry powder in leather bags + black pigments not stored because of charcoal availability + storage of red pigments by the women	+ storage of red and white pigments in leather bags + black pigments not stored due to charcoal availability + red pigments moulded and stored humid in a cloth or leather
preparation of pigments	+ clay = pulverised and burnt; +lime = burnt; +charcoal = ground + guanaco bones = incinerated and triturated + flint = moistened and pulverised	+ lime powder = scraping lime with teeth + mussels shells = burning and grinding + charcoal = grinding
preparation of paint	+pigments diluted and mixed with water/ice/snow, grease or saliva +in the left palm, +in a tin, +chewing (hence mixing it with saliva)	+ red pigment heated with fire, grounded / pulverised and mixed with pinniped oil; + black pigment mixed with water, saliva or fish oil + white pigment mixed with saliva (chewed), or water, or oil + all pigments diluted in a mussel's shell or in the hand
storage of paint	storage of red and white paint as moist paste or as powder, in hide bags	storage of red and white paint in hide bag
preparation of tools	rod jaw-bone of porpoise	rod/spatula, prepared by the women
application of paint	+ rubbing or smearing + spitting after chewing and then rubbing + laying it using the fingers + applying it with a rod + smearing the skin and scraping out negative lines + smearing hand palm, scraping neg. lines & applying posit. lines	+ laying it using fingers + applying it with the palms of the hand + applying it with a rod/spatula + smearing the skin and scraping out negative lines
maintenance of painted designs	+maintenance/renewal of initiands paintings in the hain ceremony +maintenance of spirits paintings in the hain ceremony +renewal of 'engagement' paintings +renewal of first menstruation paintings	+ maintenance/renewal of initiands paintings in chiéjaus ceremony + renewal of first menstruation paintings + renewal of mourning paintings
erasing the painted designs	rubbing off the paint when cancelling kewanix dance due to rain	erasing of spirits paintings in kina ceremony

Appendix L. Materials, tools and techniques of preparation and application of paint by the Selk'nam and the Yámana.

L.1. Written information about materials, tools and techniques of Yámana paintings.

Authors	materials and preparation techniques	tools and techniques of application
Weddell	♦ ochre	
FitzRoy	♦ black = charcoal mixed with grease or water ♦ red = ochre ♦ white = aluminous earth, indurated pipe clay, decomposed feldspar	
Darwin	♦ white = clay collected from bottom of mountain creeks [see quotation ¹] ♦ red = cooked earths ♦ black = pounded charcoal ♦ red paint kept in pinniped esophagus	♦ paint applied with fingers ♦ paint applied with rod or spatula
Webster	♦ red = ochre ♦ black? = ashes ♦ use of grease in mixture	
Ross	♦ red = ochre ♦ use of grease and oil in mixture	
Despard	♦ ashes ♦ blood	
Bridges	♦ pigments kept in leather bag ♦ white = clay, lime sediment similar to magnesite, moulded in lumps and cooked, to enhance whiteness	♦ paint applied with fingers

¹ Quotation from Darwin's journal, page 230, footnote referring to white pigments:

"This substance, when dry, is tolerably compact, and of little specific gravity; Professor Ehrenberg has examined it: he states (Koning Akad. Der Wissen: Berlin, Feb. 1845) that it is composed of infusoria, including fourteen polygastrica and four phytolitharia. He says that they are all inhabitants of fresh water; this is a beautiful example of the results obtainable through Professor Ehrenberg's microscopic researches; for Jemmy Button told me that it is always collected at the bottoms of mountain-brooks. It is, moreover, a striking fact in the geographical distribution of the infusoria, which are well known to have very wide ranges, that all the species in this substance, although from the extreme southern point of Tierra del Fuego, are old, known forms." (Darwin 1845: 230)

This footnote only appears in the 1845 version, and not in 1839, possibly because this microscopic analysis was not ready before. Darwin's interest on scientific detailed description is clear in this paragraph. This is the only text that includes such kind of study. Moreover, beyond its interest for the question about body painting materials, the paragraph seems to be an early example of Darwin's evolutionist rationale about the geographical distribution of species and their age.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ red = cooked earths ◆ black = pounded charcoal ◆ pigments diluted in a big shell ◆ pigments of the three colours, mixed oil (fish, fish liver), grease (pinniped, whale, dolphin or bird) 	
Bove	◆ clay of various colours	
Lovisato	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ red = ochre clay or baked/cooked clay ◆ white = clay ◆ pigments diluted in mussel shell 	
Spegazzini	Pigments kept in bag	
Martial	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ red = ferruginous salt ◆ white = clay, similar to caolin ◆ black = pounded charcoal 	
Hyades	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ white = clay ◆ black = pounded charcoal ◆ use of oil or saliva in mixture 	
Hyades and Deniker	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ pigments kept in dolphin tracheas ◆ red = ferruginous concretions ◆ white = clay ◆ black = pounded charcoal 	◆ wooden rod or spatula
Payró	◆ red = blood from the nose	
Dabbene	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ white = caolin clay ◆ red = ferruginous salt ◆ black = charcoal 	
Borgatello [this information is recorded for both Selk'nam and Yámana]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ white, red or black = earth ◆ use of grease in mixture ◆ white = clay or paste of ashes ◆ red = earth baked on fire ◆ red = natural ochre ◆ black = pulverised charcoal 	
De Agostini [1924: information only for Selk'nam case] [1945: same text for Selk'nam and Yámana cases]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ clay earth = found in the mountains of the interior [of the island] ◆ black = burnt vegetal residues ◆ use of grease in mixture 	
Gusinde	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ red = ferruginous concretions, blood ◆ white = lime powder from limestone, ashes ◆ black = pounded charcoal ◆ red and white pigments kept in 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ paint applied with fingers ◆ paint applied with rod or spatula ◆ 'negative' painting scratching out lines from painted surface

	<p>esophagous of duck or in pinniped gut</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ♦ pigments mixed in hand palm or mussel shell ♦ red mixed with pinniped oil ♦ black mixed with water, saliva or fish oil ♦ white chewed and mixed with saliva or water, not oil (pp. 412), with oil (pp. 1346) ♦ eggs used as 'paint' (when celebrating first eggs gathering in spring) 	
Koppers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ♦ pigments diluted in shell or on the hand ♦ use of saliva and water in mixture 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ♦ paint applied with rod or spatula ♦ use of mirror for self-painting
Lothrop	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ♦ red = burning earth ♦ black = charcoal ♦ white = clay 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ♦ paint applied with the finger ♦ paint applied with small spatula (<i>telákikamána</i>)
L. Bridges		painting procedure similar to 'Ona' (Selk'nam), see table L2.
Spencer	red = large sea-urchin fluid from ligament	
Stambuk	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ♦ earths ♦ use of oil or water in mixture ♦ red = red earth cooked on fire, making 'tortillas', with special wood, not 'canelo' (ordinary? wood) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ♦ rod with flat end (spatula), (technique #4) ♦ hand palm bedaubing ♦ use of oil to 'fix' the painting over the skin

L.2. Written information about materials, tools and techniques of Selk'nam paintings.

authors	materials and preparation techniques	tools and techniques of application
Sarmiento Gamboa	red = earth ²	
Spegazzini	pigments kept in bag	
Lista	pigments kept in bag	
Segers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ♦ pigments kept in bag ♦ white = earth ♦ red = earth ♦ black = charcoal 	
Gallardo	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ♦ use of grease of whale or seal in mixture with red ♦ use of water or saliva in mixture with white and yellow ♦ red = earth found in slopes under black soil ♦ yellow = earth ♦ white = earth ♦ white = burnt bones ♦ black = burnt grass 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ♦ dolphin mandible used as 'comb' to dip in paint and make rows of small dots (technique #4) ♦ putting some paint in the hand's palm and scraping out 'negative' narrow lines of the mixture with the four nails, and pressing the palm against the skin, thus marking the 'positive' remaining stripes (technique #5)
Payró	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ♦ clay ♦ saliva 	
Dabbene ³	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ♦ pigments kept in bag ♦ red = ochre ♦ use of grease in mixture 	
Borgatello [this information is recorded for both Selk'nam and Yámana cases]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ♦ white, red or black = earth ♦ use of grease in mixture ♦ white = clay or paste of ashes ♦ red = earth baked on fire ♦ red = natural ochre ♦ black = pulverised charcoal 	
De Agostini [1924: information only for Selk'nam case]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ♦ clay earth = found in the mountains of the interior [of the island] ♦ black = burnt vegetal residues 	

² In the old Spanish text, the term used for indicating that a person was bedaubed with paint is "embijado". The glossary in the 1951 edition of Sarmiento de Gamboa book provides the following definition: "embijado: from "bija", term of Antillas origin, Arahua, name of a red colourant that is obtained from some seeds (in some regions named 'achiote', in others 'onoto'); "bija" is also the name of the tree (*Bija orellana*) and of the seeds" (1951: glossary). Yet this does not necessarily mean that such substance was used by the Selk'nam aborigines to paint themselves; moreover, Sarmiento de Gamboa mentions their use of 'earth', which was later observed by most of the authors who wrote on the topic.

³ As noted in appendix B, Dabbene (1904: 70) stated that the Selk'nam "do not use to paint themselves as the Yahgan and the Alacaluf", hence the information provided in his (1911) paper must not be first hand but must have been quoted from other sources.

[1945: same text for Selk'nam and Yámana cases]	♦ use of grease in mixture	
Gusinde	♦ black = charcoal, flint ♦ white = clay (pulverised and burnt), fine gypsum, lime (burnt), guanaco bones, calcareous earth ♦ red = clay, blood ♦ mixture with water, saliva, grease and oil ♦ red and white pigments kept as dry powder in leather bags	♦ rubbing by hand (technique #2) ♦ spitting the paint and then rubbing it (technique 31) ♦ laying paint using the fingers (technique #3) ♦ applying paint using a rod (flat or rounded, technique #4) ♦ putting some paint in the hand's palm and scraping out 'negative' narrow lines of the mixture with the four nails, and pressing the palm against the skin, thus marking the 'positive' remaining stripes (technique #5) ♦ smearing the skin with paint and afterwards scraping out some thin lines, so that a 'negative' impression is left on the skin (technique #6)
Lothrop	♦ red = earth, found apparently in many places ♦ white = clay ♦ black = ground charcoal ♦ use of grease and saliva in mixture	paint applied with the hand or fingers
L. Bridges	♦ pigments kept in skin bag, bladder of seal or guanaco ♦ red = clay use of grease in mixture, then burnt; resulting powder mixed again with grease, rolled into a dry ball which could then be powdered ♦ yellow = clay ♦ white = chalk or ash ♦ black = charcoal	♦ section of a jaw-bone of a porpoise, blunt teeth daubed in colour and then pressed against the skin (technique #4) ♦ finger tracing (technique #3) ♦ palm plastered with paint and stripes scratched off with the nails of the other hand, the remaining parallel ridges of paint were then applied on the face (technique #5)

Appendix M. Everyday life paintings

Yámana everyday life paintings.

Some authors mention the use of body paintings by the Yámana to *express states of mood or intentions towards others*. Fitz-Roy (1939: 177) noted that red paint was used for denoting peace and friendly intentions, while white was worn for war. Martial also recorded the use of body painting to express “an idea or feeling”, or situations such as “mourning or happiness, peace or war” (Martial 1888: 188). A similar use of “special face paintings for the different friendship bonds” was quoted from Bridges by Hyades and Deniker (1891: 349-350). Lothrop (1928: 126) and Borgatello (1989: 182) also referred to the expression of feelings, although not from their own observations. Aggressive intentions were also partly expressed via body paintings (Despard 1867: 179, Bridges 1872: 125, Gusinde 1986: 1090), but these clearly correspond to a specific custom: the blood revenge (see below).

Hence the lumping of these uses of body painting under the ‘mood expression’ category does not entirely suit them, for two reasons: a) the situations included are quite different, and some involved special and complex developments of body painting designs (e.g. mourning, blood revenge) which were not developed for the rest, b) although the expression of feelings are indeed involved in these situations, there are no documented cases in which the designs were worn just to communicate a state of mood (e.g. happiness, sadness) as in the Selk’nam case (see section 5.2.2), and all the feelings expressed are connected to specific situations (e.g. blood revenge, friendship).

The use of body painting, in particular facial paintings, for *beautifying*, ornamental, decorative, cosmetic, or coquetry purposes was mentioned by a series of authors, but very few offered some specific data about how these paintings looked like and none explained if they were any different to other paintings they observed (Fitz-Roy 1939: 177, Martial 1888: 188, Lothrop 1928: 126, Hyades 1884: 562). Fitz-Roy noted that red was worn for ornamental purposes (1939: 177), which coincides with Gusinde’s observations about the great appreciation of the Yámana for red colour as beautiful (1986: 1441). Hyades stated that coquetry was mainly shown by young women, who wore “white clay [paintings] forming lines of dots over the face” (Hyades 1995: 408). Other much less specific mentions include phrases such as “everyday life paintings for mere pleasure” (Gusinde 1986: 1445).

The occasion of paying *visits* seems to have been usually marked by the display of facial paintings. Hyades and Deniker mentioned the existence of special face

paintings for “the great visits which they sometimes do to groups far from their own” (Hyades and Deniker 1891: 349-350 quoting Bridges), although they did not describe them. T. Bridges mentioned in one of his texts that visits to sick people were “visits of ceremony, accompanied with appropriate painting, and incantation.” (Bridges 1897: 68-70), again, with no descriptions of the designs. In this case the use of facial painting can be related not just to the visit, but to the recovery of the sick person (see below).

Gusinde made a distinction between *paying a visit* and *receiving a visitor*. In the first case, the person would paint his/her face, with a design that would vary according to his/her taste and also to the time of the day (no further explanation is given); this paint would honour the person who is being visited (Gusinde 1986: 416). In turn, a person expecting a visitor would also paint himself/herself with anticipation, but if the visit was not expected, instead of getting painted immediately, the person will later pay a visit in retribution (possibly also wearing paintings; *ibid*). The visiting occasions included young people visiting their elderly family members, sons and daughters visiting their parents, young people visiting their *chiéjaus* godparents and young men visiting their girlfriends. This obligation involved young, middle aged and old people, but among the latter group, the elderly men were not taking care of it anymore (*ibid*; note the coincidence of this observation with the comments on chapter 4 about the relaxation of the *chiéjaus* painting tradition in the elderly age group). Although any design seems to have been suitable for this use, three facial painting designs are mentioned by Gusinde (*ibid*; also 982-983, 1445):

- 1) white paint (no actual motif is described)
- 2) two red parallel horizontal lines painted across the cheeks
- 3) thin red straight lines radially painted down the cheeks.

There are a few clear references about the use of body painting in helping ill people to *recover from illness*. One is a very brief comment made by Spencer: “Domingo had his face painted by old Mrs. Domingo with red lines to assist in recovery” (Spencer 1951: 97). The other one comes from the testimony of Rosa, who remembered that her godmother cured her from sickness by painting her face with “red mud” (Stambuk 1986: 64). Rosa recalled that in another occasion members of her family had also painted their faces and sang to help the *yekamush* who was curing her (*ibid*). The use of paint to cure a sick person seems also to have been related to the job of the shamans/*yekamushes*, and also to the visits paid to sick people (mentioned above). The coincidence in the use of red paint in both different cases is quite

interesting, yet we lack information about the possible meanings or implications of the use of such colour.

When a Yámana person was murdered, his relatives usually engaged in a *blood revenge*, which consisted in attacking and sometimes killing the murderer and/or members of his/her family. The first observer to report such a custom was Despard (1861: 179), yet the description of the body painting worn is quite unclear, the unambiguous data being the use of red and black colours. T. Bridges referred to it in various texts, noting that “everyone who felt it was possible for him to become concerned in the affray, presented him or herself armed with a paddle, a stout stick, or other weapon, as spears, stones and slings.” (Bridges 1872: 125). He observed that “The two parties are known to each other by their painted faces, the avengers having their faces covered with white spots on a black ground, the others white bands across the face on a red ground.” (ibid; note here the coincidence with Despard about the colours used). In another occasion he wrote that the avengers were “all disguised with paint and charcoal, so that I could not readily recognise many whom I knew well ... Like the man who confronted him, he had a broad band of white from his chin downward, and his head was bound with the skin of a kelp gander with the white down on it, and his hair was also whitened. He had a *white stone* in either hand.” (Bridges 1875: 13-14, my emphasis). It is clear in Bridges’s texts that he actively tried to avoid this kind of retaliation and tried to foster other non-violent ways of settling down these matters.

Finally, Gusinde noted that “the family and friends painted all their body uniformly in black, while the adversaries did so in red” (Gusinde 1986: 1090), and that “each group applies the same colours to the weapons and sticks too.” (ibid). Besides the coincidences with Despard and Bridges about the use of red and black colours (possibly because he was quoting from L. Bridges, since it is highly unlikely that blood revenges were still taking place in the 1920s), the use of paint to cover the weapons is quite interesting. In the first place, this might be related to T. Bridges’s observation about the use of ‘white’ (painted?) stones in the blood revenge. But more importantly, if painted weapons were indeed used in the blood revenge, this may in turn be related to the other situation in which painted weapons were employed: the *yamalashemoina*, the collective mourning ceremony.

There is only one reference to the use of body painting when *crossing sounds/channels*, which comes from observations made in quite recent times: “When crossing one of the Sounds, like Ponsomby, or even a narrower channel like the Murray Narrows, a man will paint broad transverse bands of black across the woman’s face.

This supposed to ensure a fair weather crossing (Spencer 1951: 87). It is interesting to note that the painting was done by a man, while the wearer was a woman, possibly because it was her who was in charge of rowing.

Finally, the only clear reference to the use of body painting for *skin protection* comes from FitzRoy, who noted that “Any sort of clay is used, if their paint is scarce, to preserve warmth rather than as an improvement to their appearance.” (1839: 177). No other references to such use are found in the texts. In the texts about most recent periods, this may be due to the fact that the Yámana were already wearing western clothes, and hence might have abandoned this habit.

Selk’nam everyday life paintings¹.

Various authors mention in their texts the use of facial paintings by Selk’nam persons as means of *mood expression*. The category, as in the Yámana case, includes the uses of paint for very different situations that involve the expression of feelings and/or intentions. Most quotations provide generalisations about these (e.g. De Agostini 1924: 27; 1945: 68) and, usually, they establish relationships to the colours used, but not to the motifs worn. For example: “I think that all the colours are symbolic: white is a sign of peace or war; red means happiness, and black is mourning.” (Lista 1887: 101).

Yet the data provided by the different authors about such uses of colour are not consistent: for example, red was considered by some to be an expression of happiness (ibid; Borgatello 1929: 182; Gusinde 1982: 207), but it has also been related to war (Payro 1898: 210), combats (Bridges 1951: 272), and mourning (ibid). But while Bridges related red to mourning (ibid), other authors claimed that black was used to express mourning and melancholy (Lista 1887: 101; Borgatello 1929: 182). In turn, white was mostly associated with hostility (Segers 1891: 61, Dabbene 1911: 33, Borgatello 1929: 182, see below), but Gallardo (1910: 150) relates it to the expression of happiness². These inconsistencies may be explained by the following observation: “The decorative painting³ serves to express different states of mood or moment

¹ Gusinde provided a convoluted description of what he called ‘decorative paintings’ (Gusinde 1982: 207-209). According to his own data, these were worn not only to enhance the beauty of the wearer, but also to suit many other everyday life situations. The information provided is synthetically presented in appendix H. Each design is nevertheless described in the corresponding paragraph according to its situation/s of use.

² Yet as noted in chapter 2 and appendix B, Gallardo’s information clearly shows numerous flaws in that he either did not support his claims with direct observations or failed to quote his source of information.

³ Note that here the decorative painting would not just have a beautifying purpose but a communicative intention too.

situations. Hence the total arbitrariness in applying this or that [design], according to the wish or impulse of each one” (Gusinde 1982: 207).

Yet Gusinde (idem: 208) described some of designs worn to express joy, combined with other purposes:

- *kekósiken*, a red ground, over which sometimes two white parallel lines were painted around the arms, around the thighs and, forming a ‘T’ shape, across the shoulders and along the torso. It seems to have been worn to communicate general happiness when the weather was good. He referred to a photograph published by De Agostini in which such design is worn by a man (actually there are three see S5, S69 and S69). No information was published by De Agostini in relation to the possible meaning of such design.
- *koskari*, a series of (white) irregular lines. Its technique (number 5 in the database, see chapter 4) consisted of spreading lime/gypsum over the palm, scratching paint out, and applying the remaining lines over the face. This design was also worn to beautify the wearer, and in weddings (see below). Instead, according to Gallardo (1910:152) this design expressed anger.

L. Bridges published the only visual record of a ‘mood expression’ design, worn by a young woman to show that she was melancholic and did not want to be disturbed (S26). The design consisted of vertical yellow lines painted ‘on either side of the mouth’ (in the photograph they are visible down the cheeks; 1951: caption plate XXXIX and 367). As noted in chapter 3, Bridges considered this as an advantageous way of communicating that should be incorporated by white men. This record clearly marks a specific use related to the expression of a personal state of mood not necessarily connected to a particular situation (e.g. mourning, war, etc.), which is distinctive of the Selk’nam society and has not been recorded within the Yámana.

The use of body painting for *beautifying and coquetry* purposes has been specifically noted by Borgatello (1929: 182), and Gallardo (1910: 149) and De Agostini (1945: 68), who considered it a mainly male task. The only exclusive use of paint for coquetry purposes that Gusinde noted was that “Women who wish to look beautiful ... apply red powder over the chest and arms, and, sometimes, also over their hair; men, instead, apply it over their whole body.” (Gusinde 1982: 208; note the gender difference, which will be repeatedly observed along many situations). Although the information about such uses of body painting *per se* is very scarce, it should be noted that paintings worn in many situations (especially some of those for the hain ceremony,

see chapter 6), though not necessarily related to coquetry, had a clear aesthetic importance for the Selk'nam.

Paying and receiving visits involved wearing facial paintings. Gallardo (1910: 151) stated that no special paintings were worn for such occasions. Although not exclusively for these situations, Gusinde noted that two specific motifs were worn to pay and receive visits (Gusinde 1982: 208; the photos mentioned between brackets are examples identified by me and none of them have any information in the caption or text indicating the names of the designs, their purposes and meanings):

- *kemaxip*: a red transversal line painted from the nostrils to the ear lobes (motif F, see S1, S10, S25, S29, S68, S86, S89)
- *oxtálampten*: which included two motifs:
 - 1) rows of small white dots, painted applying a rod as if it were a seal or by tracing a thin line and then scraping bits of about 3 mm along it (motif Fp, see S11, S12, S14)
 - 2) a red horizontal line of the width of a finger, painted in both sides of the face, from the nostrils to the ears, and on top white dots are painted very close to one another

The *oxtálampten* was very often worn when making *trips*. According to Gusinde, people stated that “with this ornament one marches with more strength and easiness” (Gusinde 1982: 208). Beauvoir stated that in such occasions the upper half of the face was painted red and the lower half black (1915: 206); there is no visual information of such design.

Segers (1891: 69) noted that the Selk'nam painted themselves in red when *hunting*. Gusinde wrote that for such situations they wore the *kemaxip* design (Gusinde 1982: 208 – motif F). But the visual records (several photographs taken by different photographers) show more variety and also more tendencies than this.

The motifs worn by individuals who are photographed (posing as if) hunting are E, Ex, F, A and T. The wearers are all men, which coincides with the Selk'nam gender division of subsistence tasks described in many written sources (see chapter 2).

Table M1. Motifs worn when hunting.

Motif	Individuals
E	10
Ex	8
F	2
A	1
T	1
total	22

The most frequently worn motifs were E and Ex. It is interesting to note that both motifs *include* motif F within them:

- motif E consisted of a line painted on each cheek (motif F) plus one dot painted on top of each line
- motif Ex consisted of a line painted on each cheek (motif F) plus one dot painted on top of each line and one dot painted on the nose

Hence, with variations, motif *kemaxip* (F) is in fact worn in most of the hunting cases. Although they were not exclusively worn for hunting, they show a fairly clear trend both in relation to their use when handling weapons, and to the male gender of the wearers.

Motif E was worn in three situations: hunting (ED HU), wrestling (ED FG) and posing for the camera (POC). It was mostly worn by men (11 cases out of 13), who, except when wrestling, were always handling weapons.

Table M2. Motif E.

situation	photo	weapons?	gender
ED FG	S071	no	m
ED HU	S101	yes	m
ED HU	S009	yes	m
ED HU	S009	yes	m
ED HU	S035	yes	m
ED HU	S036	yes	m
POC	S034	no	f
POC	S089	yes	m
POC	S033	yes	m
POC	S030	yes	m
POC	S033	yes	m
POC	S030	yes	m
POC	S065	no	f

Motif Ex was worn while hunting (ED HU), posing for the camera (POC) and in the hain (CE HA). It was only worn by men. But, unlike the case of motif E, when posing for the camera, the men were not handling weapons. Therefore it seems to have been clearly specific in terms of the gender of the wearer but much less specific in its relation to hunting and/or hunting weapons.

Table M3. Motif Ex.

situation	photo	gender
CE HA	S019	m
ED HU	S009	m
ED HU	S009	m
ED HU	S010	m
ED HU	S010	m
POC	S008	m
POC	S070	m
POC	S073	m
POC	S028	m
POC	S065	m

Finally, motif F was worn by 2 individuals in hunting situations (ED HU) and by 11 individuals in unknown situations (posing for the camera, POC), of which 7 involved handling hunting weapons (the other 4 are cases of female wearers). Motif F was worn by 10 men (of which in 9 cases were handling weapons)⁴ and 5 women⁵. Hence although it was not gender-specific, its association in the male cases with the act of hunting and/or with carrying hunting weapons is quite clear.

Table M4. Motif F.

Situation	Photo	Weapons?	Gender
ED HU	S104	Yes	M
ED HU	S010	Yes	M
ED quotidian painting	S068	No	F
POC	S032	Yes	M
POC	S082	No	F
POC	S085	Yes	M
POC	S086	No	F
POC	S089	Yes	M
POC	S093	Yes	M
POC	S128	Yes	M
POC	S029	No	F
POC	S105	Yes	M
POC	S014	No	F
POC	S125	Yes	M
CE hain - <i>kewanix</i>	S024	No	M

⁴ The is the individual painted for the *kewanix* dance in the hain, which was a ritual situation and did not involve handling weapons, see chapter 6.

⁵ The case of 'quotidian painting' (S68) is quoted from Gusinde and, as noted in appendix B, Chapman (1982: 148) noted that this painting was "only applied for the photographer", hence reinforcing the idea that women may have not usually worn such motif.

The lines constituting motifs E, Ex and F were mostly, but not exclusively, painted in dark colours (possibly red). This confirms only to an extent Gusinde's claim that motif *kemaxip* (F) was painted in red.

While these motifs seem to have been not entirely situation-specific, but appropriate for wearing during hunting and handling weapons, other uses of body painting were strictly associated with such activity. Barclay (1926: 224), Gallardo (1910: 150) and Dabbene (1911: 224) noted that, when hunting, the Selk'nam got painted to camouflage themselves with the landscape colours. It is highly unlikely that they directly observed this, and their information is likely to have been quoted from L. Bridges (1951: 367): "The Ona hunters painted themselves and smeared their bows and quivers, in order to be less conspicuous; yellow clay to resemble withered grass, chalk to match the whiteness of snow". This case involved a pragmatic function of the visual properties of body painting, rather than their aesthetic significance and display.

The use of paintings for *war and combat* situations was mentioned by a great number of authors, although they do not entirely coincide in relation to the colours and motifs worn. The table below summarises the available information.

Table M5. War designs.

author and year	description
Lista (1887: 101)	white
Segers (1891: 61)	white
Payró (1898: 210)	red face painting, black lines on temples, cheekbones and sides of the nose
Gallardo (1910)	
Beauvoir (1915: 206)	transversal lines in every direction
Dabbene (1904: 33)	white
Borgatello (1929: 182)	white
De Agostini (1924, 1945: 68)	war paintings, no description

Gusinde noted that the *k'áhanh* motif specifically meant state of war. It consisted of two big white dots applied on the cheekbones of the combat-men (corresponds to motif G), and generally also another white dot could be painted on the nose (corresponds to motif Gx). The two motifs were exclusively worn by male

individuals⁶, which in turn coincides with the nature of the situation for which they were supposed to be worn, since combat was a male activity. Yet these motifs could be applied for ornamental purposes (Gusinde 1982: 208-209), and this can be verified in the following table, which show that motif G was worn in the hain ceremony (CE HA). There is also a distinction between the circumstances in which the motifs were worn, since motif Gx always was worn by men handling weapons, while motif G was not. Hence this suggests that motif G was less situation specific than motif Gx. In turn, motif Gx shows other implications related to the role of the wearer when this was a shaman.

Table M6. Motif G.

photo	individual	situation	role	gender	weapons?
S002	002	CE HA-KW	kewanix dancer	M	no
S002	003	CE HA-KW	kewanix dancer	M	no
S002	004	CE HA-KW	kewanix dancer	M	no
S031	060	POC	indet	M	yes
S089	176	POC	indet	M	yes
S089	177	POC	indet	M	yes
S024	043	CE HA-KW	kewanix dancer	M	no
S024	044	CE HA-KW	kewanix dancer	M	no
S024	046	CE HA-KW	kewanix dancer	M	no
S024	051	CE HA-KW	kewanix dancer	M	no
S014	026	POC	indet	M	no
S034	073	POC	indet	M?	no

Table M7. Motif Gx

photo	individual	situation	role	gender	weapons?
S033	067	POC	indet	M	yes
S033	068	POC	indet	M	yes
S033	069	POC	indet	M	yes
S080	163	ED orn	SH	M	yes
S030	056	POC	SH	M	yes
S117	217	POC	SH	M	yes

Finally, the two dots contained in motif E and the three dots contained in motif Ex may have also worked as *k'áhanh*/combat motifs, even if accompanied by lines. This possibility can be grounded in two observations (see tables M6 and M7 above):

- motifs E and Ex were almost entirely worn by men, which suits the 'combat' role
- motifs E and Ex were worn when carrying weapons, which suits a combat/attack situation

⁶ The only doubtful case is a baby.

- c) the dots of motifs E and Ex were sometimes painted in another colour than the lines, hence reinforcing a separation of such motif into two potentially different motifs (F, constituted by the lines, and G or Gx, constituted by two or three dots, respectively).

Hence these observations may reinforce the idea of the existence of G and Gx as war/combat motif. If this was the case, possibly motifs E and Ex were in fact complex motifs constituted by a hunting motif (F, the lines) and a combat motif (G, the two dots and Gx, the three dots) painted together. Yet the available information is not enough to assess this possibility. What is still clear is that motifs E, Ex, F, G and Gx were mainly worn by male individuals, and were mostly related to handling hunting weapons.

A very interesting use of paint as part of an 'attack warning' was described by L. Bridges. He was arguing with Kilkoat and other Selk'nam men who were afraid of being punished for having killed some sheep and were bound to attack Bridges, when other Selk'nam men came to defend him:

"Kilkoat and his friends were still greatly excited, so I began to wonder how the matter would end, when I noticed that something was attracting their attention. ... wrapped in their robes, with bows and quivers in hand and a band of red paint the full width of a man's hand drawn right across each face from ear to ear, stood Halimink, Ahnikin and six or seven others of that tough mountain gang. ... *The paint alone was a threat*, but not to me, and this demonstration seemed to have a calming effect even on the turbulent-spirited Kilkoat, as well as his supporters." (Bridges 1951: 272, my emphasis).

Very few records provide information about the use of paint when *wrestling*. L. Bridges observed that "Fine patterns of painting were not indulged in, but bodies and faces were well smeared with red paint" (Bridges 1951: 318). Some photographs (S71, S127) show men in the wrestling position, possibly wearing a thin ground of white paint (not red as Bridges described) over their whole bodies.

L. Bridges is also the only observer that documented the existence of a '*peace ritual*' called Jelil, in which body painting was worn. Following a number of often lethal fights between the Southern and Northern groups of Selk'nam (no exact date is given in the text), such ritual was celebrated. It consisted of a gathering in which the need to keep peace and cease the attacks were orally declared. It also involved a particular physical 'exercise', in which a man of one of the previously opposing groups shot arrows, while another man run towards the archer, dodging them (L. Bridges 1951: 402-403). According to Bridges

"Though many of these people possessed white man's clothing, every one now wore his primitive robes and paint. The men on both sides were painted with white and red spots or stripes in many patterns. Doubtless, for the initiated, these had some meaning. The women were also painted, but with less care. For the

most part, they were smeared with deep red paint, in sign of mourning. On this occasion I saw no black paint.” (ibid).

The gender division in wearing less carefully made designs by the women coincides with the observations about the male interest in the ornamental paintings quoted above, and also with the differences observed by Gusinde in the kewanix paintings during the hain (see chapter 6). Bridges observation about the access to the meaning of such paintings through the initiation hints towards the differential access to symbolic knowledge that such process entailed (see chapter 6).

Finally another everyday use of body painting was that of *skin protection*. The Selk’nam bedaubed themselves with grease (Barclay 1924: 14) and with oil and pigments (Dabbene 1911: 224; Gusinde 1982: 206; Lothrop 1928: 58-59) as protection against the cold and windy weather. The skin was also cleansed by rubbing it with clay, using it as ‘soap’ (Gusinde 1982: 206-207). The removal of painted designs also involved rubbing off the paint, which, as noted in chapter 3, was seen as beneficial by L. Bridges because of its hygienic results (L. Bridges 1951: 373).

Appendix N. Selk'nam mourning paintings, scarification and tonsure.

The first author to report the use of paint for mourning is Lista. He wrote "I think that all the colours are symbolic ... black is mourning. To express the latter, women cut the skin of their calves and arms in parallel lines, using a *mytilus* shell." (1887 : 101). Here mourning appears associated to black painting; although no specific designs are mentioned, this colour is not described by Lista in any other situation. He also recorded the custom of scarification as a means of expression of grief for a dying/dead person, which was later noticed by other visitors.

Together with Lista travelled P. Segers, who also noted the use of painting and scarification for mourning (1891: 70). He stated that the Selk'nam used black paint made of ground charcoal for mourning purposes, which coincides with Lista either because they both observed and interpreted the same situation, or because either of them copied the information from the other one. Segers also noted twice that he observed the cutting of the skin of arms and legs as a sign of mourning done only by the women (*idem*: 66; 75). In one case, he saw the actual process of making the cuts by various women –who were mourning a young man killed by the soldiers that accompanied Lista– (*idem*: 75), while in another case he saw the resulting scars (*idem*: 66). In both cases, he noted that the cuts were made with very sharp lithic flakes, which made the wounds bleed abundantly, but in the latter one, he added that they introduced charcoal powder underneath the cut skin, resulting in small black lines. This seems to be a case of the Selk'nam tattooing, which was observed by other voyagers, although not with the mourning purpose. Popper (1891: 138) also mentioned the painting of the face with black as a sign of mourning, which was worn for a long time.

Gallardo stated that the Sek'nam painted their heads, faces and necks in red as a sign of mourning (1910: 150). Men, women and children wore these paintings for about six months, but there were cases in which these mourning signs were worn even two years after the death of a person (*ibid*: 319). He also mentioned that "the indians from the North have the custom of painting black lines and dots on the forehead, cheek bones and cheeks." He published a photograph entitled "Preparing the dead" in which three Selk'nam individuals are kneeling around an elongated package, possibly a wrapped diseased individual to be

buried (ibid), but no paintings are visible in these individuals¹. Gallardo also mentioned the practice of the tonsure as a mourning sign (ibid).

Borgatello mentioned the use of mourning paintings by the Selk'nam in two of his books. He explained that when a person died in the water the relatives painted their faces with a design made of black and white sinuous lines (Borgatello 1924: 65, in Gusinde 1982: 535). Gusinde rightly pointed out a clear similarity of this procedure with the Yámana mourning paintings, which depicted the cause of death of the individual (Gusinde 1982: 535), and it is quite likely that he wrongly copied the information related to these aborigines as relevant for the Selk'nam². Borgatello also stated that red powder was used by people close to a dying person –but not his/her closest relatives, according to Gusinde's quotation– (ibid). In another book he stated that black was a mourning colour, which also expressed melancholy in general (Borgatello 1929: 182). In this text he also included a description of the hair tonsure, and of the body scarifications, made by parallel rectilinear incisions; both mourning practices were carried out by men and women (ibid).

L. Bridges stated that the Selk'nam painted themselves with a very deep shade of red as a sign of mourning (1951: 366). He also described the hair tonsure, which both men and women practised (ibid: 223, 366). Bridges observed the process of making cuts of arms and legs (which would possibly generate scars when healed) during the agony of a person³. Bridges explained that scarification was made by the “chief mourners”, who scraped “their legs and arms with sharp stones, glass or shells.” (ibid: 364). This is particularly interesting in that, the mourning scarification was made not only with indigenous sharp materials, such as lithic and shell, but also new foreign materials, such as glass, were adapted for this purpose. The indistinct use of stones, shells and glass to make the mourning scarifications suggests that the instrument, and therefore to an extent, the specific technique, were not regarded as crucial within the action of making the mourning cuts not in relation to the resulting wounds/marks. Rather it is the action itself of cutting the skin, and possibly the

¹ The photograph is blur and the individuals are facing downwards, which makes it extremely difficult to see their faces. It is also not clear in the text whether he witnessed a burial himself and if the photograph was taken by him, by another observer and/or if the scene was not real but represented to make the picture and illustrate the text.

² An indication of his mistakes is that in the same text he published the photograph by De Agostini of Rosa Yagán dressed as a Selk'nam, getting painted by another Yámana woman, -wrongly- indicating in the caption that they are Selk'nam.

resulting scar, what seem to have been the core of this mourning ritual, while the tools were more likely a means to such end.

Gusinde's description of the designs worn and habits related to them are mainly based on quotations from other authors (Popper, Borgatello and Gallardo), and seem not to have been the results of his own observations of the actual use of these paintings by the Selk'nam (there is no reference to any particular case of agony or death of a person, or mourning of a specific person). Also, some of the information that he does not quote is entirely coincident with some of these sources, and with Bridges (whom he does not quote), so he might have got the information from them. Nevertheless, some of these details may also come from interviews to his informants. I reproduce here only the new information provided by Gusinde, since the information he quoted from other authors has already been presented above.

The mourning paint was called *k'armán*, and it was worn already during a person's agony, or even after an accident. There were a few specific designs for the mourning purpose, but generally just black and red paint were used (Gusinde 1982: 535). Although both colours were used, the Selk'nam seemed to prefer red, and bedaubed their heads, faces and necks with it (note the coincidence with Gallardo's information, which he does not quote). In some cases "a grieving man could cover his entire body with red colorant; but he would not do that with black colorant." (ibid; the reason for this is not explained). After some time, they would only paint their faces with it. But the extension of the period for wearing the mourning paintings depended on the individual's will. The age of the wearers of these paintings ranged from adults to children, and according to Gusinde it was an "obligation" to get painted for this situation. Gusinde also described the tonsure and scarification processes (ibid: 534-535).

During the week he stayed among the Selk'nam, Koppers witnessed the moment in which an old man (Saipotten) was performing "a mourning ceremony in memory of his son who had died a long time ago." (1997: 39). The old man was cutting his legs with acute-shaped stones. When he saw Gusinde and Koppers, he stopped doing it, tucked down his trousers, and diligently asked them what they needed. Koppers noted that an informant

³ This agony was in fact faked during a hain celebration, to call for a spirit that would magically heal the dying individual; but his relatives believed that he was really in agony and hence proceeded as they usually did, manifesting their grief and in preparation for mourning.

(Tschikiol) had already told them about this mourning procedure, and that at this point they had the chance of actually seeing it. He mentions no mourning body painting.

Appendix O. Bodies and objects as painting fields: body painting and ceremonial object decoration in the *chiéjaus*.

The basic decorative elements of body painting and painted objects (tablets, wands and hut pillars) are similar: they share the use of lines, dots and grounds of paint, and rectangular figures formed by grids, although the objects also show circles, which were never painted on the body. The motifs are different, and except for those constituted by parallel lines (motif A), most of those observed in the pillars, tablets and wands were not worn on the body.

The display over the body and over the objects are different, the former are frequently restricted to the face, and sometimes to the lower arms and calves, while the latter cover the whole 'body' of the object. Human body as a painting field followed anatomical portions, displaying paintings on uncovered body parts¹ and covering other parts with (aboriginal, and mostly western) clothing, and also with headbands (which in turn highlighted and differentiated the head from the rest of the body). Instead, objects were

a) treated as 'plain' fields, filled with the same pattern constructed mostly by translation, painted along the whole artefact (pillars, tablets, wands?)

b) divided into sub-fields or sections, which were

- 1) painted with the same patterns along each of the sub-fields (pillars and tablets cases)
- 2) painted with different patterns in different sub-fields (tablets case)
- 3) painted with the same pattern in a central sub-field and leaving the ends 'blank', or painted with a ground which may not be visible in the drawings and photos (wands case).

Some of the wands were also decorated with down, which marked the limits of the central painted field, and distinguished it from the 'blank' non-pattern bearing ends. This also shows a difference with the use of down in the persons' decoration, which was exclusively worn on the head.

Body painting and object painting designs were mostly structured by axial symmetry. In the body painting cases, this was done either emphasising it by a reflective symmetry design, sometimes even marked in the centre with a dividing vertical line or band

¹ It is unknown if designs were painted and then covered under clothing.

(e.g. Y12, Y75, Y79), or by developing the design across the face and/or body, without it being reflexive and without marking such division, but continuing the same pattern in both halves of the face/body (e.g. Y7, Y15, Y16, Y18, Y78, Y83). The same applied to the objects, which were either visually divided into two longitudinal halves bearing reflexive patterns, or were decorated with one plain repetitive pattern which extended equally along the surface of the object.

Because of such axial symmetry, the designs painted on the body usually emphasise its verticality and the lateral symmetry. In the uniform cases, they do not disrupt it to create distinctive longitudinal halves or portions (the only exception being the AX mourning motif and two male individuals painted for the *chiéjaus* – Y 23 and Y73 – who have their calves painted with different motifs, generating an asymmetric design in such body portions).

In searching for horizontal symmetry on the body, one could imagine the persons raising their arms to think – methodologically – of the body as a more ‘horizontally symmetric’ form, since the raised arms could be considered as symmetric ‘appendixes’ comparable to the legs. Yet it is clear that actual bodily position should also be taken into account, since such was the way in which the designs were viewed (although not necessarily the way they were interpreted). Though less frequent, horizontal symmetry can be found in motifs worn on specific parts of the body, such as torso, arms or legs (e.g. Y18, Y26, Y50, Y73), but the design does not usually show a horizontal symmetry as a whole, because of the different treatment of upper sections of the torso, of arms in relation to legs, and mainly, because the motifs worn in face are usually different, hence breaking such potential symmetry. The only overall designs that show certain horizontal symmetry are those worn by the spirits, which, by having lower arms and calves painted in white, give such a visual impression, especially when the men are holding their masks (with their arms up). Yet, again, the designs painted in the masks, though similar to those worn on the trunk, upper arms and thighs, are not always exactly the same and break such potential horizontal symmetry. Instead, many of the designs painted on objects do show a horizontal symmetry besides the axial symmetry, indicating again their different treatment as painted fields.

In conclusion, there existed a preference for axial symmetry designs, both if painted over objects, or over the body. In this latter case, the lateral axial symmetry of the human

body seems to have influenced the axial symmetry of the designs, which enhanced it or were neutral towards it, but very rarely disrupted it. Painted objects and painted people seem to have differed much more in terms of their horizontal axis. Most of the designs painted on the body did not bear a horizontal symmetry, mostly because of the presence of different motifs worn on the face in relation to the rest of the body portions. The highlighting of the face is a feature of body painting which seems to have no parallel in the structure of the designs painted on objects.

Appendix P. Yámana *kina* spirits. Designs, referents and provenance.

Name of spirit	referent	documented by	place of provenance	R	W	B 1933	li	short lines	ba	dt	rd	big dots	semi- circles
Ciniku		G 1986: 1342	heaven	X gr	x							x	
Kinamiama		G 1986: 1345		x	X gr	x	x						
Tulejma-yaka		G 1986: 1345		x?	X gr	x?			x				
Tukaci-yaka		G 1986: 1345		x	X gr						x		
Kinaiagëllum Identical to son of Kalampasa		G 1986: 1345 B 1933: 165	heaven	X gr	x				x				
Ulamieaka		G 1986: 1345 B 1933: 88	woods	X gr	x		x						
Wongoaleaka	Shape of fish; son of a whale	G 1986: 1345	sea	x	X gr								x
Mejmaraka		G 1986: 1346			X gr	x						x	
Yagaruwa-yaka		G 1986: 1346	sea	x	X gr				x				
Hani-yaka		G 1986: 1346 B 1933: 270	northern sky N. wind		X gr	x	x						

Name of spirit	referent	documented by	place of provenance	R	W	B	li	short lines	ba	dt	rd	big dots	semi- circles
Asepakaiaka		G 1986: 1346	southern sky	x	X gr	x	x						
Hasuwapisa- yaka	Blue whale (<i>Balaenoptera intermedia</i>)	G 1986: 1346 B 1933: 269	sea		X gr		x						
Sauyanux-yaka	Short peak dolphin (<i>Lagenorhynchus fitzroyi</i>)	G 1986: 1346			x	x			x				
Kixinteka-yaka	Grey Gerifalte (<i>Circus cinereus</i>)	G 1986: 1347			X gr	x			x				
Akimagaia-yaka	Falcon (<i>Ibycter australis</i>)	G 1986: 1347		x	X gr				x				
Kilaxila-yaka	Eagle (<i>Buteo poliosomus</i>)	G 1986: 1347		X gr						x			
Lurux-yaka	Grey head goose (<i>Chloëphaga poliocephala</i>)	G 1986: 1347		X gr	X gr								
Kimoa-yaka	Magellan goose (<i>Chloëphaga picta</i>)	G 1986: 1347		X gr	x							x	

Name of spirit	referent	documented by	place of provenance	R	W	B	li	short lines	ba	dt	rd	big dots	semi- circles
Alakus-yaka	Duck ('vapour duck') (<i>Tachyeres brachypterus</i>)	G 1986: 1347		x	X gr	x			x				
Wemar-kipa-yaka	Small gull (<i>Larus glaucodes</i>)	G 1986: 1347		x	X gr			x					
Touwisiwa-yaka	Pufino (<i>Puffinus griseus</i>)	G 1986: 1347				X gr							
Wilauileaka	Skua gull (<i>Magalestris skua chilensis</i>)	G 1986: 1347		x	X gr		x	x					
Gërapu-yaka FIG 88	White albatross (<i>Diomedea exulans</i>)	G 1986: 1347 B 1933: 246		x	X gr		x						
Katanux-yaka	Maritime dove (<i>Daption capensis</i>)	G 1986: 1348			X gr	x					x		
Taperola-yaka	Small dun diver (<i>Podiceps calipareus</i>)				x	X gr			x				

Name of spirit	referent	documented by	place of provenance	R	W	B	li	short lines	ba	dt	rd	big dots	semi- circles
Yesex-yaka FIG 57	Black cormorant (<i>Phalacrocorax atriceps</i>)	G 1986: 1348 B 1933: 274			X gr	X gr							
Wasenim-yaka	Bow cormorant (<i>Phalacrocorax gaimardi</i>)	G 1986: 1348			X gr	X gr			x				
Uswilër-yaka FIG 75	Oyster (?) (<i>Haematopus ater</i>)	G 1986: 1349		x	X gr	x		x	x				
Sursa-yaka	Magellan penguin (<i>Spheniscus magellanicus</i>)	G 1986: 1349		X gr	X gr				x				
Haimus-yaka	Haddock (robalo) (<i>Eleginus maclovinus</i>)	G 1986: 1349 B 1933 ???			x	x	x						
Suna-yaka	Diodon (<i>Diodontidae</i>)	G 1986: 1349		x			x						x
Ilësci-yaka	Herring (arenque) (<i>Clupea pectinatal</i>)	G 1986: 1349			X gr	x			x				
Imakai-yaka	Sea trout (<i>Atherinichthys</i>)	G 1986: 1349	sea	x				x					

Name of spirit	referent	documented by	place of provenance	R	W	B	li	short lines	ba	dt	rd	big dots	semi-circles
Kalampasa-yaka	Kalampasa fish	G 1986: 1349 B 1933: 178	sea	x	X gr		x						x
Lepalus-yaka	Small salmon	G 1986: 1349	sea	x				x					
Hikufkalala-yaka	Jelly fish	G 1986: 1349	sea	x				x					
Húka-yaka	Small octopus (<i>Octopus</i>)	G 1986: 1350	sea	X gr									
Yekëslëf-yaka	Squid (<i>Loligo subulata</i>)	G 1986: 1350	sea	X gr									
Kinalus-yaka	Fly	G 1986: 1350			x	X gr				x			
Histuku		G 1986: 1350		x	X gr		x						

Key: G= Gusinde; B=Bridges; R=red; W=white; B=black; li=lines; ba=bands; dt=dots; rd=rows of dots; Xgr=colour used in ground of the design

Other spirits:

The following spirits are mentioned in Gusinde's (1986: 1351) and Bridges' texts, but were not seen by Gusinde and hence their body painting was not described by him. The names are quoted from Bridges (1933):

Kiuagwiaka, sea gull kiwagu (B 1933: 170)

Takasaiaka, *Larus belcheri* (B 1933: 413)

Usoulaiaka, small killer whale (*Pseudorca crassidens* (B 1933: 112)
Haiyaiaga (B 1933: 262)
Lamukaiaka, whale (B 1933: 277)
Laiakakipa (B 1933: 276)
Göttana, tanuwa's son (B 1933: 247)

Notes on some of the fish which were referents represented by the kina spirits¹.

- Haimus-yaka spirit represented a haddock (*Eleginus maclovinus*), which is a fish found in the Beagle channel.
- Ilësci-yaka spirit represented a herring (*Clupea pectinatal*); this fish is not found in the Beagle channel, though sardines (*Clupea petinata*), which are of the same family (*Cuplidae* sp), are found in the Beagle channel region. If the referent was in fact the herring, this might indicate that the scope of fish symbolised by the spirits designs was broader than those found in the Beagle channel waters.
- Lepalus-yaka spirit represented a small salmon, and Imakai-yaka a sea trout (*Atherinichthys*). The scientific name provided by Gusinde (*Atherinichthys*) does not correspond to the trouts, but to the family of the 'pejerrey', which are morphologically different from the trouts, so either the scientific name or the identification of the referent-fish by Gusinde are incorrect. But more importantly, both the salmon and the trout are exotic species in the region, which were introduced by the Europeans. This suggests that a) the symbolic construction of these referents and spirits identities dated back no more than 4 centuries, and b) the Yámana had incorporated exotic species not only to their subsistence, but also to their mythical and symbolic spheres.

¹ The data about the fish species and their regional distribution are quoted from Zangrando (pers. com.).

Appendix Q. Selk'nam *hain* ceremony spirits. Designs, gender and provenance.

Name of spirit	Other names given by women	Gender	Referent and material	Documented by	prov	R	W	B	li	ba	dt	rd	bd	rbd	pt	gr
So'ort		M	Owl, rock	G; B; AS		x	x	x		x				x	x	x
Hayílan		M		G; AS		n	o		i	n	f	o				x
Hashé		M		G	U?			x								x
Wakús		F		G	U?			x								x
Xalpén		F	whale	G; B; AS	U	x	x		x							x
Kulan		F		G	H	x	x	x	x	x						x
Kosmenk		M		G; AS	H	x	x	x	x	x					x	x
Matan		M/F		G; AS	H	x	x	x	x	x					x	x
Tanu	Hainxo	M/F		G; B	U	x	x	x	x			x				x
Hainxo		M/F		G	U	xg	x	x	x			x				x
Ulen		M		G	--	x	x		x	x						x
Kotaix	Halalaches	M	Fish	G; B; AS	U	x	x			x						x
K'terrnen		M or F		G; AS	U	x	x		x	x						x

Key: R=red; W=white; B=black; li=lines; ba=bands; dt=dots; rd=rows of dots; bd=big dots; rbd=rows of big dots; gr=ground

U=under the earth; H=heaven; G=Gusinde; B=L. Bridges; AS=Anonymous Salesian missionary

Data from: Anonymous Salesian missionary ([1914] in Belza 1974); L. Bridges 1951; Gusinde (1982).

Appendix R. The *kewanix* paintings.

R-1. Detailed analysis of male *kewanix* designs.

The analysis of the male *kewanix* designs is based on the visual information provided in the photographs, together with the written information provided by Gusinde about the male *kewanix* designs (S24 includes all the male individuals wearing these paintings), which is summarised in the following table. The photographs of each individual described in the table are presented below, together with the number of individual and the referent of his *tari*/design.

Data for *kewanix* male body paintings (Gusinde 1982: 960-961).

Name of design	Name of wearer	Number of individ. in photo	Territory of provenance and referent of design	Gusinde's description of the design
Ko'ok-lol-tajmi	Toin	45	Southern bird, multicolour ("somorgujo") dabchick	Red ground; black and white lines from the clavicles to the knees; the black lines are adorned with white dots; the neck base and sternon are painted in white.
Ko'olklol- tajmi	Knoskol	51	Southern bird, multicolour ("somorgujo") dabchick	Same as above, but lacking the black lines: each of the white rows of dots are painted directly over the red ground and are framed by two white lines.
Kwoyink-tajmi	Nilson	50?, 42?, or 44?	A particular hill from the north	Division in compartments and over the dark red lines white dots are painted.
Akáinink-tajmi	Winya	42?, 44? or 50?	Northern rainbow	Over the uniform red ground are painted white lines and white dotted lines.
Akáinink-tajmi	Inxiol	43	Southern rainbow	Only white paint is used for the lines and the dotted lines.
Akáinink-tajmi	Hotex	42?, 44? or 50?	Northern rainbow	All the rows of dots are painted over a black line. This design and the two previous ones have the same basic schema because they all represent the rainbow.
Senuke-tajmi	Brown	46 or 49	Western wind	Alternating white lines and red lines, the latter have white dots painted above; a horizontal row of white dots is painted around the hips and above the knees.
Senuke-tajmi	Nana	49 or 46	Western wind	Idem as above.
Knanekeh-tajmi	Yoni	48	Northern evening sky	Two white lines, separated from each other by a space of one or two fingers, frame a black line with a white row of dots in the centre; over the central region of the trunk a white elongated [vertical] blotch is painted, and above and below it white [vertical] lines and white [vertical] rows of dots are painted.
Knanekeh-tajmi	Vasco	47	Southern night sky	Two white lines, separated from each other by a space of one or two fingers, frame a black line with a white row of dots in the centre; over the central

				region of the trunk a white elongated [vertical] stain is painted. But no vertical lines of vertical rows of dots are painted above and below this blotch, as above.
Knanekeh-tajmi	No wearer specified	No photo	Western night sky	Three wide white bands around the trunk and arms, symbolising three long cloud groups in front of the horizon during sun set
Kokpomec-tajmi	-----	-----	Southern multicoloured wild bird "oca"	
Kajmkaiyink-tajmi	-----	-----	"Carancho" bird from the south	
Klatuwen-tajmi	-----	-----	Male guanaco from the West	This design is worn very frequently, and it is preferred by the men of all regions.
Ko'ojmiek-tajmi	-----	-----	Male sea lion, from the North. It belongs to the founders of the first male klóketen ceremony.	
Karuk-tajmi	-----	-----	Northern wild bird "oca".	This ornament lacks the colour and multiplicity of design that characterise the southern wild "oca".
Ketaixtem-tajmi	-----	-----	Big male northern whale. It was one of the founders of the first male klóketen ceremony.	
Acenk-tajmi	-----	-----	Small northern whale	It is reproduced with much simpler drawings than the animal recently described (sic; there is no description of the whale in any part of this section of the text).

Individuals 47 and 48 (Vasco and Yoni, respectively) wear a design made of exactly the same motifs: J (X4) + J (X8) + JPT (+ F on the face), with the only difference (also pointed by Gusinde) of the lack of two parallel vertical white lines framing the dark patch in motif JPT, in the trunk and abdomen of individual 48¹. The information about the referents depicted by these designs indicates that Vasco (47) is wearing the pattern of the southern night sky, while Yoni (48) is wearing the pattern of the northern evening sky. So the extremely close similarity of the designs seems to be based on the referent they are representing. The cardinal point provenance (the Selk'nam territories and 'skies') seems not to be crucial in the visual layout of the paintings, since while Vasco's design is from the South, Yoni's is from the North. The

¹ Jpt motif includes a dark ground but lighter than the general ground (light red?). This is quite visible in individual 48, and is also likely, but less visible in individual 47.

skies/territories difference could be related to the difference in the details of the designs, in this case, the parallel vertical white lines mentioned above.

The same situation seems to happen between individuals 46 (Brown) and 49 (Nana), both of whom are wearing exactly the same designs, constituted by motifs A + CJ (+ G on the face). In this case, the designs are both representing the western wind, and show no details differences, possibly because they belong to the same cardinal point (West). Individuals 45 (Toin) and 51 (Knoskol) are wearing almost identical designs, constituted by motifs CJ + YB. A small difference between them is that Toin is wearing a short horizontal row of dots in the elbow, in the end of the vertical row of dots on the upper arm, while Knoskol is only wearing the vertical rows of dots on his upper arm, without the horizontal one. The other difference is that Knoskol is wearing motif G on his face, while Toin does not seem to be wearing any facial painting (though there are some shadows in the photograph that might indicate that this has been erased). Both Toin's and Knosol's designs represent a bird (dabchick / grebe), which belongs to the South, hence the fact that their designs are exactly the same.

Similar but not exactly equal designs are worn by individuals 42, 43 and 44. Of these, I can identify number 43 as Inxiol, while the other two are likely to be Winya, Hotex or, less likely Nilson. Inxiol is wearing a design composed of C1 + K + 2Linv (+ G on his face). Motif K is placed vertically along his trunk, abdomen and thighs, criss-crossed by lines next and parallel to rows of dots, and with an inverted L-shaped motif on the trunk. This design represented the southern rainbow. According to Gusinde's description, two other individuals –Winya and Hotex– were wearing designs representing the northern rainbow, and these designs were described by him as having the same basic schema, because of their common referent. The formal analysis of the designs of the male individuals wearing *kewanix* painting shows that there are indeed two other men with overall similar designs to that worn by Inxiol: these are individuals 42 and 44 (I cannot tell who is whom of these two).

Individual 42 has a very intricate design, composed of motifs K + RT (+ F on his face). Motif K placed vertically along the trunk, abdomen and thighs, which is criss-crossed by horizontal lines and by rows of dots². Except for the inverted L-shaped

² The transversal LI are interrupted when criss-crossing the longitudinal motif K, so they appear in three 'sections' (in the right, centre and left areas of the body). The transversal RD that appear on the trunk, abdomen and thighs, are painted only on the left and right sides of the body. In the central area of these portions of the body, these RD connect with the 'external' RD that constitute part of motif K, forming rectangles (RT) made of rows of dots. Making the design even more complex, the transversal LI that appear in the central area of the body are framed within these dotted rectangles. The upper side of the first rectangle and the down side of the last rectangle have an extra transversal RD.

motif, and for some other minor details, such as the distance of the lines and rows of dots criss-crossing motif K, which is wider in individual 42 and very narrow in individual 43, the design of individual 42 is very to that of Inxiol (43).

The general layout of the design of individual 42 is also similar to that of individual 44, which instead of motif K has motif J, also located vertically along the trunk, abdomen and thighs, and criss-crossed by horizontal lines and by rows of dots³ (plus motif G on his face). Besides the similarity of position of motifs K in individuals 42 and 43 and motif J in individual 44, it is interesting to note that the latter is in fact the reverse of the former, since J is formed by a row of dots framed by two parallel lines, while K is formed by a line framed by two parallel rows of dots. The overall structure of the designs of these three individuals (42, 43, and 44) is constructed by these motifs (J or K), criss-crossed by rows of dots and lines. As noted above, the designs worn by these individuals represented the northern rainbow (42 and 44) and the southern rainbow (43). While the similarity of the three designs is very likely to have been related to their common general referent – the rainbow –, the cardinal belonging of each rainbow to a particular Selk'nam sky/territory may have been represented by a variation within the designs, although I have found no visual details that the two northern designs share in common which distinguish them from the southern design.

Finally, individual 50 is wearing a different design than the rest, constituted by motifs CK + J + RT (+ G on the face)⁴. Knowing that the *kewanix* designs were representational, this different layout suggests that the referent of this design was different than the others. Taking into account the information provided by Gusinde about the *kewanix* designs documented in the photographs, the only individual lacking now an identification is Nilson, who was wearing the design representing the “northern hill”. Therefore, it is possible that individual 50 was Nilson, since his design is the only one that is different, which in turn makes it likely to be representing a different referent.

³ The transversal LI and RD criss-cross the longitudinal motif J, but are not interrupted by it, possibly because the part of this motif that they reach is made of solid lines and not of rows of dots, hence giving the visual impression of continuity. This criss-crossing of lines forms rectangles, which are nevertheless not recorded as such, because they are not individual forms which can be singled out, but rather latent shapes that are insinuated by the joint of the different lines.

⁴ The overall design is different from the rest of the individuals, particularly because of the use of Ck horizontal motifs on the trunk and shoulders, elbows and knees, and J motif on the waist. The rectangles (of RD) are placed inside the areas delimited by the vertical LI and the horizontal Ck and J. Some sides of the rectangles are made by using the 'external' RD of the Ck motifs.



Plate R-a. Male *kewanix* designs, organised according to design similarity and kinship referents, and Tanu painting design.



Plate R-b. Male *kewanix* designs, organised according to design similarity and kinship referents, and Tanu painting design.

R-2. Detailed analysis of female *kewanix* designs.

Individuals 119 in photo S58 and 122 in photo S59 wear an axial symmetric design made of two vertical motifs: A (series of parallel lines) + AP (series of parallel rows of dots), which only involve the translation of the respective decorative element. The position of these motifs on the body is inverted from one individual to the other, since individual 119 is wearing motif A on the right part of the torso and upper arm and motif AP on the left one, while individual 122 is wearing them in the opposite order. It is also possible that one of these photographs may have been printed inverting the negative and hence reverting the image (back-to-front), in which case the designs would be completely identical in their motifs position too. Although the body painting designs are the same in terms of the motifs used and their orientation, they differ in terms of their facial painting: individual 122 is wearing a white ground over her face, while 119 is does not seem to be wearing any facial painting.

Individuals 123 and 124 in photo S59 wear an axial symmetric design which only involves the translation and rotation of one decorative element, rows of dots, forming motif DMP, a comb-like motif with its main axis placed in a horizontal way and its appendixes pointing downwards. Both individuals are wearing a white ground on their faces.

Individual 121 in photo S58 is wearing a design made by the translation of two alternating decorative elements –lines and rows of dots-, generating motif CJ. This design is vertical and axially symmetric, and it has a central patch in its mid portion. It is completed with a ground applied in the lower arms and hands, plus a 2L motif painted on the face. All the rest of the women wear different designs than the men except for individual 121. Motif CJ, worn by this woman on the trunk, is the same motif worn by the male individuals #46 and 49, only that in these cases they lack the central vertical patch, and by individuals #45 and 51, but in these cases they have a Y-shaped central band instead of the vertical patch. This individual seems to be the same as in photo S39 (individual 81), the mother of the elder klóketen, and is indeed wearing the same facial painting motif. It is also interesting to note that in both photographs, she is wearing a *kocel*, which was a rare privilege for a woman among the Selk'nam. The fact that this is the only woman that appears wearing this usually male ornament, and that she is the only woman –according to the small sample of photographed individuals- wearing a very similar *kewanix* design to those worn by the men, may have been related to each other. It is possible that these attributes may have been marking an internal differentiation among the women, in which this woman, because she was the mother of

the elder klóketen and/or for another unknown reason, was entitled to wear these ornaments, which were peculiar to the male gender.

The remaining case (individual 120 in photo S58, the only girl visually documented wearing *kewanix* paintings) involves a slightly more complex design, which entails the translation and rotation of lines, generating a series of parallel lines framed by transversal lines, defined as motif H. This motif is placed in the right half of the body, and in some portions of the left half (upper trunk, abdomen, thigh). The rest of the left half of the body is covered with a series of horizontal patches. The overall design is thus a-symmetric, but axially divided into two halves. Completing the design, the girl is wearing a white ground covering her face.

Ind. 120 (no data) and Ind. 121. Young male guanaco.

Plate R-c. Female *kewanix* designs, organised according to design similarity and kinship referents (Data from Chapman 1982: 137).

R-3. Detailed analysis of Hainxo/Tanu's designs in relation to the *kewanix* designs.

Considering that there were different Tanu spirits according to the different cardinal points/'skies', and that the one that would appear was that corresponding to the cardinal location in which the hain was taking place, an expectation that can be derived is that the body painting of Hainxo/Tanu could bear some resemblance to the individual's *kewanix* designs due to a) their referent, and/or b) the cardinal point corresponding to the 'sky' to which the referent and the wearer belonged. Taking into account what has been shown about the male *kewanix* designs referents and meanings, it would be expectable that possibility 'a' is more likely than possibility 'b', since the male designs showed many more similarities according to the referent that they represented, and not to the cardinal point to which these belonged.

Since there are no photographs or drawings showing Hainxo's appearance, the comparison between spirit design and *kewanix* dancers design will necessarily be made with the only visual record of Tanu's appearance (photo S23, see plate above), and the male *kewanix* designs, due to the availability of information about its referents and symbolic contents (nevertheless, it can be stated that, at a formal level, the female *kewanix* dancers do not show identical designs to that of Tanu).

The design worn by Tanu is mainly constituted by motif CJ, which is the same as that worn by two male individuals for the *kewanix* (46 and 49), and is also present in the designs worn by two other men (45 and 51).

In the caption of the photograph documenting Tanu, Gusinde identified it as Tanu from the West, while individuals 46 and 49 are wearing designs representing the Western wind. This would indicate that designs representing referents from the same cardinal point are similar, or in this case, almost identical. Moreover, the colours worn by this Tanu and by individuals 46 and 49 are the same: white and red (plus light red in Tanu's case), which reinforces their similarity. If basing the analysis only on Gusinde's data it would be possible to maintain that the cardinal point, and hence the 'sky', was relevant and significant in the choice of design worn by both agents, human and spirit, since both belong to the west. But taking into account the written data provided by Chapman, this cannot be asserted.

Nevertheless, according to the linguistic data gathered by Chapman (1982: 180, footnote 61), this photographed Tanu, named Tanu Korukánh, was not from the West, but from the South. (But, as noted in chapter 6, she published in her book the image of this spirit indicating in the caption that it is indeed Tanu of the West sky). It is interesting to note that if this Tanu was from the South, there would be a relationship

between his/her design and the paintings of two individuals (45 and 51), who are wearing designs that include motif CJ. But in this case the colours of the designs do not always match, since while this Tanu wears white and red, only one of the men (51) wears the same colours, while the other one (45) wears black, red and white.

Hence while the formal similarity between these men wearing *kewanix* designs from the West and from the South with Tanu (from the West, or from the South) is still sustained – with different degrees of resemblance –, the symbolic relation between the two is only suggested, but not confirmed.

This indicates the existence of a visual connection between some of the *kewanix* designs worn by male individuals and Tanu spirit, which at a formal level is visible in the layout of their body paintings. At an iconographic level this connection is blurred, and more difficult to establish fully because of the data problems commented above. The available information shows that there is no univocal relation between the Tanu of one sky and the *kewanix* paintings of such a cardinal point, since

- a) the design of a single Tanu spirit (regardless of being from the South or from the West), shows a resemblance with the men's designs of two different skies (West and South)
- b) there is no visual unity in all the men's designs from the same cardinal point, hence there is only a partial coincidence of the designs representing southern referents with the southern Tanu.

Finally, in relation to the expectations outlined above, because the referents of the designs are only known in the men's cases, but not in the spirit's case, it is impossible to confirm or rule out option 'a' about the referent, in so far as it is not known if their formal resemblance is due to a similar referent or not. In turn, option 'b' about their 'sky' provenance is more likely, but not completely confirmed.

Appendix S. CDrom: visual records catalogue database, catalogue of scanned visual records, body painting database.



Appendix T. Visual records of Alacaluf body paintings and masks.



Plate T.1. “Initiand to the yinciháhua ceremony, with usual facial painting” (Gusinde 1991: fig. 49).



Plate T.2. "Groom with facial painting" (Gusinde 1991: fig. 50).



Plate T.3. "Painted ornament which denotes a festive [happy] mood" (Gusinde 1991: fig. 51).



Plate T.4. "Seated shaman" (Gusinde 1991: fig.46).



Plate T.5. "Alacaluf shaman" (Gusinde 1991: fig. 47).



Plate T.6. “Yinciháua spirit, with pointed mask and his body covered with paint” (Gusinde 1991: fig. 41).



Plate T.7. “Yinciháua spirit, in squatting position” (Gusinde 1991: fig. 42).



Plate T.8. “Yinciháua spirit, with cylinder mask ” (Gusinde 1991: fig. 43).



Plate T.9. “Yinciháua spirit, with phallic mask” (Gusinde 1991: fig. 44).



Plate T.10. Alacaluf indian in mourning (Brüggemann 1989: 155).



Plate T.11. Alacaluf indian, making fire (Brüggemann 1989: 137).



Plate T.12. "Making of mask" (Gusinde 1991: 480).



Plate T.13. "Diverse masks" (Gusinde 1991: 481).



Plate T.14. "Diverse masks" (Gusinde 1991: 482; note that the drawing seems to have been published upside-down).

